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THE
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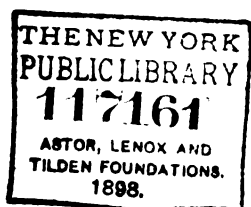
Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD PASCENT.



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THE

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CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN SCIENCE.

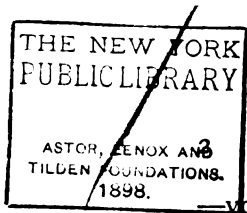
I.

THERE IS NO CONFLICT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND REVELATION.

IT cannot be denied that there dwells in many sincere minds a lurking suspicion, amounting in some persons almost to a painful conviction, that antagonism exists between certain dogmas of revelation and the results of scientific investigation. Mr. Huxley, Dr. Draper, and other acknowledged leaders of modern thought, have done their utmost to confirm these sinister impressions and to widen the breach between the teachers of religion and those of physical science. They will tell you that the study of nature leads us away from God and ultimately results in the denial of His existence. They maintain that there is and must be an irrepressible conflict between these two great branches of knowledge; that they cannot coexist; and that, in the long run, theology must surrender to her younger and more progressive rival.

They affect to believe that the champions of Christianity, conscious of the unequal conflict, view with alarm the rapid strides of the natural sciences, and do all in their power to discourage the study of them altogether. You will be told, dear reader, by this modern school of thought, that the more you are attached to the teachings of Christian faith, the more will your judgment be warped

VOL. XIII.—I



—Your intellect stunted, and the more you will be retarded in the pursuit of scientific investigation. They will try to persuade you that, in exploring the regions of science, you will be in constant danger of falling foul of some ecclesiastical ukase warning you away from the poisoned tree of knowledge, just as our primitive parents were forbidden to eat the fruit of a certain tree in Paradise. They will tell you that your path is likely to be intercepted by some Pope's bull, which may metaphorically gore you to death. They will, in a word, contend that, to enjoy full freedom in searching the secrets of the physical world, you must emancipate yourself from the intellectual restraints imposed on you by the Christian religion.

Such are the statements deliberately made in our times against Christian revelation. But though they are uttered by bearded men, we call them childish declamations. We call them also ungrateful assertions, since they are spoken by men who are indebted to Christianity for the very discoveries they have made. Many a Christian Moses has wandered for years through the wilderness of investigation, and died almost in sight of the promised land of scientific discovery. And his successors, guided by the path that he had opened, and who might otherwise have died unknown after vain wanderings, entered the coveted territory and enjoyed its fruits. Even Mr. Tyndall avows that "the nineteenth century strikes its roots into the centuries gone by and draws nutriment from them."¹

The truth is, that how much soever scientists and theologians may quarrel among themselves, there will never be any collision, but the most perfect harmony will ever exist between science and religion, as we shall endeavor to demonstrate in the following pages.

There are, indeed, and there ever will remain, truths of religion difficult to be reconciled with facts of science. If the ideas of time and space and the relation of soul to body are beyond our comprehension, we cannot be expected with our unaided reason to explain away the apparent incongruities that we find between the unseen and the visible kingdom of the universe. But difficulties do not necessarily involve doubts, still less denials. If we hold the two ends of a chain, we know that the connection is complete, though some of the links may be concealed from us.

Science and religion, like Martha and Mary, are sisters, because they are daughters of the same Father. They are both ministering to the same Lord, though in a different way. Science, like Martha, is busy about material things; Religion, like Mary, is kneeling at the feet of her Lord.

The Christian religion teaches nothing but what has been revealed by Almighty God, or what is necessarily derived from revela-

¹ On the Study of Physics.

tion. God is truth. All truth comes from Him. He is the Author of all scientific truth, as He is the Author of all revealed truth. "The God who dictated the Bible," as Archbishop Ryan has happily said, "is the God who wrote the illuminated manuscript of the skies." You might as well expect that one ray of the sun would dim the light of another, as that any truth of revelation can be opposed to any truth of science. No truth of natural science can ever be opposed to any truth of revelation; nor can any truth of the natural order be at variance with any truth of the supernatural order. Truth differs from truth only as star differs from star,—each gives out the same pure light that reaches our vision across the expanse of the firmament.

Legitimate inquiries into the laws of nature are, therefore, no more impeded by the dogmas of faith than our bodily movements are obstructed by the laws of physics. Nay, more, we have the highest ecclesiastical authority for declaring that "not only can faith and reason never be opposed to each other, but that they mutually aid each other; for right reason demonstrates the foundations of faith and, enlightened by its light, cultivates the science of things divine, while faith frees and guards reason from errors and furnishes it with manifold knowledge."¹

Revelation teaches us that this material world had a beginning; that it shall have an end; and that God created it to manifest His wisdom and power, and for man's use and benefit. Hence, so far from warping our judgment, stunting our intellect, or retarding us in the prosecution of scientific truth, Christian revelation will be like the sun lighting up our course in the path of science, like a landmark directing us onward in the road of truth, like a beacon-light cautioning us to avoid the quicksands upon which false science has often been shipwrecked.

Science, on the other hand, when studied with humility, reveals to us the intimate relations of the forces of nature with one another, the unity of the laws governing them, and their subordination to a controlling Mind.

In contemplating the universe and tracing the effect to the Cause, we are filled with the sentiments of the Royal Prophet: "The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands."² No man can view St. Peter's dome without admiring the genius of Michael Angelo; neither can the thoughtful student contemplate the dome of heaven without associating in his mind the great Architect of nature. In beholding the vast firmament with its countless stars moving through boundless space, he is filled with a sense of God's immensity; for wherever creation is, there also is the Creator.

¹ Vatican Council.

² Ps. xviii. 2.

If, from the top of a distant tower, we view a number of trains running in different directions, all arriving on schedule time at their respective stations, we admire the skill of the engineers, although they themselves are beyond the reach of our vision. And what are the numberless orbs of the universe, both stellar and planetary, but vast engines rushing through space with a velocity immeasurably greater than that of the fastest railroad car? Though often crossing one another, they never deviate from their course, never collide, nor are they ever precipitated through the abyss of space. Should we not admire the Divine Intelligence that controls these engines and that leads them with unvarying precision to their appointed destination?

The great luminary of day suggests to us the splendor of that uncreated "Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world."¹ Its rays, illuming our planet and penetrating its hidden recesses, are a fitting type to us of the all-seeing eye of God, of whom the Royal Prophet again says: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy face? If I ascend into heaven, thou art there; if I descend into hell, thou art present."²

The earth, yielding its fruits with prolific bounty, proclaims God's merciful providence in supplying man's wants and comforts.

The beauty of the landscape is a mirror dimly reflecting the infinite loveliness of God; for the author must possess in an eminent degree the perfections exhibited in his works. Solomon, who was a close student of nature, was thus impressed.³ He says, if men are delighted with the beauty of the visible creation, "Let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they: for the first Author of beauty made all these things. . . . For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby."⁴ And St. Paul declares that they who will not recognize the power and divinity of God by the contemplation of the works of creation, are inexcusable.⁵

When the thoughtful student reflects that he is a mere atom amid the illimitable space and countless orbs that surround him, he is overawed by a sense of his nothingness; and when he considers how little he has learned after all his labor, in comparison with the treasures of knowledge that still lie hidden in nature's bosom, he will exclaim with the great Newton: "Whatever the world may think of my learning, I feel like a little child on the seashore

¹ John i. 9.

³ III. Kings iv. 33.

⁵ Rom. i.

² Ps. cxxxviii. 7, 8.

⁴ Wisdom xiii. 3, 5.

gathering a smooth pebble here and a shell there, while the ocean of eternity lies unexplored before me."

But when he considers the intellectual faculties with which he is endowed and the preëminent place he holds in creation, conscious of his dignity, he is filled with gratitude to God, as was David when he said: "What is man that thou art mindful of him! . . . Thou hast made him a little less than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honor, and hast set him over the works of thy hands."¹

In a word, every object in creation speaks to him of the wisdom and power of God. He

"Finds tongues in trees, books in running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."²

He rises from nature to nature's God.

The more deeply the student of nature penetrates into her secrets, the more does he admire the wisdom of the Creator. "Small draughts of philosophy," says Bacon, "lead to atheism; but larger ones bring back to God."

It would, therefore, be a great mistake to suppose that the agnostic and unbelieving scientists of the nineteenth century are made such by physical studies. They were already imbued with those ideas when they began their labors, and every phenomenon which they discovered was shaped to suit their preconceived theories.

II.

THE CHURCH IS THE TRUE FRIEND AND PROMOTER OF SCIENCE.

Now, since reason and revelation aid each other in leading us to God, the Author of both, it is manifest that the Catholic Church, so far from being opposed to the cultivation of reason, encourages and fosters science of every kind. The more secrets science will elicit from nature's bosom, the more the Church will rejoice; because she knows that no new revelation of nature will ever utter the words: "There is no God!" Rather will they whisper to the eager investigator, "He made us, and not we ourselves."

Each new discovery of science is a trophy with which religion loves to adorn her altars. She hails every fresh invention as another voice adding its harmonious notes to that grand choir which is ever singing the praises of the God of nature.

At no period of the Church's history did she wield greater authority than from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. She exercised not only spiritual, but also temporal power; and she had great influence with the princes of Christendom. Now, this is the

¹ Ps. viii. 5, 6, 7.

² "As You Like It."

very period of the rise and development of the universities in Europe. During these four centuries, nineteen universities were opened in France, thirteen in Italy, six in Great Britain and Ireland, two in Spain, and one in Belgium. At no time did the human intellect revel in greater freedom. No question of speculative science escaped the inquisitive search of men of thought. Successful explorations were made in every field of science and art. The weapons of heathendom were employed in fighting the battles of truth. The principles of Aristotle, the greatest of ancient dialecticians, were used as handmaids to religion and, in the words of Cardinal Newman, "With the jaw-bone of an ass, with the skeleton of pagan Greece, St. Thomas, the Samson of the schools, put to flight his thousand Philistines."¹

It is an incontrovertible fact that it is only in countries enjoying the blessings of Christian civilization that science has made any perceptible progress. And the writers who for the last two thousand years have been most conspicuous in every department of physical knowledge, were, with few exceptions, believers in Christian revelation. If we search for light among the followers of Lucretius, Confucius, or Mohammed, we shall find little to reward us for our pains.

In astronomy and geology, mechanics and mathematics, in chemistry, physiology, and navigation, Christian scholars hold a preëminent place. It is to Copernicus, a priest and canon, that the world is indebted for the discovery of the planetary revolutions around the sun.

It is to the learning and patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. that we owe the reformation of the calendar and the computations which determine with nice accuracy the length of the solar year. Galileo, Kepler, and Secchi, Sir Isaac Newton and Lord Bacon, Leibnitz, Lavoisier, Euler, Cuvier, and Descartes, are recognized as leaders in the field of science. They were, moreover, firm believers in revelation, while most of them combined strong religious convictions with scientific erudition. In the study of nature they do not fail to record with devout praise their admiration for the power and providence of the Creator.

The first circumnavigation of the globe, the discovery of the American continent, the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the most accurate geographical survey of the earth's surface, are events for which we are indebted to Christian navigators and explorers, all actuated by an indomitable spirit of enterprise, and most of them inspired with the higher motive of zeal for the propagation of the Gospel. Marco Polo, Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Magellan, and Vasco da Gama, were men of strong religious faith, who

¹ The Idea of a University, Sec. viii.

embarked on their perilous voyages with the benediction of the Church upon them.

Our own country is largely indebted to Catholic priests, who were the pioneers, not only of religion and civilization, but also of science. In one hand they bore the torch of faith, and in the other the torch of religion. They not only carried the Gospel to the aboriginal tribes of North America, but they explored our rivers, lakes, and mountains; and the charts that they sent to Europe over two hundred years ago are still admired as models of topographical accuracy.

With these facts before us it is difficult to suppress a feeling of indignation when we are told that Christianity is a bar to scientific investigation. These maligners of Christianity owe it to the Christian religion that they are able to revile her. Separate them from the universities and schools founded by Christian patronage; withdraw them from Christian traditions and literature, and they would die of intellectual stagnation.

There is no branch of art in which the disciples of Christianity have not excelled. Was not Michael Angelo a devout son of the Church? And who surpassed him in sculpture and architecture? To him we are indebted for St. Peter's basilica, the grandest church ever erected to God by the hand of man. Byron found that

"Power, glory, strength, and beauty,—all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled."

And were not Raphael and Domenichino, Fra Angelico and Leonardo da Vinci, members of the Church? And are they not the recognized masters in the exquisite art of painting? Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven and Palestrina were Christian men, and were patronized by Popes and bishops. And are they not acknowledged leaders in the rich and harmonious strains of music? Their masses are as unrivalled in musical composition as our cathedrals are in architecture.

The apparent conflict between the deductions of science and the doctrines of Christian faith is clearly accounted for in the following Decree of the Vatican Council: "There never can be any real discrepancy between reason and faith, since the same God who reveals mysteries has bestowed the light of reason on the human mind; and God cannot deny Himself, nor can truth ever contradict truth. *The false appearance of such a contradiction is mainly due either to the dogmas of faith not having been clearly understood and expounded according to the mind of the Church, or to the inventions of opinion having been taken for the verdict of reason.*"

If these explanations are kept in view, they will serve to demon-

strate that the apparent conflict between science and revelation has no foundation upon which to rest.

1. It is often erroneously assumed that the Scriptures propound doctrines which they never professed to teach. The sacred volume was not intended by its Divine Author to give us a scientific treatise on astronomy, or cosmogony, or geology, or even a complete series of chronology or genealogy. These matters are incidentally introduced to illustrate a higher subject. The purpose of the Scriptures is to recount God's supernatural relations with mankind, His providential government of the world, and man's moral obligations to his Creator.

When, for instance, the Sacred text declares that the sun stood still in the heavens,¹ it simply gives expression to the miraculous prolongation of the day: and this in popular language such as even now with our improved knowledge of astronomy we employ, for we speak of the rising and the setting of the sun as if, according to the Ptolemaic system, we still believed that he revolves around the earth. The Church has no mission to teach astronomy. One may be as bad an astronomer as John Jasper and yet be a good Christian.

Again, the results of geological investigation, by which it is ascertained that ages must have elapsed between the formation of matter and the creation of man, would seem to conflict with the book of Genesis, which states that all vegetable and animal life was created within the space of six days. But the Church, as is well known, has never defined the meaning to be attached to these *days* of Genesis. We are at liberty, as far as the Church is concerned, and if the deductions of science are incontrovertible, we are compelled to ascribe an indefinite period of years to each day. The context itself insinuates that the day cannot be restricted to twenty-four hours, since for the first three days there was no sun to measure their duration; and in the second chapter of Genesis the word day is manifestly used to express an indefinite period of time employed in the creation of the material universe.

The Mosaic narrative simply records the creation of matter out of nothing, and the order in which life, both animal and human, came into existence. The chronological order of Moses is borne out by the researches of geologists, who have discovered that vegetable fossils are anterior to animal remains, and that those of the lower animals are more ancient than any human skeletons ever found. Our knowledge, moreover, of the laws governing the vegetable and animal kingdoms confirms this arrangement, since vegetable life derives its subsistence from inorganic matter, ani-

¹ Josue x. 15.

mal life is nourished by the vegetable kingdom, and man himself is sustained by the nutriment he derives from both.

The discovery of human fossils, and of other geological and historical monuments, is sometimes boldly assumed to stamp the human family with a far greater antiquity than appears to be warranted by Scripture genealogies. To this I reply that the Scripture gives no precise data regarding the time intervening between Adam and our Lord. We have only conjectures resting on genealogies. The enumeration of Adam's lineal descendants is not claimed to be consecutive and complete. It is not denied that links may be missing in the chain of generation. There is also a marked discrepancy between the different versions of the Bible in computing the age of man. The Vulgate reckons four thousand years; the Septuagint, five thousand; and the Hebrew, six thousand years from Adam to our Saviour. Some Catholic writers, without any reproof from the Church, are disposed to extend the period to over eight thousand years.

On the other hand, some of the ablest scientists have refuted the fabulous ages ascribed by certain writers to the human family. The Egyptian hieroglyphics and the cuneiform inscriptions of western Asia, were triumphantly quoted as demanding for man an antiquity immeasurably more remote than is warranted by Scripture history.

But the patient investigations of Champollion, Rawlinson, and others, prove that Egypt furnishes no authentic record of human government and human life as ancient as is claimed for it by the adversaries of the Bible. The studies of Layard in Assyrian archæology and the researches of Legge in ancient Chinese history, concur in dissipating the cloud of legendary fable surrounding the dynasties of these nations.

The presumptive evidence furnished by human fossils is now ruled out of court by the best students of anthropology. When we consider the untiring industry of man and his indomitable tendency to leave a record of his deeds behind him, and since we fail to find any authentic traces of him in pre-Adamite times, we are supplied with an indirect though eloquent confirmation of the substantial correctness of the Mosaic chronology.

Is it not a remarkable fact, which shows the special supervision of God over His Church, that, in her long history, she has never formally interpreted a single text of Scripture which was afterward contradicted by any authenticated discovery of science? Nor were occasions wanting when, in the apparent interests of faith, she was tempted to give a false decision. For centuries the opinion obtained, seemingly supported by Scripture, that the earth was level. St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany in the eighth century, com-

plained to the Holy See that an Irish priest named Virgilius had taught that the earth was spherical, as science now demonstrates it to be. But the Holy See prudently abstained from rendering any decision on the subject.

2. Whenever any supposed scientific discovery conflicts with an acknowledged truth of Revelation, we may rest assured that the alleged scientific facts have no reality, but are groundless assumptions and mere hypotheses with not even the merit of originality.

For instance, the Scripture declaration affirming the unity of the human species, was for a long time controverted by many scientists. They denied that all men could have sprung from the same stock; first, because the human family is characterized by so many types and colors; secondly, because they speak a variety of tongues having apparently no relation with one another; thirdly, because scientists believed it impossible, for want of adequate means of transportation, that America and other newly discovered countries could have been peopled from any other nation.

But subsequent researches have shown the fallacy of their reasoning and confirmed the truth of the Biblical narrative. It is now admitted that climate, food, and habits of life have a marked influence on the color and physical formation of man. Philologists compute the number of languages and dialects spoken throughout the world to be over three thousand. They tell us that there are common principles governing the constitution of languages, which justify the opinion, if they do not conclusively demonstrate, that all languages can be traced to a single source.

It is now obvious to every one acquainted with geography how easily the aboriginal inhabitants of America could have passed over from Asia by the Behring Strait. A like solution applies to other inhabited places more recently discovered.

"Nothing is more strange," observes a recent writer, "than the incessant reproduction of old thoughts under the guise of new and advanced opinions. It would seem as if the human mind, with all its restless activity, were destined to revolve in an endless circle. . . . Professor Tyndall, addressing the world from the throne of modern science, repeats the thoughts of Democritus and Epicurus as the last guesses of the scientific mind."¹

In fact, there is no class of men so dogmatic and so impatient of contradiction as certain modern scientists; and "this dogmatism is the more intolerable, as the so-called 'demonstrations' of one age have sometimes been the butt and ridicule of succeeding generations."² Not content with cultivating their own field, they invade the region of theology and politics. They speak as if they had an exclusive diploma to treat of everything in heaven above, on the

¹ Blackwood's Magazine, November, 1874.

² Creation's Testimony, C. v. p. 118.

earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth; and from their infallible judgment there must be no appeal. Mr. Tyndall recently wrote some very angry letters against Mr. Gladstone. The veteran statesman is denounced by the professor as a hoary rhetorician and a desperate gamester, because he presumed to advocate Home Rule for Ireland.

The position of the Catholic Church in reference to modern scientists may be thus briefly summarized: The Church fosters and encourages every department of science. But just because she is the friend of true science she is opposed to all false pretensions to science. There is as much difference between true and false science as there is between authority and despotism, liberty and license. When she hears a man advancing some crude theory at variance with the received doctrines of revelation,—with the existence of God, for example, or His superintending providence or His wisdom or His sanctity; when she hears him advocating some hypothesis opposed to the unity of the human species, to the spirituality and the immortality of the soul, to the future destiny of man, and to those other great doctrines that involve at once the dignity and moral responsibility of the human race, she knows that his assumptions must be false, because she knows that God's revelation must be true. She stands between such a man and the Divine Oracle of which she is the custodian; and when she sees him raise his profane hands and attempt to touch the temple of faith, she cries out, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther!"

Will you not agree with us that she is right in raising her voice against groundless theories that desecrate the truth and poison its very source? How can we consent to forsake the sacred fountain at which our forefathers slaked their thirst for centuries, to run after some mirage that these modern philosophers have conjured up before our imagination? If God's revelation is at the mercy of every sciolist, what, then, becomes of those great and consoling truths underlying our social fabric? They are no more than shifting sands beneath our feet.

The pathway of time is strewn with the wreck of many an imposing scientific theory that once found favor in the opinion of men. And such will ever be the fate of those wild speculations and unfounded assumptions that impugn the truth of Revelation. They may float for a time on the human mind like huge icebergs drifting along the ocean's current, chilling the atmosphere and carrying destruction in their path. But like the false theories before them, they are destined to melt away beneath the effulgent rays of reason and revelation, while "the truth of the Lord remaineth forever."¹

¹ Ps. cxvi. 2.

WHY TASTES DIFFER.

TASTES are not matters for controversy: *De gustibus non est disputandum!* In its ordinary sense the proverb is unquestionable. What we feel to be sweet is sweet to us, however much we may be blamed, despised or envied for feeling it to be so. If a man really prefers Etty to Rafael, or Rigoletto to Lohengrin, no amount of reasoning or objurgation can make him do more than feign the contrary. Our feelings make themselves known to us by their own self-evidence, and, as they are ultimate, and can therefore neither be proved nor disproved, so neither can they be directly and immediately altered. But though our tastes, as facts, are not matters for discussion, much remains to be said about the "how" and the "why" of them.

How ugly and ridiculous those fashions often seem to us which ten or twenty years ago we all admired! Yet we are the same men and can in most cases be sure that our altered feelings are due rather to changes which have taken place about us—changes in our environment—rather than in ourselves. These waves of feeling are also very transient. Bygone fashions of dress, more or less modified, often come again into vogue. The distension of the "hoop" was repeated in the "crinoline," nor would it be unsafe to predict that "Madonna bands" will ere long reappear and smooth down many a fair but now ruffled forehead. The same phenomena may be noted in every department of human activity which is governed by taste. The ceaseless architectural changes which followed the introduction of the pointed arch, exhibited the same spirit of dissatisfaction with the recent facts to which our changes in costume are due. Again and again we have also had architectural revivals and reversions. When pointed architecture had worn itself out in the ornate beauties of the "perpendicular" and "flamboyant" styles, men turned eagerly to the reproduction of Greek and Roman architecture. When this in turn grew stale, we had that patient and industrious restoration of the pointed or "Gothic" style which has sown broadcast over our land buildings of much, though very unequal, merit, followed by others which show us how a new appreciation of the "Renaissance" has now arisen.

Accompanying and aiding the "Gothic" revival was the "romantic" school of literature, which coexisted with a widespread feeling of contempt for that era of powder and pigtails, the eighteenth century. But "romanticism" is now out of favor. And if

the differences of sentiment which in modern times, amongst ourselves and our neighbors, seem difficult to account for, how much more must be the differences of taste which have existed, or exist, between men of widely different cultures, races and epochs! How comes it that the lip-distortion of the Botacudos, or the head-flattening of Peruvians, could possess charms for any human beings? How is it that the Fuegian, reeking with the hot blubber he has greedily devoured, should be sickened with disgust at a dish of cold meat? Greek art seems to have supplied us with eternal models of human beauty, but they are not models for the Mongol; and while some of us may admire a pair of pouting lips, the fullest lips which European beauties could exhibit, would seem as wanting in fullness to the ordinary Negro as would Venus Kallipyge to the Hottentot.

What is the rational lesson of such divergences? May it not be said that all loveliness is but in the fancy of him who admireth, and that all positive, absolute, objective beauty is but a dream? The doctrine of evolution may appear sufficient by itself to confirm this view triumphantly. To those who may say that human organization is probably an inheritance from non-human ancestors, it may appear to follow as a matter of course that human feelings, as they are supposed to be similar in kind to those of animals, can but minister in us, as they do in them, to individual or tribal preferences of instinct, appetite or desire. We claim, however, to have shown already¹ that, though each of us is, as consciousness tells us, truly one being, we have, in spite of our animal nature, another side of our being—whencesoever and however derived—which is more than animal, which is able to apprehend abstract ideas, which can apprehend true things as true, good things as good, and we believe also beautiful things as beautiful. Here some of our readers may be tempted to stop, dreading to encounter a mere restatement of some old view about that well-worn subject, "the beautiful." We venture, however, to think that there are certain considerations, which appeal to experience and common sense rather than to any lofty transcendentalism, which are capable of application to very homely matters as well as to others less familiar, and which, because viewed from a new standpoint, may not be devoid of interest as well as novelty. For writers who have hitherto treated this question have mostly belonged to one or two opposite schools. One set, strongly impressed by conviction of the lofty nature of man's intellect, have followed the high *a priori* road, paying little heed to the phenomena of our lower sensitive faculties. The other set, convinced that all our psychical phenomena are ulti-

¹ See "A Limit to Evolution," AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883.

mately referable to sensation, have tried to explain all our perceptions by the aid of our lower faculties only, ignoring what could not be thus accounted for. But our contention has ever been, that, while man has an intellectual side to his being—a priceless quality in which no brute shares—yet, as being truly an animal, he possesses animal feelings, instincts and passions, with all the consequences and limitations thence arising.

Much of the difficulty and confusion which has attended the study of man's apprehensions of beauty has, we believe, been due to non-appreciation of our duplicity in unity—unity of person, duplicity of nature—and of the complex and various commingling of effects which thence result.

Now, as we men participate in the nature and vital powers of the lower animals, so animals participate in the nature and vital powers of plants. Almost all the actions of animals are unconsciously directed either towards their own conservation or towards the propagation of their kind, and these also are the unconscious ends of the vital activities of plants. The beautiful forms which foliage leaves exhibit, and the symmetry of the branches which sustain them, may generally be traced to their need of obtaining, under the various conditions to which different species are subjected, as much sunlight and air as they can, that they may be able the better to breathe and grow. The various tints of flowers, their simple or complex shapes, their perfume and their nectar, serve to attract such different insect visitors as are needful to enable them to set their seed. No one pretends that these phenomena of plant-life are accompanied by any distinct feelings. Animals, however, evidently possess sensations, and also appetites and instinctive preferences, which they seek to gratify. The plumage of the humming-bird and the song of the nightingale are said to be due to the competition of countless generations of suitors rivalling each other in brilliance of tint or melody of tone. However this may be, and fully granting that such qualities do exercise a sexual charm, no one pretends that beasts and birds are conscious of such beauties, as beauties, however potent may be the powers of attraction such characters exercise over them. The feelings, instincts and appetites of animals generally lead to acts which are "good" for them as individuals, or "good" for their race, and some of the characters just referred to would generally be allowed to be "beautiful." But animals perform such acts no more on account of any perception they have of their "goodness" than of their "beauty," but simply through a blind impulse which would be an end in itself if irrational creatures had any conscious end or aim at all.

As Darwin has shown us, the instincts of animals are not absolutely invariable, and they are, within narrow limits, modifiable

by circumstances. Such modifications may be seen in the nest-building of captive birds, and in the actions of woodpeckers which have migrated to regions where there is no wood to peck.¹

Acquired instincts and preferences may also be sometimes inherited. This is manifest from the different actions of the different breeds of domestic dogs. They are various, and have been variously acquired; but they are, nevertheless, inherited.

Now, man, considered merely as regards the animal side of his being, must be, as we all know he is, impelled fundamentally by the same actions as are the brutes. However "good" for the species or the race such actions may be, and whatever the "beauty" they may elicit or be accompanied by, they are commonly performed without advertence to such qualities.

We cannot doubt that our lower feelings and preferences may, like those of other animals, slightly vary, and that such slighter variations may be inherited. However much we may wish to "let the ape and tiger die," we must ever continue to share in the conditions necessary for animal life. We must feel the remote effects of the instinctive impulses of the brute ancestors of our corporeal frame, and experience various tendencies and solicitations founded upon those which are common to the animals which most nearly resemble us in structure. So much must be conceded respecting the influences which most conflict with the notion that there can be any absolute, objective beauty or goodness in man or in the irrational world over which he presides.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the higher aspect of our being. Every one must concede that somehow or other we have now got the idea of "beauty," whether or not it refers to something more than individual taste. However obtained, we have come to possess that abstract idea, and abstract ideas are admitted to be parts of man's intellectual possessions—peculiar to him as compared with other animals which admittedly do not possess them. A brief consideration of the other two cognate ideas, "goodness" and "truth" (which have been before referred to as belonging to our intellectual nature), may serve to throw some light on the problem whether beauty can be known to us as existing objectively—that is, independently of the mere tastes which individuals or communities may possess.

That "truth" at least exists as a real quality of statements and beliefs, must be admitted by all who have not some eccentric theory to maintain. John Stuart Mill distinctly affirms that the recognition of the truth of any judgment we make, "is not only an essential part, but the essential part of it as a judgment." "Leave

¹ Such a woodpecker is found on the plains of La Plata.

that out," he tells us, "and it remains a mere play of thought in which no judgment is passed." But it is impossible for any consistent follower of science to doubt that truth is not a mere quality recognized as belonging to a judgment by him who emits it, but has a real relation to external things. Were this not the case, it is plain that science could make no progress. We do not base scientific inductions and deductions on our knowledge of beliefs, but of facts; and, without a foundation of facts, beliefs are worthless. "Truth" is the agreement of "thought" with "things—of the world of beliefs" with the world of "external existences." "Truth," therefore, cannot be merely that which "each man troweth," but must be "that which a man troweth when he troweth in conformity with real external coexistences and sequences, and with the causes and conditions of the world about him." Thus, "truth" is and must be both subjective and objective. It is subjective when regarded as the quality of his own thought by him who thinks it. It is objective when regarded as the quality of the thought of any one else.

But can truth be attributed to things themselves apart from and independently of all and every human mind? All persons who feel convinced of the reasonableness of Theism, must affirm that it can be so attributed. For if we may conceive of what, for lack of a better name, we may call intelligent purpose as underlying nature, then each object in so far as it corresponds with such purpose may with justice be spoken of as "true." It is another, though widely different, conformity between thought and things—namely, their conformity with the thought which is Divine. The independence and objectivity of "truth" should be especially manifested at a period in which, to our eternal honor, the unconditional pursuit of truth is more eagerly engaged in than it ever was before, and when a profound reverence for truth is ardently professed by the leading men of each department of science, and is certainly on their lips no idle boast. There is one characteristic of truth which it will be worth our while to note: It essentially expresses the idea of a relation between two distinct things. Nothing is or can be true in itself, but only in relation to something else with which it conforms. Truth is thus one kind of conformity. The essence of all truth is "likeness." But what is "conformity" or "likeness"? We can only reply that such words express an ultimate idea which can neither be defined nor explained. The terms "likeness" and "unlikeness" express so simple a perception that reasoning or exposition would be thrown away on any one who could not understand them. It is plain that everything cannot be explained. However we may reason, we must at last come to what, as simple and ultimate, carries its own meaning and evidence with it. On such ideas all reasoning

reposes, and the idea of "likeness," which is the essence of "truth," is one of such.

Let us next consider the "goodness" of things we call "good." The words are often used to denote a relation of correspondence between some object or action and its proper or intended end. When we call either a knife, a gun, a horse or a coat "good," we mean that it is well adapted to serve the purposes for which it was intended. We may use it similarly with respect to a race-horse, a baker, a judge, or a bishop. Nevertheless, a little consideration serves to show that this use of the term does not bring us to the foundation of the idea of "goodness." For "conformity to an end" will not make an action thoroughly "good" unless the end aimed at is itself good and agreeable to duty—unless by conforming to it we "follow the right order." But, we may ask, "why should we conform to duty?" Why should we follow the right order? To this there is no answer possible but that "it is right to do so." It may perhaps be replied, "the right order should be followed because it is our interest to follow it." But any one who should so reply must either mean that "it is always right to follow our interest because it is our *interest*," which would be to abandon the idea of duty altogether; or else mean that "we should follow our interest not because it is our interest, but because it is *right*," and so affirm the very ethical principle which he set out with the intention of denying. If we know with certainty that any definite line of action is "right," the proposition which declares it to be right must either be self-evident or must be deduced from other propositions as to what is right, one of which at least must be self-evident. Otherwise, it would be impossible for us to infer that anything is right, since all processes of proof must stop somewhere. As Mr. Arthur Balfour has pointed out,¹ it is then simply indisputable that the basis of every ethical maxim must itself be ethical. It thus becomes clear that the idea of "goodness" is, like that of likeness (the essence of "truth"), something ultimate, absolute, and incapable of analysis. Objects which duly serve the end for which they are intended are fitly spoken of as being "good," for they are good in a certain way and in a subordinate degree, and may thus be so termed by analogy with true and real goodness.

Is it possible for us to form any conception of objective goodness altogether apart from human actions or human thoughts—except so far as they may recognize it? Some religious persons will probably say that the "goodness" of anything depends upon the will of God—that that is right which He commands because

¹ See "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt," p. 337. Macmillan. 1879.

He commands it. But in our perceptions of duty and moral obligation we recognize that it addresses conscience with an essentially absolute and unconditional imperativeness. No good man could consent to perform an ungrateful action, seen by him to be such, even in obedience to the behest of an omnipotent being. We must approve and admire Mill's declaration, that he would rather incur eternal torment than call a bad god "good," however much we may distrust our own power of enduring even a temporal martyrdom. But if "goodness" cannot be dependent even on the will of God, if the commands of conscience are absolute and supreme, if it is impossible even to conceive an evasion of its universal and unconditional authority, then the ethical principle must be rooted, as it were, within the inmost heart, in the very foundation, so to speak, of the great whole of existence which it pervades. The principles of the moral law must be at least as extensive and enduring as are those starry heavens which shared with it the profound reverence of Kant.

The absolute, necessary and universal character of the moral law is expressed by that dictum of theologians which declares that it pertains not to God's "will," but to His "essence." The phrase may seem obscure, or even unmeaning, to some persons to whom it may be new, but we must confess that we have met with no other expression which so well conveys to us the profoundest possible conception of the fundamental and supreme character of the ethical principle. The goodness of actions is evidently twofold: They may be "good" in themselves as actions, and "good" as being done with a good intention by those who perform them. Thus "goodness," like "truth," must be both subjective and objective. It is subjective when regarded as a quality of the mind of any one entertaining a good intention. It is objective regarded as that quality of an object or action whereby it conforms, in its degree, to the eternal law of right which manifests itself to our intellect as inherent in the universe since it is inherent in us.

"Goodness," like "truth," essentially implies a relation. As nothing can be true save by its conformity, or likeness, to something else, so nothing within our powers of observation or imagination can be "good" save by its harmony with an eternal law by concordance with which it "follows the right order."

Thus everything which exists, in so far as it exists and so follows the law of its being, must be more or less "good." If by defect it deviates from a higher good, it thereby becomes a more or less good thing of an inferior order—as a marble statue broken into fragments ceases to be good as a statue, and becomes so many pieces of marble good in their degree and apt for various inferior ends.

Armed with these reflections about "truth" and "goodness," let us next consider the objectivity of "beauty." As before said, we actually possess the ideas of "beauty" and the "beautiful," whatever may be the mode in which we have come by them. Unlike the lower animals, we are not only attracted by what is charming, but we can recognize both the fact of being charmed and the qualities which charm us. Putting aside for the moment objects which attract some persons and repel others, or which are admired here and there according to the fashion of the day, let us consider some objects to which almost all normally constituted members of civilized communities would agree in ascribing some beauty and charm. Taking visible beauty as a starting point, the objects which manifest it to us are sea, land and sky as viewed by night and day, the animal and vegetable products of the earth, man and his works. The aspects of these objects change for us according to circumstances, amongst which must be reckoned the emotions or ideas which may happen to dominate in us at the time. Nevertheless, we think it must be admitted that whatever of these things strikes us as pre-eminently beautiful is regarded by us as approaching perfection of its kind. Such an object must certainly not convey to us a notion of discord, deficiency or redundancy amongst its parts or attributes.

Beauty as apprehended by the ear is eminently a harmony, and is the more beautiful according as that harmony approaches perfection. The beauty of even simple notes of sweetness is, we now know, due to "*timbre*"—which is a special and, as it were, minute kind of harmony. The same thing may be said of the charm of certain human voices, though we may also have an additional charm from the perfection with which they exhibit some shade of character, or give expression to some dominant emotion. The senses of taste and smell may give us very pleasant impressions, which so far may be said to possess a certain kind of beauty; but it is only when objects convey to us the notion of a more or less harmonious and perfect blending of savors and of odors, or of these combined, that they ordinarily arouse in us a perception of the kind. The sense of touch, combined with feelings of muscular effort and tension, may inform us of various beauties which are ordinarily apprehended by the eye; and this is emphatically the case with the blind. Feelings such as those of a most excellently polished surface, or of a perfection of delicate softness—like that of the fur of the chinchilla—may give rise to qualitative perceptions which we express by the terms "beautifully smooth" or "beautifully soft."

But apart from sensuous perceptions, the intellect very keenly apprehends beauty of character and action—moral beauty. As to such beauty it will not be disputed, but that those acts and char-

acters in which it is most apparent are deemed by us to most nearly approximate to our notions of perfection. The same may be said of the intellectual beauty of a discourse, a poem or a problem. Whichever of such things may strike us as being the most beautiful, is that which most nearly agrees with our idea and ideal of perfection according to its kind. We have used the terms "idea" and "ideal" advisedly, for objects we admire seldom entirely satisfy us. We can conceive of an ideal beauty beyond them. Our perceptions of beauty, though aroused by the impressions of external objects, are not contained within them, but, like the rest of our higher apprehensions, are the result of our intellectual faculty which attains through sensitivity that which is altogether beyond sensitivity—like the ideas of being, possibility, necessity and cause.

From the foregoing brief review of the objects which excite our admiration, it results that our intellectual apprehension of beauty may to a certain extent be explained as a perception of ideal perfection realized, or of an approximation thereto. But this explanation may be deemed by some persons as not altogether satisfactory and final, because just as it may be asked: "What is the goodness of following the right order?" so also it may be asked: "What is the beauty of perfection?" But to this question there is, we believe, no reply but that perfection is beautiful, and if this be so then it must be admitted that the idea of "beauty," like each of the ideas of "the good" and "the true," is an ultimate idea which is capable of apprehension, but not of analysis.

Beauty also, like goodness and truth, must be both subjective and objective. It is subjective, regarded as a quality perceived by our own mind; and objective, regarded as an intrinsic quality whereby anything approximates to perfection according to its kind and degree of being.

But there is one great difference whereby "beauty" differs from both "truth" and "goodness." The latter qualities are, as we have seen, predicates of objects only on account of relations they bear to something else, but "beauty" is essentially intrinsic and relates, at least primarily, to a thing considered in and by itself, and the relations it implies are internal relations.

When anything is said to be beautiful on account of its fitness to serve some end, the word is, as we have seen, but used analogically, since what is thereby really denoted is not beauty, but utility or analogical goodness of a certain kind.

The beauty of a race-horse differs from that of a perfect horse of the strongest and most massive build, as that of a spaniel differs from a dog of the St. Bernard breed. The qualities which accompany such different kinds of beauty may be, and often are, related to utility. It is not, however, their utility, but the perfection with

which they respectively correspond with an ideal of a certain kind, which makes them beautiful. Nevertheless, an object may have a certain relative beauty in that it augments, or is augmented by, the beauty of some other object. Thus a picturesque castle may derive additional beauty from its situation on some mountain side or summit. Or a mountain may derive an added beauty from the castle which clings to its steep sides or is artistically perched upon its crest.

Can we form any conception of objective beauty altogether apart from human feelings? If the beauty of any being is the same thing as its perfection, then, evidently, those who are convinced that, upholding and pervading the universe (even if that universe be eternal), there is and must be an Eternal Cause—or Power the author of all objects which exist, their powers and therefore their perfections—must affirm the existence of such supreme perfection or beauty. The Author of all perfection cannot be deemed to be Himself imperfect. Of such a Being perfection, and therefore beauty, must not only be eminently the attribute, but that Being must be the prototype of all beauty. "Beauty," like "goodness," must be of His essence, and the "truth" of all things, as we have seen, also depends on His essence and power. Thus power, beauty, truth and goodness are most closely inter-related. For that which is most good must be perfect of its kind, and therefore true; that which is perfect must be good and must also be true, as responding to the end of its being; and that which is true must be perfect in the way just mentioned, and therefore also good. Yet beauty, goodness and truth are not identical. They are, at the least, three aspects of one ineffable whole, and form, so to speak, a sort of trinity in unity, whereof "power" may be regarded as fundamental, while "the good" and "the true," as each essentially implying an extrinsic relation, may be said, as it were, to proceed from "beauty" being the attribute of the whole with its ineffable internal relations:

All the various perfections, all the beauties material, intellectual and moral of the whole creation, and whatever man most admires or aspires after, as well as what he is least capable of appreciating the beauty of, must, like all that is good and all that is true in the universe, be reflected and derived from the Prototype of all perfection and of all goodness. The beauty of objects must also vary in degree, according as the perfection to which they severally approximate resembles, by a more or less immeasurably distant analogy, the perfection of their First Cause. Since, again, everything which exists more or less approaches a perfection of some kind or order of existence, everything which exists must have a beauty of its kind and in its degree, just as it must be more or less good. But if

everything is thus more or less beautiful, wherein does ugliness consist?

Evidently it can have no positive existence, and can be but a defect and negation—as “coldness” is but a deficiency of “warmth.” Therefore, nothing can be simply ugly in itself, but only in relation to something else, and it may be very ugly in relation to something else. For as one thing may, as we have seen, gain beauty by augmenting the beauty of another object, so a thing which is even perfect of its kind, and therefore beautiful in its degree, may be relatively ugly through the injury it inflicts or the destruction it occasions to the beauty of something of a nobler and higher kind which it, by its existence, deforms from perfection or tends to destroy. Thus, a perfectly developed cancerous growth has and must have a beauty of its own very inferior order—a beauty which the biologist and pathologist can appreciate. It is none the less relatively hideous as marring the beauty of a human body, and it may be even deforming the moral beauty of a mind.

We are blinded to the real objective beauty of many objects by the fact that they are essentially hurtful to us. To take an extreme case, no man led out to die, however serene in mind, could be expected to appreciate the perfection of the instrument prepared for his execution, however perfect of its kind that instrument might be. But his want of appreciation would not make its objective perfection any the less.

We are often also blinded to the beauty of natural objects, or of their modes of action, by reason of our inveterate tendency to anthropomorphism; that is, to regard things exclusively from a human point of view. We often feel disgust or horror at objects and actions, or even regard them with a sort of fierce reprobation, because of an unconscious association of them with analogous imaginary human actions.

But the feelings which arise in us, the sentiments inspired by the aspect of such things, are essentially human, and human only. In themselves objects so abhorred have a beauty of their own, such as we elsewhere readily recognize, though such qualities are disguised from us in them by our human prejudices. It is surely quite conceivable that a pure spirit, uninfluenced by human sensibility, would recognize such beauty, and might, so to speak, smile at the childishness of the notion that there could be anything unlovely in what to us men causes feelings of repulsion. Anthropomorphism necessarily attends all our conceptions. We cannot help regarding things with human eyes and prejudices. But our reason should make us aware of this, and teach us to make due allowance for it in our estimate of all things, however high or however low.

Let us now try and see what light the foregoing considerations

may throw upon the questions of the existence and origin of differences of taste and changes in the appreciation of the beautiful. To like, and feel attracted towards, objects is one thing, but to perceive their beauty is another and a very different thing. The perception of beauty and perfection is an act of the higher and purely intellectual side of our nature. Feelings of attraction and repulsion, likes and dislikes (apart from acts of judgment), belong to the lower or sensitive side of our nature—the side we share with the brutes about us.

The faculty of apprehending beauty is a power which may be greatly increased by culture. Brutes have, as before said, no perception of it, however much they may be attracted by it, and the faculty is rudimentary or dormant in the lowest savages and very young children. For the beauty of a *nocturne* by Chopin, or a landscape by Turner, the average boor has, as we say, "no ears or eyes." The picturesqueness and majesty of such cathedrals as those of Lincoln or Bourges may indeed strike the imagination of the ignorant; but only those versed in architecture can appreciate their true beauty and their approximation to one kind of architectural perfection. It is the same with the contemplation of natural objects. Though some uncultivated minds are strongly impressed by their charms, education is generally needed for their due appreciation. We have an example of such need in that admiration for the beauty of a serpent which a full knowledge of its organization may give rise to, dissipating the natural but irrational distaste or horror which may before have been felt for it. Among the many processes of evolution which take place around us, few are more noteworthy than that evolution of perceptions of beauty which, generally unnoticed, is continually taking place. Progress in culture also calls forth more and more agreement as to perceptions of the kind both as regards the region of art and the domain of nature. Admiration for the beauty of rugged mountain masses is a modern development of taste. But in addition to the æsthetic beauties now discovered to exist in scenes which before were deemed savage and horrible, the advance of science has given to the geologist the power of perceiving harmonies previously undreamed of. Thus the study of nature gradually makes known to us new fields of beauty which ignorance had before hidden from our gaze. The evolution of the cosmos progressively reveals to us ever new ideals, and doubtless forms and modes of beauty which no man now suspects the existence of, yet lie hidden and will only be made known to those who shall come after us.

All these forms of perception belong, as we have said, to the higher side of our being. We must next glance at the tastes and preferences of our animal nature and the conditions which modify

and change them. To begin with an unquestionable fact : We may all have our likings and dislikings for certain feelings, and be attracted or repelled by the odor, savor, contact, sound, or aspect of many things, without having a distinct perception of any real beauty in them. Such preferences or aversions, such feelings of attraction or repulsion, may be due in us, as in brutes, to the action of heredity (inherited tendencies), to the association of feelings experienced in early life, or to the action upon us of our environment and the contagiousness of custom. This association has very naturally induced in mankind, as in some other animals, that horror of serpents, just referred to, the bite of which still causes annually so many thousand deaths in India alone. It is also, to say the least, probable that this distaste may be inherited in us, as is so often the case with the congenital aversions of the lower animals. There are persons (some such have been known to us) whose reason has been quite unable to overcome aversions of the kind which they have felt from their earliest infancy. The action of our environment—the general feeling of the family, the tribe, or the nation—notoriously gives rise to likes and dislikes altogether distinct from intellectual apprehensions of beauty, whether moral or physical. Thus may be explained the preferences which exist for various bodily deformities amongst different peoples, such as Botacudos, Peruvians, Chinese, and even ourselves. Such aberrations are the effects of custom, and are felt as welcome and agreeable by different tribes, just as a tall hat and a correctly cut coat are agreeable in the eyes of English people of a certain social position, as harmonizing with what is expected and producing a sense of fitness, although no one would pretend that it is due to a perception of the realization of a high ideal of beauty by the hat or coat so approved of.

But no doubt some persons really think they see beauty in what to more cultured minds is distasteful, while others are blind to the perfections which are evident to those more qualified to judge. There seems thus to be an absence of certainty as to the beautiful, not merely through an occasional defect of power to appreciate it, but also through a tendency to appreciate the beauty of some objects far too highly. Thus there sometimes seems to be an active and positive tendency to error, as well as an occasional passive inability to perceive. How can these divergent erroneous tendencies be accounted for?

The solution of this difficulty appears to us to lie in a correct appreciation of the essential unity of the human personality—a unity of which consciousness and common sense combine to assure us, instant by instant. No sane man doubts that he is the same person who is, at the same time, both appreciating the charm of an eloquent discourse and also feeling a pain in some limb or a

current of air disagreeably affecting him. We must ever recollect that the being of each of us, though consisting of two natures, is a perfect unity. It follows from this that, in our every vital energy, both natures are present, and act and react on each other in a variety of ways—our animality limiting and soliciting our intellect, and our intellect overflowing, as it were, and more or less transforming the feelings of our animal nature.

Even the most abstract conceptions cannot be present to our minds, without being accompanied by some symbol actually perceived by the senses or revived by the memory of the imagination—even though that symbol be but a written or spoken word or a voiceless gesture. On the other hand, a dim, intellectual consciousness of our existence and of such ideas as being, truth and causation (however little such ideas may be reflected on and recognized), accompanies the mere exercise of our faculty of sensuous cognition, and even such merely animal acts as those of eating and drinking.

Thus, as even our purest and most exalted perceptions of beauty must be ministered to and accompanied by feelings and sense-perceptions which are indispensable to all the intellectual acts of our complex unity, so our mere feelings of liking and attraction are the feelings of an essentially intellectual being, and are, therefore, more or less consciously possessed by us. This accompaniment of intellectual consciousness causes them to possess a certain resemblance to intellectual perceptions of beauty, because it enables such mere feelings to be reflected upon and intellectually recognized.

These considerations, we think, suffice to account for all the varieties of tastes and feelings which exist amongst mankind, and to show that their existence in no way conflicts with that of a real, objective beauty in the cosmos as a whole and in every part of it. They account for the mixing up, with our intellectual perceptions of beauty, of sensuous likings which may be keenly or but slightly felt, but which mar the distinctness of each such intellectual perception, as a perception of abstract beauty. They also account for the mixing up of a tendency to find more beauty than they merit in things which give us sensuous impressions delightful to our feelings, and which attract our lower nature, however little we may allow them to be of any high order of beauty when our judgment is fully exercised in their regard.

Those persons who may be inclined to wonder unduly at the undoubted fact that so many men should be attracted by, and feel a preference for, objects and actions which are repulsive to the æsthete or to those zealous for moral perfection, should recollect that everything has a beauty of its kind and in its degree.

As men always seek a good, though not by any means the highest good, so whatever attracts them, attracts them by a beauty of some kind, though by yielding to its attraction they may be diverted from seeking some far nobler and higher beauty.

It is impossible to deny that even the lowest "goods" are "good" in their degree, or that the lower forms of beauty are beautiful after their inferior kind. A murderer who cuts a throat commits, of course, a most wicked act, but all the positive elements of that, save his defective will, are "good." "Good" is the sharpness of the well-tempered knife, "good" is the vigor of the muscular arms which do the deed, and "good" are the arterial contractions which force outwards the lethal stream. So, also, there is a real, however inferior, absolute beauty in the objects which attract our most animal appetites, and in the actions to which even the lowest natures amongst us are thereby induced; though, like the cancerous growths before referred to, they may be, relatively, revolting and hideous, on account of the deflections from nobler beauties of feeling and of will which such attractions may induce and occasion. We should be as unwise as unjust did we deny to Circe and Aphrodite, to Dionysius and Adonis, their beauty and their charms; but our unwisdom and injustice would be much greater did we not recognize the nobler attractions of Athene and Artemis, Phœbus and Zeuspatēr. More unjust still should we be if we did not own the ethical inferiority of the whole Greek and Roman Pantheon, compared with those later ideals of the "Heavenly Sophia" and the "Divine Logos," which prepared men's minds for that supreme conception of human perfection and absolute goodness to which the ages have made us heir. However divergent may be men's theological beliefs, all must admit that the Founder of Christianity proclaimed, far more fully than did the noblest of the antecedent seers of Israel, the Fatherhood of a God—at once the type and exemplar of all goodness and of all beauty.

That man should be able to turn away from his very chosen ideal and follow what even in his own eyes is immeasurably less lovely, is the sad penalty of his unique privilege of freedom. That he should be able to diverge from what he himself clearly perceives to be "the right order," far more widely than brutes do which, nevertheless, have no perception of the kind, is the penalty of his possessing intellect combined in one personality with an unequivocally animal nature. As he is free to direct his activity along elevated ways which are necessarily inaccessible to the brute creation, so, also, it is his very possession of intellect which enables him to direct his imagination and his actions into more devious paths than the feelings of brutes would lead them to enter upon.

To sum up shortly what we have here endeavored to express:

We think it may be confidently affirmed, that such a being as man, replete with animal feelings and desires, and dim, unconscious memories of ancestral brute experiences, but with an intellect endowed with a perception of truth, goodness, and beauty, would hardly fail to show, in his tastes and perceptions, just those mingled and more or less discordant and varying mental phenomena which we find mankind do exhibit. We find, in fact, just those facts and conditions of thought and feeling which the theory of evolution would lead us to expect. We find what that theory would lead us to anticipate when it is applied, not only to explain the genesis of our animal nature, but also the perfecting and development of that intellectual nature of ours which, ages before the twilight of history, first made its unnoticed and mysterious appearance in the world. Underlying or accompanying the multifarious and conflicting changes of taste and feeling due to heredity, association and environment, we find that progressively clearing perceptions of true beauty have been gained, the manifestation of beauty in fields where it was before invisible having again and again taken place for us through the progressive development of our faculties by culture. But these perceptions ever tend to be obscured, and are almost always more or less disguised for us by the effects of our animal organization and prehuman antecedents.

This, then, is why tastes differ. They differ because we human, intellectual animals vary as to the peculiar influences we have received from parents, family and tribe, from the diverse associations of feelings to which we have been severally exposed, and from the action upon us of the tastes and feelings of our friends and fellow tribesmen. As to such matters of mere feeling, there will probably ever be a wide divergence of tastes.

On the other hand, we agree largely as to our intellectual perceptions of beauty, and we tend to agree more and more, because of our possession of an intellectual nature, which is fundamentally one and the same in all men, and has the power of perceiving, more or less imperfectly, objective "beauty" as well as "truth" and "goodness." Education will enable us, and above all religious education, to emerge, by more and more successful struggles, from the obscuring influences of animality towards as clear a vision of these highest qualities as may be possible for the future of our race in this world, and for ourselves individually in that life in a world to come which the Church sets before us, and about which even unbelievers, though they may with truth say they have necessarily no power to imagine it, yet must admit that reason by no means forbids their entertaining a fruitful hope.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SYRIAC OFFICE.

Officium Feriale juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Syrorum Maronitarum, Innocentii X., Pont. Max., jussu editum, denuo typis excussum regnante Pio VIII. Editio Tertia.¹ Romæ, ex typographia Sac. Cong. de Propaganda Fide, 1830.

Idem denuo typis excussum regnante Pio IX. Pont. Opt. Max. Editio Quinta. Ibid., iisdem typis, 1863.

Officium Feriale, juxta ritum Ecclesiæ (Antiochenæ) Syrorum, S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide jussu editum. Romæ, 1853 (iisdem typis).

Breviarium Chaldaicum in usum nationis Chaldaicæ a Josepho Guriel. Secundo Editum. Romæ: Typis Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide, 1865.

IT is not necessary here, nor is it our intention, to go into a full explanation of the liturgical elements and structure of the Breviary used by the clergy of the Syrian Church.² Its substance comes down to us from the earliest times, and bears ample witness to the great body of Catholic truth handed down from the Apostles to their successors. And, strange to say, nowhere is the testimony stronger than on those distinctive points in which it has pleased the modern heresies of Europe to reject, as opposed to the Bible, the Apostolic teaching of primitive Christianity. Among these are the infallibility of the Church, the Sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance, the honor paid to the Cross, to the Mother of God, to the Saints and their relics, prayers for the faithful departed, etc. So true is this that when a considerable portion of the Syrian Church abandoned the heresy of Eutyches and became once more orthodox, they were able to retain their Breviary unchanged, merely wiping out a few, very few, stains of Eutychian error, and these for the most part not doctrinal statements, but loose or ill-defined expressions and references to mis-called Doctors and Saints, who had lived and died outside of Catholic communion.

¹ The first edition was printed in Rome about the middle of the 17th century (between 1650 and 1655). The second edition was printed in the same place in 1787. Of the fourth we have never seen a copy. The first was used by Castell in the Dictionary to his Polyglot Bible. That it had no vowel points is evident from the way in which he explains the imaginary word *gumio* "fons, puteus," and quotes Off. Mar., p. 473. The true reading (as may be seen in the edition of 1863, p. 459, line 16) is *men gau majo*, "from the midst of the waters" (of baptism). The edition of 1830 is used by Payne Smith in his Thesaurus, of which about two-thirds has been published, seven letters yet remaining to complete the alphabet.

² This has been done already in the pages of the REVIEW. See vol. iii. (1878), pp. 327-354.

The Eutychian heresy did not gain much of a foothold among Syrian Christians until about forty years after the Council of Chalcedon. Xenaïas, Bishop of Mabug (or Hierapolis), who was consecrated in 488, propagated his false doctrine for more than thirty years quite successfully by imperial favor and under cover of defending the Catholic faith against Nestorianism. His wicked work was continued so skilfully by James (or Jacob) Baradæus that he fastened his own name upon the adherents of the new doctrine and perverted many in Mesopotamia and eastern Syria. He was, for some thirty-seven years, Bishop of Edessa, or rather, as his admirer, Barhebræus, acknowledges, a Bishop without a See, commissioned by no lawful authority, but sent by his fellow-heretics of Constantinople to be general superintendent of the Eutychians in Syria, Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries, and having probably his headquarters in Edessa.¹ The unholy work of Xenaïas and Baradæus was completed during the desolation of Mohammedan rule, which made it impossible for the Holy See to exert its influence over that distant Church. The return of many of these heretics to Catholic unity began at the time of the Council of Florence under Eugene IV., in 1438. The first step having been once taken, their numbers began to grow, and the gradual accession of converts has continued to the present. The first-fruits of conversion from Nestorianism were gathered a century later, about the time of the Council of Trent; and the illustrious John Sulaka, who was consecrated by Pope Julius III., and who heads the list of recent Patriarchs in communion with Rome, attested the sincerity of his faith by martyrdom.² Two of his predecessors³ are mentioned as having written to Innocent IV. and Benedict XI., respectively, to solicit communion, but with what result is not stated. Their professions of faith may not have been satisfactory, or perhaps they were not sincere, and wished to retain Nestorian error while in communion with Rome. This was the case with some of their successors, as Elias V. in the days of Gregory XIII., and Hurmez (Hormisdas) in 1781 under Pius VI.⁴

The liturgical books of the Jacobites, as has been already said, were without any difficulty restored to their original purity. Those of the Nestorians needed sharper revision. They had been scattered over such a large territory, Syria, Chaldea, even China and India, that many errors, changes and even wide differences must

¹ This roving commission is disguised under the high-sounding title of Œcumenical Archbishop (*mitropolitō Tibełoyō*). Barhebræi *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*. Ediderunt et illustrarunt. . . . J. B. Abbeloos et Thomas I. Lamy. Lovanii, 1872. Vol. i., col. 216.

² See his life in Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Romæ, 1719. Tom. i., p. 523.

³ Machica in 1247 and Iabalaha in 1304. See Guriel, in *Chronotaxis Patriarch. Chaldeor.* Rom., 1860, p. 188.

⁴ Guriel, *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 210.

have crept into both Mass and Divine office, especially when we consider that, at one time, these heretics were seized with a mania for composing new liturgical books.¹ Add to this, that the distinctive teaching of Nestorius, by attributing to Christ our Lord a twofold personality, does away with the mystery of the Incarnation, and destroys the title on which rests the veneration due to the superhuman dignity of His blessed Mother. And when one considers how largely her *cultus* enters into the devotional portion of the Liturgy, it is readily seen what ample room there must have been for wholesome remedy and reformation in the books of the Nestorians. Yet the innate force of general tradition and the deep roots that devotion to the Blessed Virgin had taken in the minds of all, were a safeguard against wholesale corruption of the original texts, and the innocent multitude was not entirely led astray by the cunning or malice of their leaders. We have seen Nestorian hymns in praise of the Blessed Virgin, which any Catholic reader (unless he knew their origin) would find it hard to attribute to any pen but that of an orthodox poet.

How precious is the testimony given by these separated Churches in the liturgy they carried out with them when taking leave of the Universal Church and have retained, though sunk in schism, heresy and the darkest ignorance, for the last fourteen hundred years, or, say the eleven centuries that elapsed between Nestorius and Luther. Its value consists in this, that it is an echo loud and clear, of what the Universal Church believed and how she felt and spoke, while all her children were yet of one mind; before intellectual pride and headstrong will had led any of them to deny their mother, abandon her house, and set up altar against altar. Besides, prayer has an intrinsic value of its own. It is no formal teaching or expounding of doctrine. It is the natural effusion of the soul's devotion, when out of the fulness of the heart the mouth must speak; in other words, when the heart is overlaid with joy, sorrow, contrition, thankfulness, or other deep feeling so intense that it can be no longer restrained by the barriers of mere inner sense, but must overleap them and burst into the outward life of jubilant hymn or plaintive chant, if not in the hearing of men, at least before God and his heavenly host. But as faith is the life of the Christian soul, and as the Church comes nearest on earth to the high standard of perfection proposed by our Father in Heaven,² it is Faith that inspires her prayers, and they can breathe naught else but holiness and truth. She prays be-

¹ Assemani uses this as a critical test to determine the age in which some writers lived.

² "The just man shall live by faith," Rom. i., 17. "Be ye therefore perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect," Math. v., 48.

cause she believes, and the fervor of that prayer is in proportion to the depth and strength of her faith. Hence, from whatever she says in her prayers, however unconscious and unstudied in expression, however varied in form, whether plain and childlike in their simplicity, or poetic and noble in their triumphant array,¹ we may clearly learn the faith that prompted them. And it is in this sense that we should understand the famous saying of the holy Pope, Celestine I.: "*Legem credendi lex statuit supplicandi.*"² The doubting skeptic and the honest inquirer will feel more secure in discovering the faith of Ambrose and Leo, of Ephrem and Balæus, from what they said in prayer and song, than from what they uttered in the pulpit or discussed in learned volumes against the enemies of the Church.

Who can fail to recognize the wisdom of the Church and her Pontiffs in refusing to adopt, as a general rule, the policy recommended by the Synod of Diamper,³ that the Roman Missal should be translated into Syro-Chaldaic for the use of the Christians of Malabar? Zeal, rather than prudence, seems to have prompted those who made the suggestion. It was carried out,⁴ and, it must be feared, not with the happiest results. If there be one distinctive element in the character of Eastern Christians it is assuredly an unfounded, overweening jealousy of their Latin brethren, a blind, unreasoning fear which makes them perpetually suspect that the latter are anxious to obtrude on them, by fraud or force, the rites and discipline of the Western Church. This feeling pervades the minds of all, whether estranged from the Holy See by schism and heresy or united to it by bonds of faith and communion, and of every nationality, Greek, Syrian, Chaldean, and Armenian. And herein shines conspicuously the apostolic zeal, the wise discretion, of Leo XIII., who from the very beginning of his pontificate has done all in his power to soothe this senseless jeal-

¹ The very expression of the Breviary of Antioch: "With triumph-clad hymn (bkinto tiphat zocuto) come and praise our king." *Off. Syr.*, p. 487, 493.

² "Her form of belief is determined by her form of prayer." In other words, how the Church prays gives the clew to what she believes.

³ The synod was held in 1599 under Portuguese dominion. See Io. Facundi Raulin, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricæ cum Diamperitana Synodo . . . nunc primum e Lusitano in Latinum versa*. Romæ (Mainardi), 1745, pp. 107, 154-155, 273, 282, 408. The book is rare. The Archbishop of Goa, Don Alexius de Meniezes, presided over the synod.

⁴ "Ctob tucose w'kerione," etc., or "Order of Lessons from the Old and New Testament for the Festivals, Sundays, Commemorations and Serial days of the whole year, according to the Rite of the Chaldees of Malabar. Press of the Sacred Congregation in the blessed city of great Rome. In the year of Christ, 1844." Guriel, in his *Chronotaxis*, mentions an edition of 1767, under the auspices of the patriarch Joseph. The earliest editions seems to have been published, probably at Goa, by F. F. Francis Roz.

ousy, and give them the assurance of practical proof that he is determined to maintain inviolate the rights and usages to which they cling so fondly.

But while praising him, we must not forget the admirable prudence, the deep, motherly affection of the Roman Church, which under his predecessors allowed her children, newly gathered into the Fold from Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and Chaldea, to retain their Missals, Breviaries, *Gazas* and *Hhudras*, after purging out the old leaven of heresy sprinkled through them in successive ages by the disciples of Nestorius and Eutyches. And, as regards the followers of these two heretics in particular, since the error of the one sect is diametrically opposed to that of the other, their special partisan additions serve clearly for mutual condemnation. For the Jacobite corruptions are condemned and rejected with disdain by the Nestorian, while the former looks with horror on the sacrilegious hand that has presumed to defile the purity of the primitive text with Nestorian blasphemy. Thus both unite with the Catholic Church in condemning each other, and bear involuntary, unimpeachable testimony, not only to her doctrine of the Incarnation, but also to all other great Catholic truths, which they hand down in common with the Church of all ages.

It looks providential—not to consider it merely as the result of intellectual and moral blindness entailed by anathema—that these poor heretics, withered branches cut off from the tree of life, should have retained in their liturgical books so many expressions of belief in the indestructibility, or, what is almost synonymous, the infallibility of the Church. Our object, however, is not so much to reproduce these testimonies in favor of the True Church as to exhibit the peculiar form in which the Eastern mind conceives and presents them. The language of the Latin Breviary is dignified and stately, and represents the majesty of Rome that in God's counsel was destined ever to be the mistress of the world, Pagan and Christian. But it is often tame by the side of the Eastern office, where abound bold figure, brief but vivid phrase, dialogue, apostrophe, and other dramatic forms. Thus, for example, in the Breviary of Antioch the glorious promise of our Lord,¹ to St. Peter is not quoted from the inspired writer, but is put into the mouth of the Church as the theme of her triumphant song, "On the Rock of the household of Simon, Prince of the Disciples, answers the Church, I am built up, and I have naught to fear. The floods and storms break over me and leave me unshaken. The accursed Nestur² fought against me, and it was his

¹ Matthew xvi. 18.

² An abridged form of Nestorius, though both are used indiscriminately. In the same office (p. 127) we find Nestur with the same epithet. In like manner Abris

ruin.”¹ The text has, the Church “answereth and saith” (hnot w'emrath). This is, of course, Semitic phraseology, with which the Bible has made us familiar. Yet it is not an idle expression without meaning. It implies, if nothing else, a question or objection either likely or possible, which is met in advance. In the present case it casts aside and triumphantly defies the sneer of this cold world that seems to ask, “On what does this poor, persecuted Church base her hope of standing against the wealth and power of the princes of this world?” And the answer is: I am built on Simon Peter. Or it may be (for who can track the windings of a Syrian poet's fancy?) part of a tender dialogue between the invisible Head of the Church and His earthly spouse. “What is it, my chosen Bride, that fills thee with such confidence? I have told thee that thou art to be hated and persecuted of men, yet thy cheek is not blanched by fear, but radiant with joy and hope.” And the loving answer is, “Why should I fear, when I know Thou hast built me on the rock of Simon Peter?” That this is something more than mere conjecture will be seen by comparing it with the next quotation.

Mgr. David,² Coadjutor Bishop of Mussul, tells us that in the most ancient copies the name of *Arius* was found where now we have that of Nestorius. Nothing more likely. In the days when the Arian heresy seemed on the point of triumphing over orthodoxy, and some timid souls began almost to waver, and ask if God had hidden His face or withdrawn His helping hand from the Church, it was proper for her to reassure her followers by reiterating the divine promise and applying it to the present danger. “Fear not for me (she said); though in me you see only the ‘poor little one, tossed with tempests and without all comfort.’ I fear not Arius, nor the kings of earth who are at his back. Arius is accursed, for he has raised his impious hand against me. He is doomed to perish, but I shall ‘not be confounded, nor blush, nor be put to shame,’³ for the All-powerful hath built me on the Rock of His own choosing, Simon Peter.” And when Arius had run his wicked course, and vanished like his predecessors, Nestorius took his place and renewed the bold attempt to seduce the Christian people and overthrow the work of God's hands. Then the Syrian Church substituted his name for that of

(among the Chaldeans or Eastern Syrians Abbris for A(m)bris) is the short form of Ambrosius. See Assemani Bib. Op., Tom. III., in the list of early patriarchs at the beginning of the volume.

¹ Off. Syr., Rome, 1853, p. 409, in the Lauds (Ssaphro) of Saturday.

² Antiqua Ecclesiæ Syro-Chaldaicæ Traditio circa Petri Apostoli . . . Divinum Primatum, Auctore Josepho David Chorepiscopo Mossulensi. Romæ, 1870, p. 6.

³ Isaiah liv. 4, 11.

Arius, and cried out in the same confident strain that she feared not Nestorius nor his warfare, for she was built on the Rock, Simon Peter. And to this day the Eutychian cheerfully repeats these very words, forgetting in his blindness that what is true of Arius and Nestorius is true also of Eutyches, and of every teacher of error who hurls his puny defiance at this impregnable Rock. But does not the cultured modern champion of private judgment, who looks down with contempt on the Eutychian as ignorant and superstitious because he retains devotion to the Mother of God, read over the same promise in Scripture itself and fail to see or understand it? Both "search the Scriptures," because in them they think there is life everlasting; and both search in vain, for, like the eunuch of Queen Candace,¹ they have no one "to show them" the meaning of what they read. The difference, such as it is, must be set down in favor of the Eutychian. For he has drawn from Holy Writ but one or two errors, while the haughty scribe who scorns all interpretation but his own has fallen a prey to a score or more of glaring absurdities.

Here is another little gem from a hymn for "the dedication of churches" not yet published, but lying manuscript in the Vatican Library, and quoted by Archbishop Benni.² It is a dialogue in tetrameter verse between the Church and her Heavenly Builder:

Tell me, O Church! whereon wouldst thou have me build thee;
Shall I build thee, shall I build thee on the Sun?
Oh no, no, no! For 'tis said, and said in Scripture,
That the rays of the Sun shall be quenched.³

Tell me, O Church! whereon wouldst thou have me build thee;
Shall I build thee, shall I build thee on the Moon?
Oh no, no, no! For 'tis said, and said in Scripture,
That the Moon shall refuse to show her light.⁴

Tell me, O Church! whereon wouldst thou have me build thee;
Shall I build thee, shall I build thee on the Stars?
Oh no, no, no! For 'tis said, and said in Scripture,
That the Stars, like leaves, shall be falling from Heaven.⁵

Tell me, O Church! whereon wouldst thou have me build thee;
Shall I build thee, shall I build thee on a Rock?
Yea, Lord, yea! For 'tis said, and said in Scripture,
On the Rock will I build my Church.⁶

¹ Acts viii. 31.

² The Tradition of the Syriac Church of Antioch, by the Most Rev. Cyril Behnam Benni, Syriac Archbishop of Mossul (Ninive), London, 1871, pp. 26, 27. The Vatican Codex is number 188 among the Syriac MSS. of that Library, and contains Hymns for all the festivals of the year.

³ Joel ii. 10; Ezechiel xxxii. 7.

⁴ Mark xiii. 24 is like the Vulgate, "shall not give her light," but in Matt. xxiv. 29, to which the poet refers, the Syriac text has, "shall not show her light."

⁵ Mark xiii. 24; Matt. xxiv. 24. The word *Nar* is technical for the fall of the leaf.

⁶ Matt. xvi. 18.

The unbeliever and those who, as the Apostle says,¹ are puffed up by the sense of the flesh, or by knowledge, falsely so-called, may think these lines childish and trivial. But others will find them beautiful, and even grand, in their childlike simplicity. That Peter was not only the Prince and spokesman of the Apostles,² but the foundation of the Church, is repeated in a hundred passages of the Syriac Breviary, and is looked on as a subject of praise and thanksgiving. "Come all ye children of the Church and sing praise and thanks to Him who built His holy Church and set on Peter her foundations."³ If he bears the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, they were only "given him as a pledge."⁴ A pledge of what? Of Christ's unfailing promise to the visible Head of His Church. Faith must be preached and taught in the very words of Peter,⁵ and those Bishops and Fathers are praised who so preached and taught. They walk in the footsteps of their teachers, and tread in the path of the Apostles, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They have drunk from the blessed fountain of their Lord. In them abounds, and from them goes forth, the doctrine of Life; and they have watered the thirsty world by their teaching.⁶ Peter and the Apostles are not dead, as modern heresy vainly imagines. They live within the Church, and will live there forever. So we have been assured by Christ Himself, when He gave them their commission as teachers, with whom He was to abide to the end of the world.⁷ This is also the faith of the Syriac Church, as we see by the continuation of the passage just quoted: "Lo! the Church cries out, I am persecuted on every side. Oh, Apostles of the Son! help me by your prayers. When the Son of God ascended to Him that sent Him, He left you in me as unconquerable strongholds" (Ibid.).

How deeply the Headship, or primacy in the Church of St. Peter, was impressed on the Syriac mind, Catholic or Eutychian, and how thoroughly they looked on him as the Founder (under Christ) of the religion of the New Law, may be seen from the way in which they love to compare him with Moses, the Founder (under God) of the Jewish Church. "Moses was the Head of the Old and Peter of the New (Church or Legislation). Both are like each other, and in them God dwelt. Moses brought down the Tables of the Law; and Peter received the Keys of the Kingdom.

¹ Colos. ii. 18; I. Cor. viii. 1; I. Tim. vi. 20.

² "Head and mouth" is St. Eprem's plain form of speech, apud Assemani Bibl. Orient., Vol. I., p. 95.

³ Off. Mar. in the Sugito near the end of Lauds for Tuesday, p. 170.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 386, 283.

⁵ Off. Syr., pp. 299, 300. *Babnot Kole d' Shemhun.*

⁶ Ibid., p. 300.

⁷ Matthew xxviii. 20.

Moses built a temporary tabernacle; but Peter built the Church. To Thee be glory from the Old and the New!"¹

Besides the building of the Church on Peter in Matthew xvi. 18, another text that the Syriac Breviary loves to quote, or rather to apply in its own way to the Church, is that of Isaiah xlix. 16: "Behold! I have graven thee on the palms of my hands, and thy walls are ever before me." Though the passage reads thus substantially in both versions, the Peshito (or simple) and the Hexaplar,² yet in the Divine office the Syriac Church by a natural, though apparently bold, figure, regards the Church as built upon God's hands, since he has graven there her structure and walls in token of perpetual remembrance of His promise. Thus, in the Lauds of Thursday: "Glory be to the Strength (the Strong One) who hath built Holy Church on the palm³ of His hands, and hath established in her an Altar."⁴ And again, "Blessed be Christ Our King who hath built His Church on the palm of his hands!"⁵ Almost the same anthem is found in the Breviary of Antioch: Blessed be Christ who has built Holy Church on the palm of His hands, and has set in her as foundations the Prophets, Apostles, and holy Martyrs.⁶ And again, "Blessed art thou, O Holy Church! for the Voice of the Son (the promise uttered to Peter on the plains of Cesarea Philippi) has been made thy Keeper,⁷ and the bars of Hell shall not prevail against thee henceforth and forever. His Body He has given thee for food, and His Blood for a chalice of redemption. Oh, earth, earth! hear the word of the Lord God,⁸ who hath sworn to His Church, 'I will not loose hold of thee forevermore. Thy walls, O Church! are always before my eyes.'"⁹

The same text is used again with new imagery elsewhere in the Maronite Office: "I am thy Church, O Lord! and I am built on the palm of thy hands. Loose not thy hold of me, O Heavenly Bridegroom! for I became betrothed to Thee through the Prophets, the Apostles have signed my dowry,¹⁰ and the blessed Martyrs have thrown in (as a nuptial gift) the blood that flowed from their neck."¹¹ The nuptials of the Church with her Divine Founder are

¹ Off. Syr., p. 127. Second Kaumo or Nocturn of Monday.

² In the latter it reads as follows: "Behold! I have graven thy walls upon my hands; and thou art ever before me." Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris, . . . edidit Henricus Middeldorpf. Berolini, 1835, p. 138.

³ *Al pasat idauhi bno fidat Kudshch.*

⁴ Off. Mar., p. 291.

⁵ Ibid., p. 297. Lauds of Thursday, among anthems of Ps. cxlix.

⁶ Off. Syr., p. 168, in Vespers of Tuesday.

⁷ *Nawro*, keeper, guardian, watchman. See Gen. iv. 9 and Judges vii. 19.

⁸ In imitation of Jeremy xxii. 29.

⁹ Off. Syr., p. 169.

¹⁰ *Pismir(i)*, a word adapted from the Greek *psalm*.

¹¹ Off. Mar. in Lauds of Monday, pp. 111, 112. The "blood of their neck" is a standing form to express the beheading of the martyrs who died for Christ.

a favorite subject of the sacred Muse of Syria, and one that frequently recurs under varied forms. The wedding-feast, as they describe it, is a thing of wonder, and so they call it.¹ "The Heavenly spouse made a wonderful wedding-feast for His holy, believing Church, whom He espoused in his crucifixion. He prepared and brought to her feast glorious and holy Bridesmen.² Therein he seated the Twelve, and with them the seventy-two (disciples) as readers (*Koruyin*); and there was King David bearing his harp and singing."³ Elsewhere it is added that "each glorious guest bore a nuptial gift (*rumiuno*) for the Royal Bride. The prophets offered their sufferings, the Apostles their buffetings, the martyrs their slaying and the blood of their neck."⁴ The word *Rumiuno* (or *Rumiono*) is very appropriately rendered by Edmond Castell in his Lexicon "*Strena nuptialis*." It is a secondary or diminutive form of *rumo*, and is evidently from *Armi*, "to throw, throw in, contribute." It is a favorite word in the Syrian office, and from the blood of the martyrs, poured out in honor of Christ's Spouse, is extended to any other offering laid before His throne in her name, the sweet incense of prayer, the merits of a well spent life, etc.⁵

Like *Hhlulo* (the wedding-feast), the word *Hhduge* (friends of the Bridegroom) also has a meaning that is often enlarged by metaphor, and ranges from the *paranymph*, not only to the guests at the wedding-supper, but to all who shall be found worthy of a seat at the Heavenly Banquet. Thus, one hymn⁶ gives the name to all the dead who rose with Our Lord from His earthly sepulchre; and St. James of Sarug applies it to all priests who have died after their ministry and are awaiting the eternal reward.⁷ But, as a general rule, when the nuptials of the Church are mentioned, the word *Hhduge* is used for the twelve Apostles. Sometimes it has for synonym *Mocuro*, "desponsator," and *Shushbino*, "sodalis,

¹ *Hhlulo d'tehro*. This word seems to have been specially reserved for the sacred marriage feast, while *meshtuto*, *shoruto*, etc., though of the same meaning, are used in a profane or worldly sense.

² *Hhduge*, paranymphs, or next friends of the Bridegroom or Bride.

³ Off. Mar., p. 14, in Complin of Sunday.

⁴ Ibid., p. 411, in Lauds of Saturday.

⁵ See Off. Mar., pp. 305, 397, 250, 22, 41, 93, 227, 118, 152; and Off. Syr., pp. 48, 306.

⁶ Hymn on the Resurrection, quoted by Payne Smith in Thesaurus Ling. Syr., *sub voce* *Hhdugo*.

⁷ "The dwelling of hell has trampled on the glory of the priesthood, and has gathered into her mansions the splendor of the Deacons. Their harps are unstrung, their sweet voices of song are mute, and they lie in the mire of hell." Hell, *shiul*, means here simply the bosom of Abraham, or purgatory, where souls are purged and fitted for Heaven. Off. Syr., p. 424, in Tierce of Saturday.

conciliator nuptiarum."¹ These terms are sometimes, and with good reason,² applied *par excellence* to St. John the Baptist. Though disclaiming all other titles of praise, he called himself by that special name, the "friend of the Bridegroom," and the Church has cheerfully caught up the designation, which even his humility could not refuse. St. Ephrem³ calls him the "Paranymph" (Mocuro) of Christ and the Church, for he led to Christ as Bridegroom the first-fruits of his preaching, the infant Church. The Syriac Office gives him the same appellation:

Who can name for me the two vines,
Planted in His vineyard by Our Lord?
The wine from whose bunches of grapes
Has filled with delight all creation.

The vines are Mary and Elizabeth;
Their bunches are Christ and John,
The Bridegroom and His friend,
The Brideman of Holy Church.⁴

The medieval Latin Church and her poets, who were more conversant with every line and syllable of Holy Writ than any modern professional Scripture reader, Protestant or Catholic, can ever hope to be, though they knew nothing of Syriac and very little of Greek interpretation, concurred in giving him the same title. The grand poet, Adam of St. Victor, who till a few years ago was as unknown to Christian readers as is yet St. James of Sarug,⁵ makes,

¹ *Shushbino* is also used in the Syriac Church for the *sponsors* in Baptism. See that most rare book, "Severi Patr. Alexandr. De Ritib. Baptismi, Antuerpii (Plantini), 1572, p. 59. Its Chaldæo-Rabbinical cognate word *Shoshbena* is used in the same sense by past-canonical Jews, of Moses, who brought about the union of Israel with her spouse, Jehova, under the Old Covenant. "God was the King, and His betrothed was the people of Israel. The *Shoshbin* (or Paranymph) was Moses." SHAMOT RABBA apud Buxtorf. in Lexicon Chald. Talmud. Rabbinicum. Denuo editit, etc., Bernardus Fischerus. Lipsiæ, 1869, p. 1258.

² St. John's Gospel, iii. 29. "He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom, but the friend of the Bridegroom, who standeth and heareth Him, rejoiceth with joy because of the Bridegroom's voice. This, my joy, therefore, is fulfilled."

³ S. P. M. Ephræmi Opera Omnia, ed. Petri Benedicti (the Maronite Jesuit Amba-rachi), S. I. Romæ, 1740, tom. II., p. 492.

⁴ Heptameter anthem from the Syriac Office of Antioch, p. 413, in the Lauds of Saturday. The author is not mentioned, but the metre is that of St. Ephrem.

⁵ It is a shame that the works of St. James of Sarug, in poetry and prose, have thus far not been collected and published. They would be a valuable addition to Syriac and Catholic literature. The Vatican Library and the British Museum superabound in material for such a collection. We do not expect such a work from those lazy, elegant, Catholic scholars who, sitting under the shadow of the Vatican and its treasures, can only find time to regale the European public with learned dissertations on the wor-ship of Isis and Mithras, or on the shoes, sandals, myrrhine vases and scenic spectacles of the old Romans. But we do expect it from a Catholic land whose scholarship, like its temperature, is fresher, higher, less Pagan. Louvain has already given us the vindication of the orthodoxy of James of Sarug. And it is to the Lamys, Abbe-looses and others of that University that we must look for the completion of the good work.

it is true, the same application, as does the Syriac and Greek Church, of *paranymp̄hi* to the Twelve.

Paranymp̄hi novæ Legis
Ad amplexum novi Regis
Sponsam ducunt regiam.¹

But this is because the hymn he writes is in praise of the Twelve Apostles, and we feel sure that when he wrote in honor of the Baptist he cannot have forgotten what the Saint said of himself. One of his contemporaries calls St. John *Sponsi sponsum*,² meaning thereby *Sponsi pronubum* or *paranymp̄lum*; and another begins a Sapphic hymn for the feast of his Decollation (29th of August) with the words:

Præco præclarus, sacer et propheta,
Regis æterni paranymp̄us almi.³

Enough has been said to show what the Syrian Church, as represented by her Liturgy, thinks of the Church Catholic and of the Rock on which, built by her Divine Architect, she bids defiance to all assaults of fallen angels and evil men. But we would call attention to another feature of her prayers, which proves how thoroughly she is imbued with the Catholic spirit, and how no apparent exuberance of poetic feeling ever makes her lose sight of sound theological principle. She believes firmly that the Church built on St. Peter can never teach error, never fade away or perish, because this is vouched for by God Himself, whose word cannot be made void by any effort of Hell or earth. But she thinks herself bound none the less eagerly and ardently to pray and urge with assiduous supplication that He forget not His word, but keep it and make good His promise. Hear how she prays once every week in the Lauds of Thursday. After commemorating the blessings of the Incarnation and Redemption, she continues:

Thou didst raise up on earth a Holy Church,
Patterned after the One above in the Kingdom;
Thou didst plant her in mercy and perfect her in love,
The typical Bride, made Thine in Thy Passion.

Lo! the Hater of men now troubleth her
Through his servants so wicked and bold:
O Lord! neglect not Thy Holy Church,
Nor let Thy promise prove deceitful!

¹ Apud Trench, Latin Sacred Poetry. London, 1874, p. 205. We have not been able to consult Gautier's collection of Adam's Works.

² Postills, Sequences and Hymns collected and explained by the Abbot Guillelmus, printed at Cologne (in Sancta Colonia) by Henry Quentel, 1500, fol. lxxxiv. of the Sequences.

³ Ibid., fol. lxxiii. of the Hymns.

Let not her fair beauty be blackened,
 Nor her great riches become poverty;
 Make good Thy promise once given to Peter,
 And seal by deed what Thou didst say by word!

Strengthen her gates and make solid her bulwarks!
 Lift up her horn and raise up her head!
 Bless her children, etc.¹

Assemani² seems to intimate that this hymn was actually composed by a Nestorian bishop, George of Nisibis, surnamed Hymnographus or the Hymn-writer. He may have been a heretic, but when the traditional idea of Peter and his unconquerable Church became uppermost in his mind, the power of truth was too much for consistency. By adopting the hymn the Syrian Church has made it her own, and it is unquestionably Catholic. By praying in this way the Church and her children betray no doubt or fear that God is unwilling or unable to carry out His promises. It is only the language of love reminding Him of what He has said, and urging Him, with pious, affectionate importunity, to hasten its fulfilment. It is the language of the Old Testament, ever in the heart and on the lips of those who were chosen to deliver the oracles of God in song or prophecy.

And this reminds us of something which may be opportunely mentioned here. Many of us (very many, indeed, among those on whom years have grown) may remember how we were accustomed to lisp in earliest years the beautiful words of Archbishop Carroll's prayer that was recited all over the country before the celebration of the Divine Mysteries on Sunday and holyday throughout the year. The prayer came to be gradually disused in the North and West; but in the Southern States it was faithfully retained, and was looked on as an indispensable part of the Sunday function, almost like the priest's sacred vesture or sermon for the day. How this magnificent prayer of the great American patriarch came to be disregarded and dropped is a mystery. We have heard an explanation, and from a Kentucky prelate, that is almost as much of a puzzle as that which it sought to explain.

It is this: In one of the first paragraphs of the prayer God is besought to preserve the works of His mercy, and these words are added: "That Thy Church being spread through the whole world may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy name." This, though a very sound form of words, seems to have given offence to some who had more piety than judgment. They thought that it was quietly sapping the foundations of the Church and her indefectibility, to hint that God should be called on to keep unchanged her faith and teaching of revealed doctrine.

¹ Off. Mar., p. 299.

² Bibl. Orient., vol. iii. *sub* Georgius Hymnographus,

Does God make promises, they exclaimed with pious horror, that He does not intend to keep, unless forced to it by constant supplication? Is it possible for Him to forsake His chosen spouse and cast her away like those wantons who usurp her name? But though the Church herself—they added with grave shaking of the theological head—cannot change her faith, her children individually may. Hence, of their charity, they amended his incautious language by changing the words as follows:

... "that, Thy Church being spread through the world, its members may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy name."

And thus, wise in their own pious conceit, they thought they had sufficiently provided for the prelate's credit and for Catholic orthodoxy. The prayer, so amended, must yet be found in many editions. It certainly was so recited from many an altar. Others, whose orthodoxy was too stern to admit any claims of charity, it is said, gave up the use of the prayer. It is neither good nor safe to try to be wiser than the Church. The proud priest who attempts it is apt sooner or later to make shipwreck of his faith; others, who are simple-minded and mean no wrong, may yet do harm. They will certainly be led into acts of folly, which will make wiser men smile or weep. Those we speak of meant no harm by their mistake, but it does not say much for the state of theology and Liturgical science amongst us at the time. Archbishop Carroll was a thorough theologian, standing head and shoulders above his critics; and his prayer is culled from what is best and noblest in the Liturgy of the Church. Little did these good men imagine that in censuring him they were calling to account the great Leos, Gelasiuses, Gregories, and a hundred other Pontiffs of the Roman Church! The prayer objected to is a literal translation of a collect of the Roman Missal, which has been recited in the Church for centuries, and is yet recited throughout the whole world. It is the second Prayer after the Passion of Good Friday. Here is the Latin original:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriam Tuam omnibus in Christo gentibus revelasti: custodi opera misericordiæ Tuæ; ut Ecclesia Tua toto orbe diffusa, stabili fide in confessione Tui nominis perseveret. Per eundem Dominum, etc., Amen.¹

The Church is God's truth made audible to man, whether she teach by lesson or by prayer. She is not ashamed of what she utters; nor does she speak in a corner, nor with dark or doubtful phrase. She is what the Syriac Muse loves to call her, the Palace of Light and the Daughter of Day.²

¹ Missale Romanum, Mechliniæ, 1874, p. 162.

² *Birat nuhro* and *Ba(r)t imomo*. St. James of Sarug in Hymn on St. Peter, yet unpublished, in the Vatican MSS. Apud Benni, op. cit., pp. 21, 24.

THE SACERDOTAL JUBILEE OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE LEO XIII.

THE first stroke of the matin-bell on the last day of the year just closed ushered in the golden jubilee of Leo the Thirteenth's priesthood. Perhaps no event of the century has attracted so much attention, or has been celebrated with such universal rejoicing. Even before the dawn, the celebration of it had begun. The cloistered nun and the cowled monk in every religious order in the world whispered Leo's name in their prayers long before the sun of December 31st had risen, or the secular world had awoke from slumber. The breeze that rose with the sun in the distant East carried Leo's name on its pinions over the mountains, rivers, seas and continents, to savage lands and to the centres of civilization. It was spoken by the missionary in China, teaching the young catechumens the doctrines of Christ; by the preachers in the cathedral pulpits of Europe to cultured throngs of devoted Catholics, and by the poor priest in his lonely post in the far west and north of America to the devout Indian converts of California and Manitoba. The echoes of the *Te Deum* sung by nearly three hundred millions of the most civilized and enlightened portion of the human race, sung by Catholic emperors, princes, and peoples, were heard in the Vatican; and the ear of Leo could hear the cry of "Long live the Pope," spoken in every known tongue. The whole earth seemed to join in the cry. Even the infidel and the heretic rejoiced and paid homage. The potent Czar of Russia, the great Protestant Emperor of Germany, as well as the Protestant ruler of the British empire, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Shah of Persia, as well as the President of our free republic, offered their gifts; and the enlightened masses of men of every sect applauded their action. The very words of the prophet were realized: "All they from Saba shall come, bringing gold and frankincense, and showing forth praise." Even the critical press, of every shade of political opinion, with unheard-of unanimity, had nothing but words of praise and admiration for this latest Vicar of Christ.

Whence this unanimity? Why this universal homage? We are not astonished at the respect of Catholic potentates and peoples for the pontiff. It is their duty to show it, and it was expected. But how account for the encomiums of the Protestant and the schismatic, and the homage of the infidel? It is not that Leo has ever sacrificed a principle of Catholic truth, or yielded a single point of those doctrines decreed in the Councils of Trent and of

the Vatican. No ! Leo XIII. has banned, and is ever ready to ban, error and heresy as vigorously as ever his namesake, Leo X., banned the German fox of the sixteenth century who ravaged the vineyard of the Lord ; his courage in the face of emperors has been equal to that of the other Leo, who went forth from Rome to meet the "Scourge of God," in the fifth century, and turn him back in his career of conquest and spoliation. The sword of Peter may be sheathed, but it never rusts and is never broken. The Papacy may change its policy, but never its principles. The pontifical staff that Gregory VII. used to break the shackles of an enslaved Church, and to strike the simoniacal emperor down ; the power that Innocent III. employed to bring the haughty king of France to obedience to Christian law ; the vigor that Urban II. showed in summoning Europe, in the first crusade, to drive the Mus-sulman back from the tomb of the Saviour, still belong to Leo. He has sacrificed nothing. He has given up nothing. The homage of the schismatic, of the heretic, and of the infidel, is not founded on any concession made to their errors. In matters of doctrine the Papacy is always an "irreconcilable." The office is the same, whether it be filled by a Pius or a Leo. The former, surrounded by different circumstances, may fight differently, but the aim of both is the same, though their methods vary. Both work for the same end—the glory of God, the spread of the faith, the salvation of souls. When anything touches these questions, or endangers them, the weakest Pontiff is found to be as strong as the greatest. The gentle and physically weak and yielding Pius VII. proved, when the occasion required it, that he had as much courage in face of Bonaparte, the greatest soldier and conqueror of this age, as was ever shown by the mediæval giant pontiffs before the Henrys and Fredericks of Germany, the Philips of France, or the Henrys of England. The environment of Pius IX. was different from that of Leo XIII. Pius found himself in the midst of changes that were only beginning. He was the centre of aggression both from within and from without. He saw the walls of the old regimes crumbling around him ; revolutions driving out the old dynasties in France ; the Catholic empire of Austria deprived of the hegemony of Germany ; and the Teutonic peoples united under a new empire entirely Protestant and bitterly anti-Catholic. He saw the little kingdom of Sardinia, like a lammergeyer from the Alps, pouncing down upon the Italian fold, desecrating and befouling everything it touched, and swallowing up the petty principalities of the country. By the cunning of Cavour, by the piracy of a band of lawless filibusters, the rapacity of the Sardinian parliament and monarch, through the duplicity and cowardice of the

last of the Napoleons, Pius saw himself at last stripped of every portion of the temporal sovereignty that had been the apanage of the Papacy for over a thousand years. The sturdy pontiff did not yield without a struggle. He fought manfully for his rights, for the rights of the Church and of the state, for the freedom of the Papacy, which is identical with the freedom of the Church. There is true heroism in the twenty-five years of struggle of Pius's reign against injustice, robbery, and infidelity. He stands among the falling ruins, protesting against usurpation, denouncing crime and persecution, trying to stem the torrent of infidelity and invasion; always firm, always unyielding, always courageous, full of faith and trust in Divine providence, to the end the very type of the poet's description of the man—just, and tenacious of his cause, who, without fear, sees the crumbling columns fall around him.

The environment of Leo is entirely different. The venerable Pius descended to his tomb like a setting sun amid a storm of black clouds. The wreck was complete. Leo ascends the throne, and at once the dawn appears. He sees around him a series of accomplished facts; the temporal sovereignty gone, Sardinian usurpation consummated in what is called United Italy, and a great Protestant empire established as the result of successful Prussian ambition. He had had a course of long training. Having been a diplomat, he knew the intrigues of courts and the progress of modern ideas. He had watched for a long time as bishop in his quiet palace at Perugia the advance of the Italian revolution. He knew the character of its promoters and the nature of his countrymen. He was a scholar, a poet, a philosopher, a profound theologian and a great writer. He knew that whatever measures he took for the good of the Church must be for its internal as well as for its external welfare. The eye and the hand of Leo were everywhere soon felt. People around him found that they no longer had to deal with a prime minister or a deputy, but with a ruler who was his own prime minister and who would personally see that his commands were executed. Extending his view over the whole Church, he saw that the promotion of science would elevate the priesthood and so lift up the laity to a higher plane. He had been a deep student of the works of St. Thomas and recognized in him a personal university of all theological science. The works of the "Angel of the Schools" should henceforth be studied, that uniformity might be established in philosophical research and superficiality thrust out of the seminaries of learning. Leo studied the errors of the age and the dangers to civil society; and, with apostolic vigor and divine inspiration, he at once condemned the

former and warned the nations of the latter. He proved to civil rulers and their subjects that the Catholic Church is the best safeguard of peace and order, of person and of property. His encyclicals showed minorities that the only guarantee for their protection against the despotism of the State or of shifting majorities is found in the Catholic doctrine which limits their power over the individual conscience, person and property. He promoted literature; but he showed at the same time that literature without God and Christ is only a revival of paganism and a corrupter of private and public morals. His quiet but magnetic influence soon became felt over the Church and beyond her pale. He attracted the attention of scholars and *litterateurs* by his poems and letters; of philosophers and theologians by his thorough mastery of their specialties; of statesmen and all conservative thinkers by his wise lessons and profound knowledge of the wants and perils of civil society. The press, ever vigilant and often prejudiced, discussed his sayings and his writings. Those who took the pen in hand to scoff soon learned to respect him. His personality and its surroundings were studied and scrutinized. He was found to be abstemious, studious, laborious, of great personal integrity and unblemished holiness of life. The whole world, after the pause of examination, respected the man, even where bigotry or infidelity would not permit them to respect the office. It was felt that Leo was fit for his office and a worthy successor of the saintly Pius IX.

Admiration of the man was soon developed into respect for his office. He dealt firmly but courteously with the enemies of the Church. The great Protestant Chancellor who had beaten Napoleon in diplomacy and Austria and France on the field of battle, and who was fiercely trying to conquer the Catholic Church, seeing that he was engaged in a hopeless task, and further captivated by the ability and urbanity of its head, made overtures for peace to Leo the Conciliator. The *Culturkampf* ended. The great intellect of Bismarck bowed to the superior statesmanship of Leo, and became the captive of his gentleness and Christian charity. The brawny and brainy chancellor who had never before let go his grip on an enemy till he had conquered him, or on a purpose till he had achieved it, forewent his plans for the subjugation of the Church and made her head his friend and the mediator of his quarrels at home and of his difficulties with foreign powers. Then did one of the greatest foes of the Church in this century become the instrument of restoring the Papacy to an office which it held in the palmiest days of Innocent III. Bismarck saw what every clear intellect apprehends, that the stability of civil society and the interests of conservatism are safe in the hands of the Church and of

the Papacy alone. They alone stand like a stone wall before anarchism, socialism and communism. But not the great Teutonic statesman alone, not merely the governing classes whose interests are identified with conservatism, felt that the helm of supreme ecclesiastical authority was held by the hand of a master. The people, the common people, everywhere found and loved Leo as a friend and a champion. He has resisted no legitimate aspiration of any race or nation, for autonomy in government or for improvement in the scale of industrial and of material comfort. The poor overtaxed and misgoverned peasants of Italy revere him and curse the sway of the usurper that deprives them of the Pope's beneficent government. The people of Ireland especially, in their gallant fight for Home Rule, have ever found Leo their defender. In spite of repeated efforts, by English officials and powerful foes of the Irish cause, to warp the pontiff's judgment and turn him aside from sympathy with a downtrodden people, in spite of potent intrigues extending to the very precincts of the Vatican, Leo's vision has always been clear, his firmness consistent; his love for his poor and suffering children in the Island of Saints has been the mantle of their protection. Rather than please a king by injuring a woman, one Pope sacrificed the whole of England; rather than sacrifice the rights of a helpless woman, another pontiff brought on himself the wrath of the powerful king of France; Boniface VIII. excommunicated another French king for "*loading his subjects with intolerable burdens*;" all the power and intrigues of the first Napoleon could not conquer the resolution of Pius VII.; and Leo has proved himself their worthy imitator.

Such being the well-known character of this pontiff, no wonder the whole world, rich and poor, honor him. In this age of progress more than ever do all roads lead to Rome. The railroad, the steamship, and the telegraph, while aiding the material progress of the world, have also helped to bring out more strongly the evidence of the interior and exterior unity of the Catholic Church. On the occasion of this very Jubilee the blood in the human body does not more rapidly go from the heart to the extremities and return from them again to it, than did the thrill of mutual love from the Pope to the whole Church and from the whole Church to the Pope. There was but one cold spot in the whole spiritual body, one black blotch in Catholic Christendom. And how dismal it looked in contrast with the splendor and glory of the Papal celebration! How black looked the Quirinal while the Vatican was robed in light; how insignificant the petty scion of Savoy near the illuminated figure of the Vicar of Christ! While the whole world was honoring the pontiff no one thought of his unfortunate

neighbor. What an eloquent and universal protest was the Jubilee celebration against the usurpation of the Papal territory by the house of Savoy!

That usurpation must end; that spot must out. It is the only dreary fact of importance that came before Leo's mind on the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood. He would remedy the evil if he could. If conciliation or compromise were possible, he is the pontiff to make it. He is a true Italian, lover of his race and country, wishing well for her material, but above all for her spiritual prosperity. He knows that Italy can never advance with the chain of a great wrong tied to her limbs; that the ruin which overtook the house of Bonaparte for robbing the Pope will fall on the house of Savoy as the penalty for the perpetration of a similar crime. As Christ wept over Jerusalem, he weeps over Italy governed by apostates, administered by the heirs of depredators, and plundered by toll-gatherers. He knows that Providence sooner or later will avenge the wrongs done to the Church and the Papacy by the machinations of Mazzini, the cunning of Cavour, the piracy of Garibaldi and the spoliation of Victor Emmanuel. All is still dark, but Leo sees the bright lining of the cloud in the public opinion of the world expressed in the festivities of his Jubilee.

Yes, the usurpation must end! No crusade is necessary in this enlightened age save the crusade of public opinion. What the spear and the sword of the Crusaders were against wrong in an age that knew neither newspaper nor telegraph, are now the pen and the voice of truth and of sound policy. Even if the providence of God should not choose to undo the wrong as it has done before by the sword of the Catholic powers or of the heretic and of the unbeliever, public opinion will finally right it. The interests of Italy demand the restoration of the temporal power to the Pope; and the interests of the Church imperatively require it. Italy will never be a great power until she settles this question amicably. The statesmen of Italy know this; the people of Italy feel it. There is growing discontent among them. The day of infidel rule is passing way. The dormant Catholics are awakening. The peasant of Calabria and the Lombard farmer; the mountaineers of the Volscian hills and the Apennines, the shepherds of the Campagna, begin to demand liberty for the Church and freedom for the Pope. The great masses of the Italian people are loyal to the Church. They know that the glory of their race is the Papacy and its temporal power. They have gained nothing by its destruction. On the contrary, their taxes have been doubled, their faith insulted, their religion mocked by office-holding upstarts who have come down like a horde of hungry wolves from the Alps to prey on the

fertile plains of central and southern Italy. The full awakening of the Italian peasantry to the injustice of the Sardinian usurper will sound the death-knell of his tenure of the Papal territory.

But even if the honesty and self-interest of Italy should not be equal to the task of making restitution to the Pope of what has been stolen from him, the whole Catholic Church will continue to insist on it. The patrimony of St. Peter never belonged to Italy. It was held in trust for the whole Catholic Church by the supreme pontiffs. It was the guarantee of their spiritual independence. When for a time some of them unwisely left Rome to live in Avignon, misfortunes fell on the Church. The Popes of Avignon were suspected of being French satraps, and the Great Schism of the West has taught Christendom that the Pope must not be the subject of any earthly sovereign, but, as head of a universal religion not confined by national limits, must be his own absolute master even in temporal matters. A subject of the king of Sardina ruled by his laws, perhaps appointed by his intrigues, hampered by his officials, controlled by his power, might be suspected by the Catholics of other nations, and national suspicion is a powerful element in the breeding of schism and of heresy. We know, of course, that no matter to what condition the Papacy may be reduced, to the catacombs of Rome or to the jail of Fontainebleau, Divine Providence will always watch over and preserve it. But Divine Providence ordinarily works according to human methods and the freedom of the human will, and never sanctions the passive quietism of those who would remain inactive when the interests of religion are at stake. Good men must work to counteract what bad men do. In the bark of Peter every one must help to man the yards, set the sails, or take a hand at the oars when occasion demands it. The whole Church persists in demanding a restoration of the temporal sovereignty to the pontiff. Even Protestant rulers who have Catholic subjects demand it. The waves of Catholic and even of Protestant public opinion are beating on the walls of Piedmontese usurpation, and these must go down. That usurpation is to Italy a thorn in the side in time of peace, a bayonet in the rear in time of war. Not Italy, but the Catholic Church, owns the Papal territory. The institutions of Rome were founded by the Peter's pence of all nations. The generosity of Catholics outside of Italy built St. Peter's. The Quirinal is the property of the Catholic Church and not of the fox who has made it his lair. The fox must be driven out of Rome, which he has plundered and desecrated. The subjects of the Czar as well as the citizens of this free Republic demand it. The head of our Church, who has supreme spiritual jurisdiction in every land, whose office requires direct, immediate

and untrammelled action in matters of faith, of morals, of discipline, in the appointment of bishops, in the adjudication of internal disputes in the Church the whole world over, must be absolutely free and independent, not only *de facto*, but *de jure* also. No state guarantee of an Italian parliament suffices. The power that makes that guarantee to-day may destroy it to-morrow, and would be likely to do so under the impetus of an increasing radicalism. The guarantee at best is only an attempt to compound a felony. To steal the whole of the Pope's property and then to offer him a pittance in exchange for it, is a bribe offered to his independence, an insult to the dignity of his august character, a snare to entrap Catholic loyalty, a shallow attempt to induce the pontiff to condone the theft and forgive the injustice. The poet has said :

“ Not florid prose nor honeyed lies of rhyme
Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime.”

All the oratory of Depretis, all the hypocrisy of Humbert will never make men forget that the taking of Rome by his father was a violation of the law of nations, an act contrary to natural justice, an outrage on the whole Christian Church. The Popes were trustees of the patrimony of St. Peter for the whole Church. Their temporal sovereignty was conferred on them for the benefit and in the interest of the whole Church. To deprive them of it is to be guilty of grand larceny from the whole of Christendom.

Perhaps no Catholics in the world are more intensely interested in this matter than we of the United States. We feel the necessity of having a Pope absolutely independent of secular princes, having an illustration in our own confederation of States. In order to have our central administration free from State interference, we have singled out a portion of territory to be the capital of the country. The city of Washington and the lands constituting the District of Columbia are the Rome and the St. Peter's patrimony of our republic. Now, that which a free people does here for the State, is what a free Church wishes to accomplish for the Papacy. The privileges and the exemptions of the District of Columbia do not weaken the inner or the outer force of our country. On the contrary, the independence of that District is one of the mainstays of our strength as a nation. There must be permanency in every society to insure peace and order. Continual and universal change disturbs the people and ruins commerce. We have felt that in a land where universal suffrage prevails, something should be done to protect individuals and the minority from the injustice of a mutable majority. And thus by constitutional en-

actments, which mere majorities cannot change, and by separating our central from our State governments, we have established that stability which under regal regimes is assured by the principle of heredity. As in the order of physical nature there are centres, there are suns comparatively immovable, or at least having a motion different from the planets which revolve in order around them, so in well-ordered states and in the Church there must be a centre. Our states are like so many bishoprics in relation to the central government at Washington. Why cannot Italy imitate our example? A dead uniformity is not congenial to her, nor warranted by her history. The mosaic of Palestrina is a better symbol of the unity which should characterize her than the stupid and offensive unity of a mud pie. There is fully as much difference between the Neapolitan of the south and the Piedmontese of the north, as between the representative Irishman and the London cockney. The history of Rome under the Popes is as different from that of Piedmont as the history of our own wonderful progress is from the story of the Indian tribes. Uniformity is not strength. Our system of checks and balances in the political order, our republic of separate yet connected States, our allowance for local feeling, interest and prejudice, which find legal vent in the autonomy of our State governments, have made us the strongest republic in the world. France, a centralized republic, proves by her internal dissensions and external weakness that the best safety-valve of revolution is local home rule. That is what the Papacy demands from Italy; that is what the whole Church insists that Italy shall concede. Leo may not see the sovereignty of his predecessors restored; the times may not yet be ripe for it. But when radicalism, which was the precursor of the Sardinian monarchy in its career of spoliation, shall turn back and attack the king and the throne as it has attacked the pontiff and the altar, even the grasping statesmen of Italy may begin to realize the necessity of justice. The Czar of Russia sees that the Papacy is a protector against Nihilism; the Emperor of Germany and his great chancellor see that it is a help against socialism; the conservative republicans of France behold in it the bulwark of the commonwealth against communism; Americans who a quarter of a century ago looked upon the Pope as a spook with which to scare children and Puritans, now consider him the champion of the rights of property and of the Constitution of the United States. Will not Italy learn a lesson? Or must the bomb of the anarchist burst in the Quirinal before its tenant learns that the safety of his dynasty and the prosperity of his country depend on the independence of the prisoner of the Vatican?

Around that venerable captive of saintly life and eminent learn-

ing the monarchs of the earth are gathered in homage; and the peoples on their knees revere his person and his office. The light of the Incarnate Word shines from his dome-like brow, built as it were specially to wear the pontifical tiara. We see his hand extended to bless all men, to bless society and home; and the smile of benignant charity that lights up his countenance illumines the world with its beneficent warmth. We, his American children, prostrate before him like the rest of mankind, implore his benediction. We are grateful to him. He loves our country. He loves its liberty and its institutions. His interest in us is special. He has given to our hierarchy saintly and scholarly bishops, and honored our Church with another Cardinal. His love for our priests is shown in the paternal legislation made to guard their rights and make them happy subjects. He wants our scholars to become as great as the best in Europe, and therefore he has given us a university. We love the Pope. We are loyal to the Pope. The American Church will not yield to any other in devotion to his person and his office, nor in earnestness of demand for his liberation and for the restoration of his temporal power. Our devotion proves that although oceans may divide continents, they cannot break the chain of faith or of discipline, nor quench the ardor of Catholic charity. Prostrate before him, we kiss his feet as those of the living Vicar of Jesus Christ. We lift up our voices to express the deep emotions of our hearts and to swell the universal chorus of "Long live the Pope! Long live Leo the Great, the Good!" To the Pope and the Papacy we American Catholics are

"Constant as the northern star,
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament,"

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THE CENTRAL ERROR OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

WHEN a student who has made his own any modern textbook of Protestant philosophy, approaches the dogmas of the Catholic Church and sets himself to inquire into their philosophic basis, he finds himself face to face with very serious difficulties. He becomes gradually conscious of the existence in his own mind of an assumption which he has always been accustomed to regard as true and to take for granted as a first principle of mental analysis, but which, nevertheless, effectually destroys all objective truth. He detects a worm that is eating at the root not only of Transubstantiation and other distinctive doctrines of the Church, but of all belief whatever; so that, if he is to be consistent, he must either dig up the worm that causes all the mischief, or relinquish his search after absolute certainty and after the realities of objective knowledge. This cankering worm is deep, and to drag it from its lurking place is not an easy task. It is to be found in the modern theory of *Abstraction*; it vitiates the very entrance into our minds of the *ideas* or *concepts* on which all else depends. Unless these are introduced by the door of truth, truth itself has little chance of taking up its abode with us, and consistency becomes impossible. We propose, therefore, in the following pages to trace the method by which we form our mental concepts or ideas, and, after establishing the true doctrine, to explain the aberrations of modern philosophy on the subject, and to expose the fallacies by which it misleads the unwary student.

We must begin by tracing certain previous steps which precede the process of Abstraction and the formation of universal ideas.

When any object is presented to us, and we turn our minds to the consideration of it, the first thing that comes before us is the sensible impression made upon the inner sense or imagination. There is painted upon the material faculty of the imagination an image more or less distinct of the object to which we turn our attention. This image is either transferred from our internal senses to the faculties within us, or else is reproduced by the sensible memory recalling past impressions. If any one says to us the word "pheasant," and we hear what he is saying, a vague general picture of a pheasant, copied from the various pheasants we have seen, is present to our imagination. So far there is strictly no intellectual process. Animals share with man the faculty of imagination, and can call up from their memories a vague image of

familiar objects. When we scratch, unperceived, the floor of our room and call out to our terrier the word "Rat!" there rises up in his mind an indistinct picture of the little animal that he loves to destroy. When the fox-hound comes across the fresh scent in the path which Reynard has but recently trodden, the confused image of a fox comes up before him and suggests immediate pursuit.

All this is a matter of the interior sense; there is no intellectual activity in the lower animals; they rest on the mere sensible impression, and cannot go beyond it. But an intellectual being does not stop here. The higher faculties of his rational nature compel him to go further than this. The intellect exerting its activity lays hold of the sensible image and makes it its own, at the same time transforming it from something individual and suitable to the apprehension of sense into something universal and altogether above and beyond sense. "Quicquid recipitur, recipitur per modum recipientis." Whatever we take into any faculty has to accommodate itself to the nature of that faculty. Whatever is received by the intellect must be received as supra-sensible and universal. We mean by *supra-sensible* something which is beyond the power of sense, outer or inner, to portray; something which cannot be painted on the imagination; something which belongs to the immaterial, not the material, world. We mean by *universal* something which the intellect recognizes as capable of belonging not to this or that object only, but to an indefinite other number of objects, actual or possible, which have the same inner nature, and, therefore, a claim to the same general name. For the individual representation or phantasm which belongs to sense, and to sense alone, is substituted the universal representation, or concept, or idea which the intellect alone can form for itself by the first operation of thought properly so called.

We shall, perhaps, be able better to understand the process of simple apprehension if we distinguish it from certain other processes which either are liable to be mistaken for it or are preliminary steps which necessarily precede it.

1. *Sensation*, the act by which we receive on some one or more of the internal organs of sense the impression of some external object presented to it. The object producing the sensation may be altogether outside of us, or it may be a part of our own bodies, as when I see my hand or feel the beating of my pulse.

2. *Consciousness*, or the act by which we become aware of the impressions made upon our senses and realize the fact of their presence. Every day a thousand impressions are made upon our bodily organs which escape our notice. We are but conscious of their having been made. We have heard the clock strike outside our ears, but have never been conscious of the sound. When our

mental powers are absorbed by some interesting occupation or by some strong excitement, almost any sensation may pass unnoticed. In the mad excitement of the battle-field men often receive serious wounds and are not aware of the fact till long afterwards.

3. *Attention*, by which the faculties are directed specially to one object or set of objects, to the partial or complete exclusion of all others. The dog following the fox has his attention directed almost exclusively to the fox he is pursuing, and seems to forget all else. The soldier in battle has his attention absorbed by the contest with the foe, and for this reason his wound passes unobserved.

4. *Sensible perception*, the act by which the data of the external senses are referred to an inner sense which has the power of perceiving, comparing together and uniting in one common image all the different impressions made on the various organs of sense, whence it obtains the name of common sense (*sensus communis*). Sensible perception always implies some degree of consciousness and memory. A dog sees a piece of sugar; this draws his attention to it, and he becomes conscious of the impression upon his organs of sight. Next he smells it, and, if not perfectly satisfied as to its nature, applies his tongue to it to discover its taste. He then compares together the various impressions of sight, smell and taste, and the resulting image is that of a piece of sugar good for food.

5. *Memory* (sensible), which recalls the past by reason of the presence within us of certain sensations which recall other sensations formerly experienced. A certain perfume recalls most vividly some scene of our past life; a familiar melody stirs emotions long dormant; the fresh morning air brings with it the remembrance of some exploit of boyhood or youth. The memory of animals is exclusively a sensible memory dependent on sensation.

6. *Imagination*, which paints upon the inner sense some picture, the scattered materials of which already exist within us. It is the faculty which reproduces the sensible impressions of the past, grouping them, however, in a different order and arranging them differently. In this it differs from the (sensible) memory, which reproduces the impressions of the past as they were originally made. In dreams the imagination is specially active.

Hitherto we have been speaking of various processes belonging to the faculties of sense which man shares with the lower animals. We now come to those which belong to man alone, to the processes of *Thought* strictly so called. We have said that the first and simplest of these is that of simple apprehension or conception. But there is a preliminary process which is not really distinguishable from simple apprehension, and differs only in the aspect under which it presents itself to us.

We have spoken of attention as a concentrating of our faculties on some one object to the exclusion of others. The object on which we concentrate may be an object having an independent existence, or it may be some quality or qualities out of the many qualities belonging to something which is present to our minds. In this latter sense it is often called *Abstraction*, inasmuch as it is the drawing away of our attention from some qualities in order to fix it upon others. We may abstract from the whiteness of a piece of sugar and fix our minds upon its whiteness—we may abstract from whiteness and sweetness, and concentrate our attention on its crystallization. We may abstract from whiteness and sweetness and crystallization, and mentally contemplate its wholesomeness for little children.

But abstraction has a further meaning which includes all this, but goes beyond it. In every object there are certain qualities which may or may not be there without any substantial difference being made in its character. There are others the absence of any one of which would destroy its nature and cause it to cease to be what it is. A man may be tall or short, young or old, handsome or ugly, black or white, virtuous or vicious, but none the less is he a man. But he cannot be deprived of certain other qualities without ceasing to be a man—he cannot be either rational or irrational, living or dead, possessed of that form we call human or of some other entirely different one. If he is not rational, living, possessed of human form, he ceases to be a man altogether, because these latter qualities are part of his nature *as man*, constitute his essence, make him to be what he is, a man.

Now, abstraction in this further sense is the concentration of the intellect on these latter qualities, to the exclusion of the former. It is the withdrawal of the mind from what is accidental, to fix it upon what is essential, or, to give the word a strictly unvarying etymological meaning, it is the intellectual act by which we draw out (abstract) from the individual object that determinate portion of its nature which is essential to it and is said to constitute its essence, and neglect all the rest.

In this sense it is the same process as simple apprehension, regarded from a different point of view. It is called apprehension inasmuch as the intellect apprehends or grasps the nature of the object. It is called abstraction inasmuch as this nature is abstracted or drawn out of the object whose nature it is; and as it cannot be grasped until the intellect has withdrawn it from the object, abstraction is, at least in thought, a previous process to simple apprehension.

Thus, when a horse is presented to us, abstraction enables us to withdraw our mind from the fact of his being a race-horse or

dray-horse, chestnut or gray, fast or slow trotter, healthy or diseased, and to concentrate our attention on that which belongs to him as a horse, and thus to withdraw out of him that which constitutes his essence and which we may call his *equinity*. In virtue of our rational nature we fix our mental gaze on that mysterious entity which makes him what he is, to grasp or apprehend his equinity, to apprehend or perceive intellectually that hidden something which is the substratum of all his qualities, the root whence the varying characteristics which mark him out as a horse all take their origin. It is in the assertion of this faculty of abstraction as the power of drawing out of the object something which is really there independently of the mind that draws it forth, that consists the whole distinction between scholastic and the so-called modern philosophy. It is in the definition of simple apprehension as not merely the grouping into one certain qualities of the object selected by the mind, but the grasping by the mind of an objective reality in the object whence certain qualities flow quite independently of the mind which apprehends them, that consists of the central doctrine which gives to the philosophy of the Catholic Church a bulwark against the inroads of skepticism impossible to any system which has lost its hold on this central and vital truth. Modern error starts with misconceiving the very first operation of thought ; with such a foundation we cannot expect the superstructure to be remarkable for solidity.

From the process of simple apprehension we must now turn to the result of the process, from the act to that which the act engenders, from conception to the concept.

We have seen that whatever is received into any faculty has to accommodate itself to the nature of the faculty, and consequently that the image of the external object received into the intellect must be something supra-sensible and spiritual. It has been grasped or apprehended by the intellect and transferred, so to speak, into itself, and it has consequently been purified of the materiality clinging to the image present to the imagination and prepared for its abode in the sphere of immaterial thought. It has thus no longer the representation of the single object and no more ; it is now applicable to each and all of a whole class of objects ; it is no longer a particular, it is a universal. It is not the sensible image stripped of those attributes peculiar to the individual as such and applicable to a number of objects by reason of its vagueness. It belongs to quite a different sphere ; it is raised above the region of sense to the region of intellect and of thought properly so called. This distinction between the two images, the sensible image painted on the imagination and the supra-sensible image dwelling in the intellect, is of the greatest importance. The sensible image must

precede the supra-sensible; we cannot form a concept of any object unless there has been previously imprinted on the imagination a material impression of that object. The sensible image must, moreover, exist side by side with the concept: the one in the imagination, the other in the intellect; and as long as we are thinking of the intellectual concept, the material phantasm must be present to our imaginations. This is the result of the union of soul and body: in virtue of our animal nature the phantasm is present to the material faculty, and in virtue of our rational natures the concept is present to the intellectual faculty. When we think of a triangle our intellects contemplate something which is above sense, the idea of triangle, an ideal triangle, if you like, and at the same time our imagination has present before it the material picture of a triangle. The intellectual image is something clear, precise, exact, sharply marked without any defects or deficiencies. The material image is something vague, indistinct, indefinite and applicable to a number of individuals only by reason of its indistinctness and indefiniteness. The intellectual concept we form of a triangle is as precise as it can be. We know what we mean in every detail belonging to it, we can define it and set forth all its characteristics one by one with perfect correctness. The picture of a triangle present to our imagination is the reverse of all this: it is dim, imperfect, undetermined. It is neither isosceles, rectangular nor scalene, but a sort of attempt to combine all these. If, in order to give it definiteness, we picture not only a triangle, but an isosceles triangle, still we have to determine whether the angle at the vertex shall be an obtuse angle, a right angle, or an acute angle. Even if we introduce a fresh limitation and decide on the acute angle, we are not much better off: our picture is still quite indeterminate. For the sides must be of a certain length, it must be drawn in a certain position, and some color must be chosen for the sides. But however many limitations we introduce, we cannot be perfectly determinate until we have thrown away altogether every shred of generality belonging to the triangle and are satisfied with some one individual triangle with individual characteristics belonging to itself and to no other triangle in the world.

But there is another important distinction between the immaterial concept in the intellectual faculty and the material phantasm in the imaginative faculty. If we examine the latter we not only find that it is vague and indistinct, but that it is not a true representation of the object; it is not what it professes to be. The picture of a triangle which is present in our imagination is not, strictly speaking, a triangle at all. For the sides of a triangle are lines, *i.e.*, they have length but not breadth, whereas in the picture of a triangle as imagined or actually drawn, the sides are not lines at all, but good thick bars of appreciable breadth. If they were lines

they would be invisible, not only to the naked eye, but to the most powerful microscope. Worse still, they are not even straight. They are wavy bars with rough, jagged edges. They have no sort of pretence to be called straight lines, nor has the so-called triangle any real claim to the name.

Not so the intellectual concept formed by the process of simple apprehension. The image is purged of its materialism when it is adopted by the immaterial faculty, and so it is purged of all its indefiniteness and incorrectness. It is an ideal triangle; it is worthy of the noble faculty that has conceived and brought it forth. It is not the clumsy attempt at a triangle with all the imperfections which cling to the figure depicted on the imagination and drawn on paper or on wood, which in practice serves very well the purpose of a triangle, but which has no true lines for its sides and is crooked and defective in every portion of it. It is a true, perfect, genuine triangle dwelling in the spiritual sphere, the sphere of what philosophy calls *noumena*, things capable of being intellectually discerned, as opposed to phenomena or mere appearances. When we argue about the properties of a triangle, it is about this ideal triangle that we argue, else nothing that we said would be strictly true. We argue about something which in point of fact has nothing corresponding, but in the world of phenomena only feeble and clumsy attempts to imitate its inimitable perfections. When we assert that an equilateral triangle has all its sides and angles equal, we do not assert this in reality of the triangle A B C or the triangle D E F, or any triangle that we have ever seen with our bodily eyes, but about an ideal equilateral triangle which is not realized in the world of sense, but is realized with the utmost precision in the world of intellect. When we say that the radii of a circle are all equal, we do not mean that any circle has ever been drawn by the most skilful limner in which any two radii were ever exactly equal, but that in the ideal circle the ideal radii are actually equal, and that in the attempts to draw a circle on the blackboard or on paper or on the imagination, the so-called radii are approximately equal in proportion as the circle approximates to an ideal circle and the radii to the ideal radii of that ideal circle.

It is true that the geometrician cannot pursue his researches without palpable symbols to aid him. This is the consequence of our intellect inhabiting a tenement formed of the dust of the earth. We cannot think of an ideal circle and its properties without at the same time imagining in vague fashion a circle which can be rendered visible to the eye. It is because of this that intellectual activity so soon fatigues; it is not the intellect which wearies, but the material faculty of the imagination which works side by side with the intellect. Very few men can argue out a single proposi-

tion of Euclid by means of an imaginary triangle present to the imagination, and they therefore draw a picture which appeals to the external sense, in order to save their imagination the impossible task of keeping before the mind its own imaginary triangle. But whether the symbol be drawn on paper or on the imagination, we must remember that it is not about the symbol that we argue, but about the corresponding image in the immaterial faculty, the ideal triangle present to the intellect.

Before we discuss the strange aberration of modern philosophy on this subject, we must distinguish between the various images of every object of which we speak or think.

1. There is the intellectual immaterial image present in the intellectual faculty. It is something ideal. It belongs to the spiritual world, not the world of sense. It is engendered on man as the consequence of his being created in the Divine image, with an intellect framed after the likeness of the intellect of God. The intellectual image which he forms by the process of simple apprehension is a pattern or exemplar of the object which exists outside of him and corresponds to the pattern or exemplar present to the Divine mind when the external object was created. Man can idealize because he is a rational being and possesses within him this gift of recognizing the ideal of the object such as we conceive to be present in the mind of God. Brutes cannot idealize because they are irrational and do not possess this likeness to God. Their mental faculties can apprehend only sensible phenomena as such. They cannot think of anything except so far as it can be depicted on the imagination and is palpable to sense.

2. There is, moreover, the sensible material image present in the material faculty of the imagination. This necessarily accompanies the intellectual image, so long as the body is united to the soul. We cannot think of any object whatever without the material picture of it, or something resembling it being present to the fancy.

This picture is sometimes vivid and distinct, as when we think of some individual object very familiar to us. Sometimes it is utterly faint and indistinct, as when we think of something which is applicable to a number of varying external objects. In proportion to the number and variety of these objects is the faintness and indistinctness of the image representing them. When we recall to our thoughts our favorite little Skye terrier Die, whose winning ways and clever tricks have imprinted her image on our grateful memory, the picture is clear and vivid as if we saw her before us begging for one dainty morsel or chasing the nimble rat, just freed from the cage, over the meadows that border on the silver Isis or the sluggish Cam. But when we think of Skye terriers in general the image becomes blurred, other Skye terriers, the associates and

predecessors of the much-beloved Die, come up vaguely before us. If we enlarge the circle and fix our mind on terriers as a class, the image becomes still more indistinct. Scotch terriers, Dandy Dinmont terriers, black and tan terriers have to be combined in one common picture. If we go still further afield and think of dogs in general, the picture lapses into a sort of confused indefiniteness, and this again increases a hundredfold when the subject of our thoughts is no longer *dog*, but *animal*.

But all this time the concept has remained clear and sharply marked. The intellectual image of animal is no less distinct than the intellectual image of Skye terrier; perhaps rather more so, inasmuch as we can define in precise terms what constitutes animal nature; but it is not so easy to expound what are the special and essential characteristics of a Skye terrier and constitute his peculiar nature as distinguished from that of other dogs. In fact, we may say, in general, that the vividness and brightness of the image varies in inverse ratio to the simplicity of the concept. It is easy enough to imagine an isosceles triangle, the sides and angles of which are of a certain determinate length. It is very difficult to imagine mathematical figures in general, or to paint any sort of corresponding image upon our material faculties. On the other hand, the concept mathematical figure is a far simpler one than an isosceles triangle. We shall have to recur to this subject when we treat of the extension and comprehension of concepts, and will reserve any further discussion of it till then.

But, whether the picture painted on the imagination be distinct or indistinct, vivid and lifelike or so faint and dim as to be scarcely perceptible; whether it be a real likeness of the object of thought or is merely a feeble attempt to give concrete and sensible form to that which is abstract and spiritual, still an image of some sort is always there. When we think of honesty, or truth, or courage, some sort of dim image, having some sort of relation to the abstract quality present to our intellects, paints itself without fail on the material faculty just as certainly as when we think of Skye terriers, or ocean steamers, or balloons, except that in the one case the resemblance of the image to the object of thought is a very remote one, in the other it is clear enough. We cannot too strongly insist on the necessary and universal coexistence of the two images in the spiritual and material faculties respectively, and at the same time we cannot too strongly insist on the points of contrast between them. There is just enough similarity between them to make the attempt to identify them a plausible one. We will, therefore, recapitulate the most signal differences between them.

In fact, it is scarcely too much to say that, as in the nobler ani-

mals there is something which is a sort of shadow of reason, and so nearly resembling reason that the *a posteriori* observer cannot discern any wide distinction between the intelligence of the dog and the intellect of the savage; in the same way the common phantasm is so respectable an imitation of the concept that we can scarcely wonder that those who do not start from the solid foundation of philosophic truth have regarded the two images as identical.

But we must, first of all, notice that they have this in common, that they are both applicable to a number of individuals; the phantasm has a sort of universality (counterfeit though it be) as well as the concept. We also notice that one cannot be present without the other. The intellectual image is always accompanied by its material counterpart. It is these two circumstances which have misled so many modern schools of philosophy, and involved them in the fatal mistake of confusing together the immaterial and the material, conception and imagination—the region of intellect and the region of sense. This unhappy confusion has, in its turn, introduced the so-called relativity of thought, and has opened the door upon a boundless vista of contradiction and skepticism.

1. The first difference between the *concept* and the *phantasm* is, that the concept is received into the intellect by the process of conception, or intellectual perception, and, as the intellect is a spiritual and immaterial faculty, removed altogether above sense, the concept, too, is a spiritual and immaterial and supra-sensible image.

The phantasm, on the other hand, is received into the imagination or fancy by the process of sensible perception, and, as the fancy or imagination is a material and sensible faculty, the phantasm, too, is material and sensible.

The intellect is, moreover, a faculty of universals; its special function is to see the universal under the particular; it does not recognize the individual object except so far as it possesses a nature capable of being multiplied. Hence the concept is also something universal, something which is found not in one individual alone, but in many, either really existing or at least possible. The *imagination*, on the other hand, is a faculty of individuals. All its pictures are pictures of individual objects as such. Hence, the phantasm is also something individual and united to the individual. It is a picture of the individual object or of a number of existing individuals whose points of distinction are ignored in order that they may be depicted on one and the same individual image.

2. The concept, which is common to a number of objects of thought, is something precise, definite, distinct, capable of analysis.

The phantasm, which represents a number of objects of thought, is something vague, indefinite, indistinct, incapable of exact analysis. It fades away before our attempts to analyze or define it. We can explain and define our concepts or ideas of triangles, but if we attempt to explain and render definite our picture of triangles, we find ourselves confronted with triangles of all sorts and descriptions dancing about before the eyes of our imaginations, some right-angled, some obtuse-angled, some acute-angled, some equilateral, some isosceles, some scalene. The picture is all, and yet none of these, utterly dim and uncertain, and existing only in virtue of its dimness and uncertainty. The larger the class of objects which this picture present to the imagination has to represent, the fainter and more indistinct does it become, until at length it fades away into space altogether. Thus we can form a sort of common picture of *man*, which stretches, as it has a sort of reality; but our picture of animal, which is to represent at once men and brutes, can scarcely be called pictures at all, while for living thing, which is to confine together the monkey of the animal and vegetable creation in a common picture, we cannot produce any respectable phantasm at all.

3. The concept is not interfered with by minuteness of detail. We can form as distinct and accurate an intellectual concept of an octahedron or dodecahedron as we can of a triangle or quadrilateral figure. We can argue with no greater difficulty about the number of degrees in the angles of the more complicated figures, or of any other of their distinguishing characteristics, than we can about the number of degrees in the angles of an equilateral triangle or a square.

But the *phantasm* becomes gradually more difficult as it becomes more complicated, until at last it becomes a thing impossible. We cannot imagine a dodecahedron with any sort of exactness. We can picture it only in the vaguest way. We cannot distinguish at all in our imaginations between an eicosahedron (or figure of twenty sides) and an eicosimiahedron (or whatever the name for a figure of twenty-one sides may be). When we attempt to imagine a figure with a much larger number of sides, say a myriahedron, or figure of ten thousand sides, we cannot for the life of us see any difference between it and a circle, unless, indeed, we have seen it drawn on an enormous scale.

4. The concept is peculiar to man. No brutes can form any ideas in the true sense of the word. They cannot rise above the world of sensation: they have no appreciation of the spiritual and the immaterial, and no faculties which can enable them to apprehend them—their knowledge is simply a knowledge of phenomena. They have no power whatever of perceiving the universal under

the particular. They cannot idealize. They cannot attain to any knowledge of the universal.

The phantasm, on the other hand, is common to men and brutes. A dog can form a very vivid mental picture of some individual with whom he is familiar. When, during our sister's absence from home we said to her little toy terrier "Madge, where is Alice?" Madge would prick up her ears, look in our face, search the drawing-room, and finally run upstairs to our sister's room in anxious quest; when by a lengthened series of protracted sniffs beneath the door she had discovered that her mistress was not there, she would come back to the dining-room and lie down on the scrap of carpet provided for her, with a half petulant air as much as to say: "Why do you recall to me the image of one who you know perfectly well is not at home?" Every one who is familiar with the ways of dogs has noticed how during sleep all sorts of phantasms pass through their minds, often evoking outward expressions of surprise, or joy, or fear.

But animals have also certain common phantasms. A dog is able to form a sort of mental picture, not only of this or that rat, but of rat in general. The very word "rat" will often throw a little terrier into a perfect fever of excitement by reason of the common picture it summons up of many a rat happily pursued to the death. The smell of a fox at once recalls to the hounds not this or that fox, but fox in general, and there is present in their minds a vague phantasm representing a sort of common product of all their experiences of individual foxes.

It is this common phantasm which is so plausible a counterfeit of the universal concept that the whole of modern philosophy outside the Catholic Church has been misled into the fatal error of mistaking the one for the other, and of supposing that the gross, material, individual phantasm present in the imagination is identical with the intellectual, spiritual, universal concept present in the intellect.

We now pass to the uncongenial but necessary task of dealing with the aberrations of modern philosophers on this vital question, the importance of which it is scarcely possible to overrate. Just as in theology the central point of the "Reformation" of the sixteenth century consisted in the rejection of Papal supremacy, so in philosophy the new order of things. The philosophy of the "Reformation" had its point in the modern theory of the *concept* and of *conception*. It is not really new. Like all modern errors, it dates from pre-Reformation days, and is but an old fallacy refurbished and dressed up in new terms. But it never took root in Europe until it found a home under a congenial religious system, under which it grew and flourished, and to which it afforded the most

material assistance. Without this new theory the confusion between intellect and imagination, which serves Protestantism in such good stead in its resistance to dogma, would never have gained a permanent footing; without this the philosophical skepticism, which is the offspring of the "Reformation," would have been checked at its outset. It is this theory which, once adopted, is fatal to the consistent acceptance of the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist. It is this which in its ultimate consequences renders belief in God impossible.

It is a universal subverter; little by little all rational belief, all religious dogma, becomes under its influence faint and feeble, and at last altogether disappears. All truth becomes subjective to the individual. All knowledge becomes relative. If men who number it among their philosophical opinions nevertheless still retain some positive beliefs, it is only because the human mind so rarely follows out an opinion to its final results, or because in contradiction to all reason it holds opinions which are irreconcilable with each other. This last alternative we see realized in a most remarkable way in the cynical philosophy of our modern "thinkers." The antinomies of Kant, the contradictory propositions which Hegel admits as simultaneously true, the despairing agnosticism of Herbert Spencer, the open infidelity of the materialistic school, are all based on one or other of the different phases of the modern philosophical heresy respecting the concept and conception.

We ask our readers to keep carefully before their minds the essential difference between the common phantasm of the imagination and the abstract idea abiding in the intellect. This is the talisman to keep the Catholic philosopher unharmed of the modern foe. This is the touchstone of a philosophical system. If the root is corrupt, the tree will be unsound and the branches rotten. If a system of logic at its outset neglects this all-important distinction, we shall find that it is infected with a disease which will affect it from beginning to end and render it unsound in almost every part of it.

We will take as our two representatives of the modern teaching on conception and concepts, two men who in most respects stand widely apart, Sir W. Hamilton and John Stuart Mill. The former states the doctrine generally held outside the Catholic Church, with great clearness and at considerable length. We will give for brevity's sake only an abstract of his exposition of it, and will refer our readers to the original, if they desire to obtain a more detailed knowledge of it. When a number of objects, he tells us, are presented to our sight, our first perception of them is something confused and imperfect. But as we dwell more carefully upon them and compare them together, one with the other, we find that in the

various objects there are some that produce *similar* and others dissimilar impressions. By the faculty of *attention* we fix our minds on the former of these, and by abstraction we turn away our thoughts from the latter. When we come to examine these *similar* impressions, we find ourselves compelled to regard them as not only similar, but actually the same. To use the words of Sir W. Hamilton, there are certain qualities in the objects "that determine in us cognitive energies which we are unable to distinguish, and which we therefore consider as the same." Having observed in succession a number of these similar qualities, and one after another identified them with each other on account of the undistinguishable character of the impressions they make upon us, we at length sum them up, bind them together into a whole, grasp them in a unity of thought, unite the simple attributes with the complex *notion* or *concept*; and inasmuch as each and all of the several qualities or attributes belong to each and all of the objects in which they have been observed, it follows that this common notion or concept which sums them up is the common notion or concept formed in our minds as belonging to each and all of these same objects. It is a *notion* inasmuch as it points to our minds, taking note of or remarking the resembling qualities of the object; it is a *concept* inasmuch as it is a synthesis or grasping together (*con capere*) of the qualities.¹

We shall, however, make this process more intelligible by a concrete example: We are standing in a room in the Zoological Gardens before a cage containing a number of objects large and small, well looking and hideous, blue and gray and brown and black. As we watch one of them we observe in it movements which indicate life, and we mentally apply to it the attribute *living*. In a second we observe similar movements indicating the possession of similar endowments, and in a third and fourth in like manner. Though the life of the first is not identical with that of the second, nor that of the second with that of the third, yet the effects as observed by us are undistinguishable, and we feel ourselves compelled to regard all these objects as sharing in a common quality of life, and consequently to call them by the common name of *living*. As we continue to watch them, one of them seizes his neighbor by the tail and elicits a cry of pain; this cry of pain indicates the possession of what we call sensibility or feeling. A second receives from a visitor some highly esteemed delicacy, and gives vent to a cry of joy; and this sign of pleasure we attribute to a similar gift of sensi-

¹ Compare Sir W. Hamilton (Lectures on Logic, III. 131), whose words we quote almost verbatim.

bility. A third and a fourth show corresponding signs of pleasure or pain, as the case may be, and though we cannot say that the feeling of the one is the feeling of any of the others, yet we cannot help identifying in all of them the common quality of sensibility, and of each we say that it is sensitive or possessed of feeling. As our examination of the objects before us proceeds, we find in each of them other qualities which we call hairy, quadrumanous, imitative; each of the females suckles its young, each of them has a certain shape of body, to which we give the name of ape-like or pithecoïd, until at length, our detailed observation over, we sum up its results in one complex notion which comprises in itself all the qualities we have observed. We bind together into the common concept *monkey* the various attributes, living, sensitive, quadrumanous, imitative, hairy, mammal, etc. We *apprehend* these various objects as monkeys, and bestow on them the common name in recognition of their common characteristics.

Such is the process of simple apprehension or conception according to the majority of modern writers. We do not think that any one can say that we have misrepresented it. At first sight it seems plausible enough. But the reader who has borne in mind the distinction between the sensible and material phantasm existing in the imagination and the abstract and immaterial idea existing in the intellect, will perceive how this theory labors under the fatal defect of confusing them together, or rather of ignoring the universal idea in favor of the common phantasm. It tells us to strip off from a number of individual phantasms that which is peculiar to them as individuals, and to retain only that which is similar in all of them. But when the process is complete, and these similar qualities have, by the transforming power of the human mind, been regarded as identical with each other, as not only similar but the same; when, moreover, these identical qualities have been gathered together into a unity of thought, into a concept comprising them all into a composite whole of which they are the component parts, the whole has its home in the imagination, just as much as the various attributes originally observed in the individuals. The only difference between the individual objects and the common concept is that it has lost the distinctive characteristics of the individuals, and by reason of this dimness and indistinctness is capable of being fitted on to all of them. It is not an independent object of thought, it is essentially relative and imperfect; it is no longer the essence of the various individuals, that inner something which is the subtraction of all their qualities. We cannot even think it until we supplement it with all the various qualities which render it an individual thing. We cannot think of monkey as such; we must refer our concept to some individual monkey of which we form a picture in

our mind. Hence the modern theory of the relativity of all human knowledge. Hence, too, the philosophical skepticism to which it necessarily leads is carried out to its ultimate conclusions. If all knowledge is relative, absolute truth disappears from the face of the earth. What is true to one man is not true to another. The identity of nature, which we attribute to the various individuals comprised under the common concept and called by a common name, is a pleasant fiction of the human mind and has no corresponding identity of nature in the individuals as they exist in reality. There is nothing but a certain similarity which we consider as identity because we cannot distinguish between the objects produced upon our cognitive energies by these similar qualities. The slovenly and inaccurate use of the words *thinking* and *thought* is one of the most fruitful sources of error in modern philosophy. Instead of being limited to intellectual knowledge, it is extended to every exercise of the inner faculties—sensible memory, imagination, attention, as well as to the acts peculiar to a rational nature. Hence the mischievous confusion between the nature of the lower brutes and of mankind. If a dog is capable of thought, he is also capable of *reasoning*, and has an intellect differing only in degree from that of man.

Thought is no longer the exclusive property of the intellect, but is concerned with the products of the imagination as well. It is true that a certain distinction is drawn between *thought* and *cognition*, on the one hand, and *representation* or *imagination*, on the other; but this distinction is an utterly inadequate one. It is explained as consisting in the manner of cognition, in the way in which the objects are known. The contrast between the immaterial faculty with which we *think* and the material faculty with which we *picture* or *imagine*, is certainly ignored. The contrast between the objects of thought which are essentially abstract and universal, and the objects of imagination which are concrete and singular, is in no way recognized. Thought is made out to be a process of the same faculty as *imagination*, and we think about exactly the same things as we have already pictured in our imagination, only in a different sort of way. Thus the gulf which separates the material from the immaterial is entirely ignored, and the fundamental confusion which is the necessary result extends itself to every part of the systems which, outside the Church, have succeeded the clear and consistent teaching of scholastic philosophy. But as yet we have been considering only one of the leading schools of English philosophy at the present day, the one which, strange to say, represents the more orthodox section of modern philosophers, and this in spite of the utter skepticism which is virtually contained in the fundamental doctrine from which it starts. The weak points

which it presents are attacked with great vigor and success by what we may call the wise school of John Stuart Mill. We are not concerned with the dispute, but simply with the counter theory, which we may call that of the modern school of nominalists, according to which the process of simple apprehension, or rather of the formation of complex ideas, takes place as follows: We suppose ourselves, as before, in the same house in the Zoological Gardens; we fix our minds on a certain group of attributes in one of the objects before us, and banish all the rest. Living, sensitive, mammal, quadrumanous, hirsute, imitative, pithecoïd, etc., these are the attributes which attract our attention. These we stereotype under the name *monkey*. We are thus enabled to argue about them as if there existed a corresponding entity which had these attributes only and was endowed with none of the accidental characteristics of individual monkeys. In another of the objects before us we observe another group of attributes which makes upon us the same impression as those already enumerated, and we say to ourselves, this, too, is a monkey. In a third and a fourth case the same process is repeated, and thus we form a class of monkeys and include under it all those objects which possess the attributes aforesaid. There is nothing really common in the individuals that form the class save only the *name*, and the upholders of this theory point out with good reason the inconsistency of the conceptualist doctrine, which makes concepts play so prominent a part in the whole of logic. Thus all the time its upholders confess that a concept is always something *relative* and has no existence apart from the concrete imagination of which it forms a part.

The nominalist theory is, it must be confessed, more consistent than that of conceptualism, but at the same time it is more directly and immediately skeptical and produces under its specious exterior the same distinctive fallacy as its rival. It is important that we should have this fallacy very distinctly before us, lying as it does at the root of the whole system and vitiating it from first to last. Mill and Bain, and the nominalist school generally, tell us that we are to select a group of attributes from an individual, and to bind them together by means of a common name. But what is to guide us in our selection of the attributes? Their answer is that we are to choose those which are similar in a number of individuals, and which, therefore, make upon us the same impression.

But what is the origin of this similitude? Why is it that we cannot help recognizing in a number of objects what we call common properties? We imagine that all would admit that it has at least some foundation in the objects themselves. If the impressions on our senses, which we are compelled to regard as not only similar but the same, represent no corresponding qualities with objects the

identity of which we recognize, it is merely something subjective, a mere delusion by which we deceive ourselves without any counterpart in the objects, then our senses can be in no way trustworthy, and we soon arrive at a self-contradictory skepticism. Both nominalist and conceptualist desire to avoid this conclusion from their premises, and they therefore concede a certain likeness between one and another of the objects around us, which is the cause of the impression they make, appearing to us to be the same. But in what does this likeness consist? To a scholastic logician the answer is simple enough. The objects, he tells us, are alike, inasmuch as they possess the same nature and are made after the same ideal or pattern. There is the same form in all of them. The common name of *monkey* is given to a number of individuals because they have one and all the common form or *nature* of monkey. The common ideal (or concept) of monkey is not picked up from the mere observation of a number of the class of monkeys. It represents something which exists really and truly outside the human mind, an intellectual entity which is quite independent of the individuals. This entity stamps its stamp, so to speak, on all individuals; and the human mind by a sort of rational instinct, recognizes at once the common mark or type wherever it exists. The intellect claims it as its own, transfers it into itself, abstracts it from the individuals, not by shaking off some of their attributes and leaving others, but by the power it possesses to extract the immaterial form from the material object in which it is realized. Not so the conceptualists. They would tell us that what we call a common idea or concept has no reality whatever apart from the mind, that it is the mind that creates it, and that it has no sort of existence outside the creative mind of man. The nominalist goes still further and says that there is no such thing as a concept at all, but that the bundle of attributes common to a number of individuals that it is supposed to represent are but the selected attributes on which we choose to fix our attention, to the exclusion of all other attributes. The attributes which form the bundle are, in their first origin, and always remain, individual attributes. The fact that others similar often are found in other individuals does not alter their character. All, therefore, that is common about the bundle we have found is its *name*, which is applicable to all the individuals contained in it, as well as to its original possessor.

Thus the nominalist abolishes the very notion of anything like universality in the concept or idea that is the result of simple apprehension. All that is universal is the name. Here it is that he breaks with the conceptualist. The latter at least keeps up the theory of a universal concept applicable to a number of individuals,

even though the mere fact of its being relative to each of them destroys any claim on its part to true universality: he still asserts the existence of *ens unum in multis*, one and the same thing found in a number of individuals, even though its unity is merely a factitious one, brought about by the action of the faculty of generalization, which enables us to regard the sensibility of one ape as one and the same with the sensibility of another. The nominalist, more consistent and thorough-going, does not attempt to keep up the sham of the universal. "Your concepts," he says to the conceptualist, and he says so very rightly, "are but the shadow of a shade, a convenient stalking horse of which, however, a closer examination shows the utter unreality. Why not throw over the delusion and frankly confess that universal names are but a sort of abridged notation very convenient for practical purposes, and as a means of classification, but having nothing really corresponding to them for the objects for which they stand?"

But nominalist and conceptualist alike leave one question unsolved. What is it guides us in the process of classification? What is it enables us to regard as the *same* the different attributes found in different individuals and to give them a common name? I imagine that the answer that both nominalist and conceptualist would make, would be that these attributes, though different, nevertheless so resemble one another that they produce upon our senses indistinguishable impressions. But if we pursue the question and ask them whether similarity is possible without identity, whether any two objects belonging to the same order of things can be *alike* without having something in *common*, whether language does not cease to have any meaning if resemblance does not imply a certain unity of nature, nominalist and conceptualist alike would find it hard to make any satisfactory answer. We shall see as we proceed what the true doctrine of universals is. We are at present concerned with it only so far as it affects the doctrine of simple apprehension. We are considering what is the underlying fallacy which vitiates the theory of conception or simple apprehension as put forward by post-Reformation philosophers, and leads them into the abyss of skepticism into which they are forced by the inexorable power of an un pitying logic. Their weak point does not consist merely in their confusion between the phantasm of the imagination and the *idea* of the intellect. This is the central error of modern logic, but it has a twin-brother in metaphysics no less subversive of truth. The radical and fundamental mistake of modern metaphysicians consists in the supposition that it is possible for two objects to resemble each another without having some *fundamentum in re*, something truly and really common to *both of them in*

*which this resemblance has its origin.*¹ The metaphysical error is, however, very closely connected with the other errors we have enumerated above as introduced into the modern doctrine of simple apprehension. It is because Hamilton and Mill alike fail to recognize identity of quality as the basis of resemblance that they fall into the blunder of confusing together the material phantasm and the immaterial idea. If Hamilton and his followers had clearly perceived that in each and all of the individual objects which are classed together there must be, in virtue of their mutual resemblance, some one or more common qualities existing in each or all, and the same in each and all, they would have seen how the common phantasm arrived at by stripping the individual of his individual peculiarities could never furnish qualities common to the various individual members of the class. In the same way, if Mill and his disciples had borne in mind that the group of attributes on which they fix their attention in the individual are from first to last individual attributes inapplicable to other individuals, and incapable without some further process of a name which is really common, they would not have fallen into the error of attempting to classify without any real basis of classification.

¹ Aristotle defines similarity as unity in some quality, and distinguishes it from identity, which consists in unity of essence. Hence two things that are alike must have some one quality which is one and *the same* in both. It is not enough that they should have similar quality or qualities, and that the mind should have the power of *regarding this* SIMILARITY as IDENTITY.

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE BIRTHPLACE AND CLOISTERED HOME OF THOMAS À KEMPIS.

Thomas A Kempis; Notes of a Visit to the Scenes in which his Life was spent, with some Account of the Examination of his Relics. By Francis Richard Cruise, M.D. (Univ. Dublin), late President of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, etc. Illustrated. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Pater Noster Square. 1887. 8vo. 332 pp. Maps and plates.

TO the thousands upon thousands of Catholics who find through life so much to console and encourage them in the way of salvation in the pages of the "Following of Christ," it has, occasionally, seemed strange that the Church has never, in any special way, honored such a master of spiritual life as Thomas à Kempis, who is not to be found in the catalogue of the canonized or beatified, nor is even spoken of as venerable. The author of the work which says, "*Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari*—Love to be unknown and esteemed of no account," has certainly been gratified in his wish to be ignored. The ascetic work which outlived hosts of others, which, century by century, exercises its wondrous influence for good, seems entirely sundered from its author. It is one of the wonders of "The Following of Christ," as our old English Catholic name has always been, that it is the only spiritual book which the so-called reformers and their followers carried with them when they went from the Catholic Church into the outer darkness to become children of the mist. True, as they tore out and threw away part of God's revealed word, they tore out and threw away the fourth book of the treatise "*De Imitatione Christi*," but they retained the rest, and in the Providence of God the work has continued to teach its lessons of perfection in lands and homes where no other light of Catholicity entered.

The little work is extant still, in the handwriting of Thomas à Kempis, and had no question been raised as to the authorship, he would, doubtless, have been venerated as a saint, and even the great apostasy of the sixteenth century would have failed to obliterate devotion to him and lead many to his tomb to implore the intercession with God of one who knew so well how to lead souls to God, and has continued his work as the ages roll on.

But his authorship was disputed. The fact that the oldest known manuscript is acknowledged to be in his handwriting was declared to lack decisive force as evidence of authorship, because he copied

many works of others, and this was probably the work of some one else which he merely copied. The argument is weak, for Thomas à Kempis was not merely a copyist, but an author himself, a master of spiritual life, a director of young religious whom he formed to the true spirit in aiming at perfection. In those days, before the invention of printing, the student was, of necessity, a copyist. Even since the invention of printing, where books are prohibited or rare, a student must often copy not only manuscripts, but printed books which have become so rare that he cannot buy a copy at all or buy it *à prix foux*.

The first besides Thomas à Kempis to whom the authorship of the "*De Imitatione Christi*" was ascribed, was John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, a mighty man in his century, active in matters of state, religion and education, yet one who penned religious treatises which found their way to all pious readers of the times. This was especially the case with his "*Meditatio Cordis*," or "Meditation of the Heart." And in days when it was common to put several smaller treatises in one bulky volume, the "*De Imitatione*" and "*Meditatio*" were frequently bound together, and both were ascribed to the great and well known author of the "*Meditatio*." At the University of Paris his claim was held as a part of the rights and privileges of that learned institution. The question does not seem to have been critically examined, nor is it certain by whom Gerson's claim to the authorship was first advanced. St. Ignatius of Loyola and his companions in founding the Society of Jesus, were Paris-University men, and, as he used, in his rule, the word "Gerson" to mean the treatise "*De Imitatione Christi*," the custom of attributing the work to Gerson was disseminated by the order he founded. When the question came to be seriously examined, no authors could be adduced earlier than the founder of the Society of Jesus and his followers, who did not discuss the matter, but used the term common at the University of Paris. In recent times the claim of Gerson has found little favor, as no fresh evidence can be adduced in its support and very positive evidence against it.

Early in the seventeenth century another claim for authorship was put in at the court of public opinion. This was for John Gersen, Benedictine abbot of Vercelli in Piedmont. The theory was started on the finding of a manuscript of the "*De Imitatione*" in a Jesuit house at Arona on Lago Maggiore in 1604, at the end of which was written: "*Explicit liber quartus et ultimus Abbatis Joannis Gersen de sacramento Altaris*—Here endeth the fourth and last book of Abbot John Gersen on the Sacrament of the Altar." As the house had once been a Benedictine monastery, it was assumed that he was a Benedictine abbot, and a note in a printed copy at Ven-

ice gave him a site for his abbey at Vercelli. The Jesuit Father Rossignoli first put forward this claimant. The Benedictine order was not slow to maintain the theory thus advanced, and thus that ancient order became a champion against Thomas à Kempis. It laid claim to the "Following of Christ," the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola, and the "Spiritual Combat" of Scupoli.

It was to ridicule these claims of the Benedictines that the Jesuit Father Hardouin put forward a work so learned and serious that few people saw the joke or could understand what he was driving at. He set to work to prove that nearly all the writings which are ascribed to classical authors were really written by Benedictine monks in the Middle Ages. He excepted Cicero, but he went into elaborate proofs that Virgil's "*Æneid*" and the "*Odes of Horace*" were purely Benedictine. His wit misled, as, in our day, the wit and learning of Father Prout, who translated several of Moore's melodies into Greek, Latin, Old French, etc., and then published in Fraser these pretended originals, charging Moore with arrant plagiarism. Would-be critics, like Mackay, took this as many took Father Hardouin, in sober earnest, and repeated the charge against the Irish poet, to whose genius Mahony really paid a tribute.

An early English edition of the work upholds the claim of Gersen. It is entitled "The Following of Christ, in four books, written by John Gersen, Abbot of Vercelles, of the Holy Order of St. Benedict. Drawn out of ten ancient manuscripts; some written above four hundred years ago, and set forth by the famous Abbot Caietan, Chronologist to Paul V., and dedicated to him and printed at Rome with approbation and general acceptance, 1644. Printed at London, Anno Dom. 1673."

The dispute as to the authorship is not our theme, and we have referred to it only to show why Thomas à Kempis has personally been so much neglected; at the same time it must be remembered that he died in Holland, which soon after the preaching of Luther embraced many of the new heresies, and where the Protestant party turned on the Catholics, who nearly equalled them in numbers, deprived them of religious liberty, and made war on everything Catholic. Of course, under such a persecuting rule, of which the Martyrs of Gorcum are witnesses, Catholic religious houses disappeared, churches were appropriated for Protestant worship, and all honor to great worthies of Catholic times and orthodox religion suppressed.

Men made pilgrimages to the tombs of men who had added treasures to the literature of the world, but few sought the grave of him whose right to the title of author of the "Following of

Christ has been most generally recognized, and from whose manuscript it was given to the world.

An Irish gentleman has just enriched our literature with the result of his pious pilgrimages to the spot where Thomas à Kempis labored and prayed. He calls his work "Thomas à Kempis—Notes of a Visit to the Scenes in which his life was spent, with some account of the Examination of his Relics."

It is in every sense a charming book, and affords English readers the best account of his life, his writings, the justice of the claim that he really wrote the "*De Imitatione Christi*," and the present condition of the scenes where his holy life was spent.

"As a pilgrimage to the localities wherein Thomas à Kempis spent his long and holy life may appear a somewhat unusual undertaking," writes Dr. Cruise, "I think it right to preface my account thereof by a short statement of the circumstances which led me to make that most interesting journey.

"From boyhood I was fascinated by the power and beauty of the wondrous book, 'The Imitation of Christ,' and even in my school days at Clongowes Wood my curiosity was roused concerning its authorship. I remember still, as though it were but yesterday, the occasion upon which my beloved master, the Rev. Joseph Lentaigne, S.J., first laid before me the story of the controversy anent its paternity, illustrating with his lucid mind and rich classical lore the main features of the dispute. His studies, always profound and accurate, had led him to believe that Thomas à Kempis was in truth the author of the book. As years went by my interest in the subject never diminished, and in moments of leisure I read all I could find to bear upon it; and I may truthfully add that in the study of the book and of the life of its gifted saintly author I have found many hours of rest and happiness amidst the wearisome labors of a busy, anxious life."

His travels were, therefore, not aimless, nor were they without being mentally equipped; he had a definite purpose, and his mind was so imbued with his subject that every road, and every stock and stone, had an interest and a meaning. What a pity the European trips of the Catholics from this country, amid the gay myriads who yearly cross the ocean, are not similarly motivated! What fruit would they not gather for the devotional nourishment of their own hearts, and what might they not do to inflame the hearts of their fellow-countrymen? Some pilgrims reach Lourdes, a few Paray-le-Monial, still fewer the Holy Land; but who goes to visit the places hallowed by the life and labors of St. Teresa, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas? There are localities in London associated with St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Ignatius Loyola, as well as with great English saints, including

the recently beatified martyrs, but who seeks them out with pious reverence? Our fellow-countrymen who have no such religious association seek out with interest the very spots whose names are imprinted on their minds by the works of favorite authors. Surely American Catholics can learn a lesson from Dr. Cruise, and do better.

Our author sketches well the wonderful beauty of the "Following of Christ," and the tributes paid to it, not by saints and holy men of the Church only, but by writers in whom faith had almost become extinct. This Protestant appreciation was shown on this side of the Atlantic by the publication of an edition of the three books at Germantown, Pa.,¹ as early as 1749, and of the "Soliloquy of the Soul" at a later period.

He dwells especially on the characteristic of all the writings of Thomas à Kempis, which is apparent in the "Imitation of Christ," and that is not what can be called quotations from the Holy Scriptures, but the expression of a mind so imbued by devout reading and meditation on the Word of God that almost every idea, every sentence can be traced back to the Bible. You may mark sentence after sentence which seem almost quoted word for word, but you find in those between an echo of a well-remembered passage, which you see the writer had in his mind.² The "Three Tabernacles," "The Soliloquy of the Soul," "The Little Garden of Roses," and "The Valley of Lilies" show the same mind. Of these last two little works Catholics in this country fortunately have a translation.

Depicting the condition of Europe after the Great Schism of the West, our author next sketches the life and conversion of Gerard Groot, and his foundation at Deventer, with the aid of Florentius, of the society called at first "The Modern Devotion," but soon after by the name it long retained, "The Congregation of Common Life." The little community, in conformity with his wishes, was placed by his pious successor Florentius under the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and the disciples of Gerard took a regular form in the monastery of Windesheim.

It was in this community, full of its pristine fervor, learned, laborious, prayerful and recollected, that Thomas à Kempis was formed to the spiritual life of which he was to be a master-instructing the ages.

He was a German, born at Kempen between the Rhine and the Meuse, not far from Düsseldorf. His parents were John Hae-

¹ *Of the Imitation of Jesus Christ*, being an Abridgment of the Works of Thomas à Kempis, by a Female Hand. London. Printed 1744. Germantown. Reprinted by Christopher Sower, 1749.

² Dr. Cruise verifies about six hundred in the "Following of Christ." In an English edition which the present writer revised carefully by the Latin he introduced 459 references.

merken and his wife Gertrude, but on entering Gerard's community he was called from his birthplace Thomas à Kempis. The pious mother is said to have been a teacher of little children, and her training of her own sons may be seen in the fact that all three devoted themselves to the service of God. Born in 1380, Thomas at the age of thirteen went to Deventer and thence to Windesheim, where his elder brother John was already a religious. Dr. Cruise gathers from the writings of Thomas and other writers of the community a charming picture of his student life there, which it would be impossible to condense. After seven years of study at Deventer he proceeded to the monastery of Mount St. Agnes near Zwolle, where his brother John was prior. He entered in 1399, was invested with the habit at the close of a year's novitiate, and was ordained in his thirty-third year. Our author traces his spiritual life in the "Soliloquy of the Soul," the "Imitation," and the "Elevation of the Mind."

The diocese in which the Community lived was at one time placed under an interdict for refusing to obey a decision of the Pope. There was a general revolt against authority, but these good religious, and Thomas among them, withdrew to Lunenkirck, from which he returned to close the eyes of his pious brother. When the interdict was raised in 1432 Thomas à Kempis came back to Mount St. Agnes, where he remained till his death in 1471, filling important offices to the edification of all.

Dr. Cruise reproduces an ancient picture of this great religious. The original "is of great antiquity, possibly an original portrait. It is painted on oak and though very dark, is in wonderful preservation." He is represented sitting in the open air, the buildings of Mount St. Agnes in the distant background, while on the pages of a volume at his feet are inscribed the words: "I have sought rest everywhere, and never found it unless in a little corner with a little book."

Three manuscripts still exist in Thomas's handwriting. The first completed in 1441, contains the "Imitation," followed by several of his treatises. This manuscript of the great work has been reprinted in *fac simile* by the aid of the photograph. The second, bearing the date 1456, contains four treatises; and the third manuscript contains sermons to the novices, and the life of St. Lidewige.

His chronicle of Mount St. Agnes terminates with the notice of the death of a pious lay-brother February 12th, 1471; for the next paragraph, written by the religious who took up his pen to continue the history of the house, is devoted to the death of Thomas Haemerken, born at Kempen, who died on the feast of St. James the Less, in his ninety-second year.

Dr. Cruise gives a very satisfactory account of the dispute as to the authorship of "The Imitation;" but that question has, as Dr.

Cruise gracefully states, been already handled in these pages by a priest now deceased, a Father of the Society of Jesus.

Passing rapidly through Kempen in a railroad car inspired our author to visit the birthplace of Thomas à Kempis, and though years passed before he could carry out his pious wish, the resolution was better than many we make. He became an amateur photographer to fit himself for the work and set out in 1883. Cars at Cologne took him in two hours to Kempen. It "is nowadays a quaint little German town of some five thousand inhabitants,—cleanly, healthful, prosperous, and up to the present intensely Catholic." "It is not often," he writes, "that one sees, even on the Continent, a priest in full ecclesiastical robes carrying the Blessed Sacrament through the streets to the sick and dying, preceded by an acolyte with lamp and bell, the people kneeling down most reverently while the august procession passes. Here, however, that touching spectacle is of daily occurrence." We are at once prepossessed in favor of the birthplace of Thomas Haemmerkin. The gymnasium is in part the old castellated palace of the Prince Archbishops of Cologne; the Franciscan church and convent occupy the site of a former gymnasium, and a monastery of the Congregation of Common Life. In this church is a life-size painting of Thomas such as we have described. In the parish church dedicated to Our Lady, the traveller found in the vestibule another picture of Thomas, representing him kneeling in alb and cope before an altar. In this church the old choir stalls and frescoes still remain on which in all probability the boyish eyes of Thomas often rested. He is not forgotten. The site of the house where his parents lived and where he was born, was pointed out to the traveller, and his camera soon gave him its modern appearance. The almshouse occupies the site of the children's school in the olden day. In the Stadthaus is another, but poor and modern, picture of the great religious. Near Kempen is a plain old church dedicated to St. Peter, dating back beyond Thomas's day, and connected with him in the minds of the people.

The little German town has not forgotten the boy whom she sent forth "to do giant work in the vineyard of God, calling souls innumerable, in every age and country, to serve, love and imitate their Divine Lord and Master."

Encouraged by finding so much at Kempen to keep alive the memory of Thomas à Kempis, our pilgrim proceeded to the neat, thriving and prosperous Dutch town of Deventer.

The bustle of business and the clang of factories seemed to say, "you will find nothing here to remind you of mediæval religious buried in their silent cloisters; they knew nothing of business." But it was not so; he was taken to the Engel street and shown where the house stood in which Gerard Groot lived, and where

with Florentius he formed the plan of his community. The modern high school stands where stood the school which the German lad Thomas from Kempen attended. A street continuous with the Engel street, and called the Broedern street, led him to the Broedern Kerk, street and church being still called after the Brothers of Common Life, whose church and house occupied the site of the present church. In this church the skulls of Gerard Groot and Florentius Rædewyn are kept in a little glass cabinet on top of the press containing the vestments in the sacristy. Dr. Cruise, who mounted a ladder to view them closely, describes them as beautifully formed heads, indicating high intellectual capacity, and still in excellent preservation.

He found that the site of the house of Florentius was known, and in the church of St. Lebuin, now used by Protestants, he visited the place before the altar where Florentius was buried in 1400. Thus his visit to the scene of Thomas's schoolboy days was not unrewarded. But he hastened on to Zwolle, which he reached in an hour. Here there was much directly connected with the great master,—the Church of St. Michael, Mount St. Agnes, Windesheim, the oldest portrait and the relics of Thomas à Kempis. He was thus at the spot and amid the scenes where the venerable author passed most of his holy life. We can imagine the rapture of the pilgrim who had been prepared for the crowning enjoyment by his visits to Kempen and Deventer. The grand old Gothic church of St. Michael stood opposite the very hotel at which he took up his abode. To this church Thomas à Kempis came in 1399 when on his way from Deventer to Mt. St. Agnes, and he made his visit to obtain the indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX. that very year. But the church where the pious boy received communion so devotedly is no longer Catholic; no one who reveres the author of the "Following of Christ" can, like him, receive there the Body of our Lord, which he has taught so many to receive worthily.

A drive through Thomas à Kempis street, and over a flat Dutch expanse, brought him to Mount St. Agnes, northeast of Zwolle, the home of the great religious for more than seventy years.

Reaching Agnetenburg, he walked up the hill to visit the site of the old monastery, now occupied by a couple of farm houses, a school, and the cemetery of Zwolle. On the spot where Thomas spent his pious life, where he imbibed the rich treasures of spiritual life which he infused into the "Imitation" and his other works, there is nothing now to remind the Catholic of the great master.

Four miles south of Zwolle is Windesheim, where the mother house of the Congregation of Common Life stood. It is now a hamlet with a Protestant church, the latter formed of the only remaining part of the ancient Catholic structure. In a room

adjoining the church are two old tablets on what was once the wall of the church where Thomas à Kempis must have said Mass so often.

On his return to Zwolle the learned Pastoor Spitzen showed him the famous Zwolle portrait of Thomas à Kempis, believed to have been taken during his life, old and faded, purporting to show him at the age of fifty-nine. At the church of St. Michael the Archangel the Pastoor Roelofs gratified his devotion by showing him "the sarcophagus in which is preserved the remains of the great Monk of Agnetenberg. This casket is a wooden box, some thirty-seven inches long by fifteen wide and twenty deep. It bears a scroll on one side neatly carved and inscribed with the words: 'Reliquiæ pii Thomæ à Kempis.'" The relics consist of about one-half a male human skeleton, including the skull, portions of the pelvis, the thigh bone, bones of the leg and arm, and some smaller; also fragments of textile fabrics, portions of vestments, and very old documents authenticating the relics.

Dr. Cruise carried the skull most reverently into the sanctuary, "feeling," he writes, "how unworthy I was even to touch it, and placed it on a little table in a suitable position," to obtain a photograph. It shows a high vaulted head, indicating a large development of the faculty of veneration. The brain must have been of more than ordinary dimensions. The lower jaw was taken by Cardinal Pitra to the great Benedictine Abbey at Solesmes.

"Far as I have wandered," he writes, "and often as I have trodden sacred places and beheld many relics, I can truthfully say that I never felt more deeply impressed than in beholding and touching those of Thomas à Kempis." This is not difficult to understand. If our reverence for one distinguished for holiness is proportioned to the influence he has exercised for good, where shall we find the equal of the great monk of Agnetenburg, whose saintly counsels and earnest teaching of the love and following of Christ stand preëminent and must last for all ages and nations until the end of time.

Our pilgrim feelingly adds: "One, and only one, painful thought crossed my mind. I could not but regret to behold this priceless treasure concealed in so humble a receptacle, now time-worn and covered with dust. I longed to see it placed, casket and all, in a more fitting reliquary, with a plate-glass lid through which its contents might be viewed. I spoke with the Pastoor Roelofs on the subject, and told him how willingly I should contribute towards carrying out this wish. I know many who will aid me, and possibly before long I may be instrumental in accomplishing this good work."

In his wish, and this good work, many readers will doubtless feel it a privilege to join.

Of the authenticity of the relics there can be little doubt. During the persecution of the Catholics of Holland, at the close of the sixteenth century, the religious were driven from Mount St. Agnes, and the buildings so completely demolished that only the faintest trace remains by which to detect the place they occupied. But the exact spot of the grave of Thomas à Kempis was preserved in records and kept alive by tradition. It was known to be seven feet east of the choir door. The prior who witnessed the demolition of his monastery confided to the pastor at Zwolle, in 1607, the knowledge of the place of the grave, and this information was kept with conscientious minuteness till 1672, when the town of Zwolle was taken by the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster. The Elector ordered search to be made for the grave of Thomas à Kempis. Arnold van Waeyer, with the details in his possession, indicated the exact spot, saying: "If you find not the relics here, then further search is useless." But the search was not in vain. At the very spot pointed out the coffin of the great Thomas à Kempis was discovered. This was on the 10th of August, 1672. The remains were carried in solemn procession to Zwolle, and confided by the Elector to Pastoor van Waeyer, to be placed in St. Joseph's chapel, in the Spiegel Steeg. He directed a reliquary to be made for their safe custody, in which they were placed June 29, 1674, and it is that in which they still remain. When St. Joseph's Chapel became ruinous in 1809, the casket was removed to its present place of deposit, the sacristy of the church of St. Michael, in the Nieuw Straat.

No work that has appeared in our language will give the Catholic reader so much consoling and interesting information about Thomas à Kempis and the scenes connected with his life as this of Dr. Cruise. Yet it is, unfortunately, not a book likely to be reprinted in this country, and the imported copies are few and dear. The readiest way to obtain it would be to send a postal order for the price and postage to the publishers; but we trust the author will soon issue another edition at a price more likely to put it within the reach of the numbers of Catholics in this country who cannot fail to appreciate and enjoy his work.

In closing this article, it may not be out of place to add that one of the most important works¹ defending the claim of Thomas à Kempis, is from the pen of Mgr. J. B. Malou, late Bishop of Bruges, whose grandfather, after leading the Belgian armies against the Austrians, entered the Society of Jesus, and was for many years a zealous priest in New York city.

¹ *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur le Vêritable Auteur du Livre de l'Imitation de Jésus Christ; Examen des Droits de Thomas à Kempis, de Gersen et de Gerson.* Paris: Castermann. 1838.

INDIVIDUALISM AND EXCLUSIVE OWNERSHIP.

IN the ages of authentic history there has now and again cropped out, in one guise or another, indications of a desire for the realization of some undefined communistic ideal. Roman agrarianism, lasting for several centuries, was a definite movement under the influence and direction of this desire. The Golden Age delineated by poets, a time when man

"No rule but uncorrupted reason knew,"

included the conception of a communion in the use and enjoyment of terrestrial things.

The same ideal entered into the speculations of the Grecian schools of philosophy. Plato reasoned about a theoretical state of mankind, an ideal polity, in which absolute and universal communism was to be the rule. The now beatified Sir Thomas More framed his celebrated Utopia, a production which has added a word to language, upon principles similar to those of the Platonic hypothesis. He of course omitted the gross and intolerable errors which are included in the visionary project of Plato. The fruitless expectations of the Chiliasts, or Millennialists, are another indication of the same dominating desire or tendency. In our own day we have Mr. George's celebrated scheme for common proprietorship of the soil.

Such yearnings of the human heart have an adequate cause to excite them. It may be admitted that there is in our identical nature a certain propensity to some manner of life in common. The inclination often manifested to realize a theoretical and communistic conception of man's condition is, in its way and degree, a witness that he is now in a violent, or at least an uncongenial, state: a witness of the authenticity and truth of his primeval innocence, and of his subsequent fall from that happy and peaceful condition. For we are enduring an "exile in a valley of tears, banished children of Eve."

Although such are the promptings evinced by these recurring movements to establish an unexclusive and universal freedom and community in the possession and enjoyment of all the goods of the earth, it is evident that the end is unattainable, the hope chimerical.

But, in connection with these reiterated aspirations of the race for a method of life in common, it is well to remember the supreme

ideal which the Christian Church proposes for man's attainment. She has taught from the days of her Founder, and she will ever teach, that there is a higher and more excellent mode of life, which those who would be perfect and are able to adopt are counselled to follow, namely, her approved life in common, with voluntary poverty. Nevertheless, mankind do not compose a great monastic community. Of the ideal of communism it may be said that its only realization which is true and practical is in the religious orders of the Catholic Church. This is the method of living in common which was founded by our Divine Redeemer. It is a system for a chosen and limited few. "Non omnes capiunt verbum istud." The multitude of mankind must live by a different rule.

The Creator and Sovereign Ruler originally gave all the goods of the earth to men *in common*; for reasons of ascertained importance and manifest necessity to the general welfare, men have divided the stores of nature. They have authorized nations and individuals to acquire the exclusive ownership of particular portions. This was actually accomplished *jure humano*, by human law. Such is the admitted principle of sound jurisprudence.

The public mind has been directed to a consideration of land. Why was it made the subject of exclusive ownership? A brief examination of the reasons why will be useful. The best use of land is obtained when it is rendered most fruitful by careful, industrious, and intelligent cultivation. By dividing it amongst individuals, or giving to them a separate portion with exclusive ownership, the highest degree of cultivation is secured for the soil, and its fruitfulness is brought to the greatest perfection. Such is the avouchment of history and experience. The aboriginal Indians of the United States owned the land in common. They subsisted almost exclusively by hunting. A small tribe of them roamed over a vast area of country, and were ever, we may well believe, in a state of extremity for the absolute wants of the coarsest and commonest necessities of life, raiment and food. Whereas, by the proper cultivation of the ground, the same area could be made to yield an abundance of all things for a great and numerous population.

In early days the colonization of Virginia had long been attempted. But one failure had followed another. Still, the colonists, some remnants of earlier bands and new arrivals, struggled on. They owned the land in common. At length a new and successful turn in affairs occurred, the reasons for which our historian, Mr. Bancroft, thus narrates: "The greatest change in the condition of the colonists resulted from the establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were

assigned for his orchard and garden to plant at his pleasure and for his own use. So long as industry had been without its special reward, reluctant labor wasteful of time had been followed by want. Henceforward the sanctity of private property was recognized as the surest guarantee of order and abundance." (U. S., vol. i., A.D. 1611.)

And so, too, it was with the Plymouth Pilgrims. They verified the wise and prophetic words of Aristotle who, long before, had, with his accustomed accuracy, noted the evils resulting from systems of communism. "Such evils are manifest," he says, "from the methods of common proprietorship (*Koinwvía*) practised by those who go out to settle a colony. For nearly all of them have disputes with each other upon the most ordinary matters, and come to blows upon trifles." (Polit. Lib., 2, c. 5.) The Plymouth Fathers were no exception to the rule thus sagaciously discerned by Aristotle. Their situation had become burdensome. With them, says Mr. Bancroft, "the system of common property had occasioned grievous discontents; the influence of laws could not compel regular labor like the uniform impulse of personal interest; and even the threat of keeping back their bread could not change the character of the idle. After the harvest of 1623 there was no general want of food. For, in the spring of that year it had been agreed that each family should plant for itself; and parcels of land in proportion to the respective numbers were assigned for cultivation, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labor and universal industry; even women and children now went into the field to work. The next spring every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee." (Ibid. Plymouth, 1623.) If among a handful of colonists the system of common ownership and occupancy of land was found to be so impracticable and disastrous, it follows irresistibly that the widespread and populous nations would experience the evils of such system to a degree beyond imagination and endurance.

Admitting that bounteous nature primarily bestowed upon mankind the earth with its plenitude of resources for their common use and well-being, it is evident that creatures so richly endowed with reason by nature and the author of nature would, in due time and as circumstances and conditions pointed out the way, seek a remedy and mode of escape from a state of things fraught with never-ending disputes, quarrels and tumults, being convinced that

"Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
Lie in three words, health, peace and competence."

Nature's beneficent gift of land, the permanent spring of life-materials for all the countless generations of men, was never intended

to become the source of evils wholly unbearable and destructive of human happiness. Had separate ownership and occupancy never been established, the records of strife between individuals and nations over the possession of land or territory, even now so numerous, would have been increased a thousand-fold.

The bellicose principles of the philosopher Hobbes would have found almost universal illustration. An occurrence in patriarchal days is instructive. Abraham and his kinsman Lot shared their goods in common. But dissensions were on the point of arising between them. "Neither was the land able to bear them that they might dwell together, for their substance was great, and they could not dwell together." (Gen. 13:6.) The favored and venerable patriarch Abraham judged that it was expedient for himself and Lot to have their lands and other possessions apart. "Let there be no quarrel . . . between me and thee. . . . Depart from me, I pray thee: if thou wilt go to the left hand, I will take the right." (Ibid. 13:8.) Thus "the Father of many Nations" discontinued the practice of living in common with his own kinsman, the upright and "just Lot." The separation was necessary that each might have the undisturbed possession and peaceful enjoyment of his own. If even these holy patriarchs found it indispensable for harmony and mutual happiness and welfare to divide the land, and to institute separate and exclusive ownership of things, it is quite evident that the less favored of the race will not live together in peace, if their possessions, and especially if their lands, are owned in common. This is the result declared by universal experience, an experience which is based on the indisputable facts and principles of human nature as at present existing.

It has been admitted, though incorrectly, that Mr. George does not defend communism. It is true he does not maintain that false theory in its complete universality. That is, he does not advocate a scheme of common ownership which would extend to all the possessions of men. But he does maintain an absolute communism of *the land*. This is his chief and fundamental error reiterated in all his writings with the directness and eloquence of style for which he is remarkable. His leading principle, stated in his strong, unequivocal language, is this:

"In the very nature of things, land cannot rightfully be made individual property. This principle is absolute. The title of a peasant proprietor deserves no more respect than the title of a great territorial noble. No sovereign political power, no compact or agreement, even though consented to by the whole population of the globe, can give to an individual a valid title to the exclusive ownership of a square inch of soil." (The Land Question, Ch. 8.)

When the great and ruling minds of the race constructed their

irrefutable arguments against the impracticable theory of communism, they did not fall into the error of excluding communism of the land from the number of those false doctrines against which the cogent validity of their reasoning was directed. The arguments which demonstrate that, for cultured and populous nations, communism is a visionary project, also prove that it is, for the same nations, an unfeasible plan when applied to *real property*.

The profound scholastic philosophers examined by disputation the topic of exclusive ownership—*De Rerum Divisione*—until they completely exposed its metaphysical principles. Their reasoning, too, is comprehensively *universal*. It applies to all its legitimate objects, and it embodies the entire truth respecting all. For, these objects have an intelligible unity, and they are thence coupled by a logical tie. There is not, in the material objects of wealth themselves, any sign or other evidence declaring that they shall not be owned in common. The reasons which carry conviction to the mind that the various communistic schemes are not practicable, but on the contrary illusory, are not deduced from the intrinsic nature of the objects of wealth. These paramount reasons are derived from a consideration of the undeniable characteristics of human nature in its present state. Change the conditions of man's being, as would be done by restoring him to what the theologians call "A State of Innocence," and the reasoning against systems of common proprietorship no longer applies. Mr. George's arguments against the legitimacy, and even the validity, of exclusive ownership of land, are fully as cogent against exclusive ownership of other property, whereas he admits personal and exclusive ownership of other goods.

If it be granted that other objects may legitimately become private property, it is inconsistent to affirm that land should be owned in common. Although Mr. George's arguments are inconsequent and invalid, their weakness cannot be exposed by any process based on inconsistency.

A plan which cannot be reduced to practice, save by a violation of the rules of equity, public order and tranquillity, is clearly impracticable and unlawful. Communism of land is precisely such a plan. It is therefore unfeasible, and contrary to law and equity. Whether men be considered as living in civil society or under conditions preceding the establishment of States, it is equally true to affirm that exclusive ownership was actually introduced by their positive, or conventional rules. The land of the earth has, in all the great and enlightened nations, been distributed amongst individuals by public authority guided by equitable general laws. It was the law of the land which established and regulated its division. Particular persons were thus invested with the legiti-

mate and sole dominion of and over their allotted shares. And, although the right so obtained is of man's origination, it is nevertheless valid and inviolable. It imposes on others, by the rules of natural justice, the duty of respecting it. Analogy serves to illustrate. The mutual dominion of husband and wife is also of human origin. A wife belongs to her husband, and he to her, by virtue of their common choice or consent. Nevertheless, a profanation of the conjugal rights of either is opposed to the most elementary precepts of nature and reason. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his house, nor his field, . . . nor anything that is his." (Deut. 5 : 21.)

The practice of dividing the soil by an impartial general rule, so as to assign to individuals the sole dominion over specified portions of it, is universal among the leading nations of mankind. The comprehensive conclusion of men's combined reason, declaring that "the land of the earth should be divided," appertains to that species of human law which the Roman jurists styled "*Jus Gentium*."¹

It is law which comes down to us from venerable antiquity. It is in accordance with the dictates of right reason. Mankind in all ages from very primitive times have seen its expediency, and its peculiar necessity for well-ordered civil societies. To this law are referred the bringing into general use of ordinary buying and selling; the introduction of exclusive ownership of land and other property; and the establishment of many other fundamental institutions of organized society.

To attack the legitimate vested rights of individuals to the ownership of land, the most important object of property, would

¹ These terms of Justinian jurisprudence have, in this paper, been translated by "The Common Law of Nations." To render them literally by "Law of Nations" would be equivocal, and understood to mean International Law, something widely different from the *Jus Gentium*. In Roman juristic philosophy, these Latin words are used to define certain general laws of equity and expediency. They prevail in all, or nearly all the nations of the earth by way of universal customs founded on identical and universal needs. The general conditions which give rise to them are everywhere similar. "Quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, id apud omnes gentes peræque custoditur, vocaturque jus gentium."

The excellent authority of the learned Jesuit, Rev. W. H. Hill, has been followed in using the phrase, "The Common Law of Nations." The student who desires to perfect his knowledge of this matter is referred to Father Hill's "Ethics, or Moral Philosophy." In that excellent work will also be found, luminously defined, the manner in which separate ownership in every species of property first originated; how it justly became vested in particular persons. The subject in all its important relations is discussed conformably to the methods of the old masters of thought and truth; that is, to the depth of its absolute and immutable principles.

William Whewell, D.D., in the "Editor's Preface" to his "abridged translation" of "Grotius on the Rights of War and Peace," says that the ancient Roman meaning of the expression, *Jus Gentium*, was, "The Law common to most Nations."

be surely destructive of the peace, order, and justice whereby civil society preserves its existence. Were communism of the soil possible to be realized, its speedy and disastrous effect would follow. Rightful individual prerogatives may not be interfered with, save for recognized and real purposes of public necessity; and then, only by the proper authority acting by prescribed and lawful methods. The State has the right of eminent domain.

Yet there is another aspect of these reflections. The system of private ownership of land and other property is the product of human legislation. Could it not, then, be abolished by the same authority which brought it into being? It must be admitted that, speaking merely of what is within the absolute limits of human government and law, it could be abolished. Yet not arbitrarily. It could, if there were adequate reasons on account of which the public welfare required so radical a change, and if the abolishment of the system were effected by methods which would be equitable and legal, including the due compensation of expropriated owners. The case is extreme and hypothetical. These reasons cannot exist until the universal moral character of mankind be wholly transformed and elevated from its imperfect state. Human nature cannot, unless it be entirely transfigured, attain to those conditions which would render a return to common property in land or other objects practicable or expedient. To expect that such a change, such a consummation, will be brought about, is to entertain a hope which is simply chimerical.

Still, it must be conceded, by the requirements of speculative truth, that the abrogation of exclusive ownership would not be an act which simply exceeded the boundaries of human law. It would indeed be wholly beyond the range of men's legislation, did each person hold his particular possessions by a title vested in him immediately by the *natural law*. But this he does not. His title is a human title.

It was the *Jus Gentium* which decreed that it was expedient to divide the goods of the earth. The actual allotment of land and other kinds of property in equitable proportions to individual persons was regulated by the special civil laws of each country. "*Dominium et prælatio introducta sunt ex jure humano.*" (St. Thom. Sum. Th., Q. 10 a. 10.)

No human law is absolutely unchangeable. Even the common law of nations, more stable than any other species of men's enactments, is not exempt from mutation. Instances are not wanting in which important changes actually occurred in the *Jus Gentium*. Anciently, it was in accordance with it for prisoners of war either to be put to death or made slaves, at the option of their captors.

But, by present international law, it is made illicit either to put prisoners of war to death arbitrarily or to make slaves of them.

Slavery has been gradually done away with by a change in men's manner of judging it; by greater refinement of the higher sentiments; not by any change in the manner itself which the law regarded, except as consequent upon the diversity wrought in men's ideas. Civilized peoples have also changed their judgment respecting the right to execute at will captives of war.

These are changes in the common law of nations proving that it is mutable, or that men can judge its principles differently at different times. It is by superior enlightenment that we now abhor some things authorized by the *Jus Gentium* in other days. It is because of better knowledge of the same matter; more definite and correct ideas of what is reasonable, becoming and humane. Our greater refinement and perfection of laws, correlative with the spread among us of highly cultured and humane feelings, have brought about the abolishment of property in human beings. The supernatural principles and influences of the Christian religion should also be present in thought to appreciate adequately the causes which, in the Evangelical periods, produce orderly changes in the direction of what is noble and beneficent.

Slavery is not in itself, or intrinsically, evil. The obligation of refusing to allow the practice of it is created and imposed on civilized peoples by positive, not by natural law. Consequently, it should not be concluded that, in introducing it, men were sanctioning or practising a system inherently wrong. Human laws, like everything else which is human, are of necessity variable and amendable.

It follows, therefore, that even the *Jus Gentium* is not necessarily immutable, as is the natural law. We find that what was once allowed by it is now contrary to it; and this, without any change in the matter to which the law pertains. Take the case of the prohibitory rule which once forbade the charging of interest on money lent, whereas the charge is now licit, the matter itself of the law having changed. For *capital* has altered the nature of money as representative of values, and has made a different object of it. Money is no longer merely what it was in the days of St. Thomas Aquinas, an object whose chief, if not only, function was to be a medium of necessary exchanges. It is now adapted to investment. The intelligence of men, as time went on, devised new commercial conditions not foreknown by the generations of the past.

It is true that the system of private property in land is directly contrived by man, not nature. Nevertheless, there is no valid reason for concluding, with Mr. George, that it should be abolished.

Far less is there any reason for supposing that the system is essentially "iniquitous." There are, on the other hand, positively fatal objections to absolute communism of land. For it is an impracticable scheme when intended as the universal rule. It is contrary to the established usages of all the leading and prosperous nations of the earth. The accumulated experience of all generations attests that, in the interests of peace, order, and abundance, the land, as well as other things, should be divided amongst nations and individuals, so as to give to them the exclusive ownership of their respective shares.

It is also a fundamental principle of Mr. George's reasoning that exclusive ownership can be legitimately acquired only by *labor* or *production*. "There can be to the ownership of anything no rightful title which is not derived from the title of the producer, and does not rest upon the natural right of the man to himself." ("Progress and Poverty," bk.7, chap. 1.) Hence the importance which he attaches to the difference between land and other species of property. The latter is the result of human production; the former is the gift of nature.

Consequently, he deduces the injustice of individual and exclusive ownership of land, forasmuch as the soil is not the product of human industry.

Moreover, if exclusive individual ownership of the soil is intrinsically unjust for the reason that the individual person does not produce the land, so must it be unjust for any nation to have exclusive ownership of the territory which they inhabit, and over which they exercise the sole proprietorship, the sovereignty and jurisdiction; for this particular part of mankind thereby excludes all the other nations of the earth from the benefit and use of that same territory. A nation of men no more produces the land which it occupies than the individual produces the piece of ground whereon he dwells. The one as much as the other is the endowment of nature. And, if by any reasoning derived from the fact of non-production the title of an individual to land can be shown to be spurious and "iniquitous," by exactly similar reasoning can a nation's exclusive dominion over its territory be proved to be fictitious and unrightful. Mr. George, it would seem, does not decline to draw this conclusion: "Nor have I ever asserted, but on the contrary have expressly denied, that the present population of . . . any . . . country have any exclusive right of ownership in the soil, or can in any way acquire such a right." (The "Reduction to Iniquity.")

Thus does Mr. George hold the absolute communism of the land. His desire, indeed, to alleviate the evils of the suffering poor is generous and honorable. But the remedy does not consist

in attempting to disprove by a "reduction to iniquity" the right of private property in land. In affirming that the soil may not be divided and subjected to exclusive ownership, Mr. George attacks the fundamental principles of Christian jurisprudence, and ranges himself in opposition to the universal judgment of enlightened mankind.

The essay has been made to refute Mr. George's special theory of communism by maintaining that exclusive ownership of land originates in mere "occupancy." The individual is accordingly said to be empowered by natural right to appropriate vacant land just as he chooses, as to site and quantity. Society, it is held, is not free to refuse its ratification to such exercise of dominion by the particular person. It is even the *duty* of public authority to declare the validity of the individual's act. But the governing power has no right to limit or define the quantity of land to be "occupied" or "appropriated" by any human being. This is wholly within the scope and exercise of indefeasible personal rights. Any limitation set to them, any determination of their range by the power which represents all the people, would be an arbitrary usurpation of inalienable individual liberty.

So runs the theory. It is evident that the will of the supreme authority in society is, by these principles, subordinated to the will of each individual. This theory has therefore been styled very aptly the theory of "absolute individualism." It is the unconditional autonomy of the particular person. He is a law unto himself. Is he not, *sui ipsius, sui juris*, possessed of dominion over self, invested with the complete ownership of his own free operations? The individual will is the last rule of action, to the exclusion of any equitable public law framed for the general good and the protection of the common rights of all. "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.*"

But notwithstanding all this, the principle is indubitably as well as metaphysically true that the common good of an entire people is an object of greater solicitude and moment than the good of a single individual. "*Bonum multitudinis,*" says St. Thomas Aquinas, "*majus est et divinius quam bonum unius.*" But by the doctrine of individualism even the right of any one person is made to transcend the rights of all the persons composing the whole community or nation. Indeed, the aggregated rights of all mankind would be as nothing compared to the paramount prerogative of any individual man. Supreme civil power would be in abeyance before the arbitrary and still more authoritative power of the individual. This theory accepted in practice would operate to the utter extinction of human society.

Communism is not *per se* opposed to the natural law. It would

even be practicable if man were in the state of innocence in which he was originally constituted. But absolute individualism is directly contrary to the principles of natural justice and equity. It would not be possible in any plan of human society. To answer the tenets of absolute communism by the assertion of absolute individualism, is to pass from the denial of one extreme error to the affirmation of another even more untrue and fallacious.

The theory of "Occupancy" does not recognize any authority in civil society to regulate the appropriation of land by an individual. If occupation solely and primitively creates exclusive ownership, then a single individual could legitimately appropriate, and claim as his own, an entire district or country. He could, consequently, make all later comers to the same region his dependents, impose upon them at his arbitrary discretion what terms he listed, however onerous. For his title, *ex hypothesi*, came not through human law. It was conveyed to him by nature herself. *Jus est primi occupantis*.

It is easily perceived that this reasoning runs counter to the principle that nature originally donated the land of the earth to men in common. She gave it to all, not to each. Antecedently to human law, and the division thereby made, each person had a right to an equitable share in the same land. It is not consistent with equity, and it would be intolerable in practice, that an individual should be the last judge in his own case concerning that which equally involves the rights of others. The theory of occupancy constitutes the individual the sole arbiter of his own cause, with the right to decide against all others equally interested with himself.

The same theory falsely applies the maxim of human law, "*res nullius est primi occupantis*." For land is not "*res nullius*," an ownerless thing. Neither has nature clothed any one with the right to appropriate it at his absolute discretion. Were such the case, land would be, by its very nature, positively common property, whereas, in truth, it is by gift of the Creator common only *negatively*.

It is a principle of demonstrative reasoning that, primitively, the soil of the earth is owned by mankind *collectively*, not singly or individually. It, therefore, requires their tacit or express consent, in the natural sequence of things, before it may be legitimately divided, or reduced to the exclusive possession of any.

The individual is not, and cannot be, the entirely adequate cause which originates private or particular ownership of the things which nature gave to men collectively. The requisite power for this must ultimately be lodged in all to whom the gifts were made. And they were made to all. Mankind, by common consent, express or

tacit, have authorized a division. Exclusive ownership is not prescribed immediately by the natural law. To affirm that it is, is to attribute to the individual a fictitious all-sufficiency for an act which can legitimately proceed only from a public representative body. For a regular assemblage of all, or of the representatives of all, alone can exercise the authority to legislate for the entire collection respecting things related equally to each person of the multitude. Were the individual thus self-sufficient, then must he also have a congenital right anterior to all the laws of men, an inherent moral power to seize to his own use at will the goods which, previously to human legislation, are the exclusive property of none, though the common store of all.

Such is individualism. Mankind have never conceded, and it is clearly impossible for them ever to concede, that the individual is vested with any such prerogative of self-sufficiency, any such imaginary congenital right. Nor will mankind ever admit that nature's endowments to the race may be divided and reduced to the separate possession of individuals by a method so dangerous, so arbitrary and so inequitable. The admission of the principle and its practical operation would result in endless dissensions, sanguinary tumults and universal discord, presaging the total annihilation of civil society.

The same theory bases the origin of exclusive ownership of land upon an indeterminate condition, or an accidental circumstance; that is, upon mere "occupancy." It does not define what land may be "occupied," nor where, nor how much. And it denies all power in the public authority to determine these things. For the individual is rendered simply autonomous.

The defenders of individualism falsely identify "The Common Law of Nations" (*Jus Gentium*) with the natural law. Yet these two great fundamental laws, on which together rests the fabric of human rights and institutions, are, in reality, distinct and different from each other. But, even if they were identical, it would still be false to say that the particular rule by which a division of the goods of the earth was everywhere actually made, was not a human law. "*Rerum divisio facta est jure humano.*"

To maintain that civil government sprang from individuals ceding their personal liberty and rights for the general good, is to assume that man is a social being, not by the law of his nature, but by voluntary choice. That human society validly possesses the authority and the power to rule by righteous laws, does not spring from, nor is it dependent upon, the volitions of men.

The fanciful "social contract" of Rousseau has no legitimate matter save in this, that particular politics and special forms of government are devised by human wisdom for the general good,

and are imposed upon, or rather deliberately chosen by, the people comprising such and such portions of mankind.

Man is, by a principle of his being, gregarious. He is naturally a "*πολιτικὸν ζῶον*." To conceive him as in "a state of nature" which is extra social, is to conceive him as he is not: as inferior, or else superior, to man, "*ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός*." His real state of nature is a condition of political companionship with others of his kind. In the absence of other beings like himself he would, for extrinsic reasons, be unable to exercise his functions as a member of society. But the principles of his nature would be the same. He is intrinsically social. In organized society under a definite form of civil rulership individuals rather acquire rights than give up any.

Thus was it, relatively, as to dominion over the goods of the earth. Individuals rather got possession of than abdicated rights, when they were invested with legitimate authority to become exclusive owners of particular things.

It may be concluded, then, that the theory which claims to found exclusive ownership of land on "occupancy," or, in other words, the theory of "absolute individualism," leads to inconsistency and absurdity. It is a species of *radicalism* which attacks the root or first principles of human society by denying an essential prerogative of social authority, namely, its power to determine and protect individual rights of property.

Communism is, indeed, a false theory. But its valid refutation cannot be founded upon the tenets of individualism.

The nations of the earth were made "for health"; they have never yielded assent to the principles of communism, nor have they ever accepted as true that the purely fortuitous fact of "occupancy" is, of itself, sufficient to invest the individual with any true proprietorship of land. It is the universal teaching of the highest theological authorities in the Catholic Church that the true, safe, and expedient rule for mankind to follow as regards the possession of property is that of exclusive dominion. It is the rule which is the most efficacious and conservative of the general weal. Its known subserviency to the ends of public utility is not a discovery peculiar to Christian times; it is a valuable inheritance of most venerable antiquity. Passing by more ancient testimony, the following is the deliberate judgment of Aristotle:

"Community in the ownership and management of property is beset with inconveniences. But the manner of life which is now established (*i.e.*, the personal and exclusive ownership of things), more especially when accompanied and embellished by good morals and a system of just laws, is a condition far superior and greatly to be preferred. Indeed, the latter mode with its ameliorations embraces also whatever advantages would attach to the plan

of common or undivided possession. Property in some respects ought to be common, but in the main separate, private, and personal. For, when each man's time and attention are given to his own particular concerns, there will scarcely ever be room or occasion for mutual complaints. Furthermore, prosperity will flourish and increase for the reason that each individual applies himself more assiduously to amplifying and improving his own possessions." ("Polit. Lib.," 2 c. 5.)

THE APOSTLE OF ALASKA.

"**A**RE not the Indians the least of the brethren of Christ? The least—yes, the poorest, the most ignored, and the most despised. Blessed those who contribute to the work of their edification and sanctification." Thus, from the heart, spoke the saintly Archbishop Seghers, in the Cathedral of Baltimore during the Third Plenary Council. Far more blessed, then, is he who lavished his labors and laid down his life for these least ones of Christ. The text of this same discourse brings us comfort in the irreparable loss the mission of Alaska has sustained: "*Wisdom reacheth from end to end mightily and ordereth all things sweetly.*" (Wisdom viii., v. 1.) We can but bow our heads before that wisdom which first inspired Charles John Seghers to devote his life to the salvation of the Alaskan Indians, and then, in the very outset of their evangelization, allows him to be stricken down by the hand of a friend. Had the murderer been a savage, there would be no doubt that the Archbishop had won a martyr's crown. Not even this consolation is ours, yet "wisdom ordereth all things sweetly," even though no martyr's aureole adorn his brow.

The lamented Archbishop was born in the quaint old Belgian city of Ghent, on December 26, 1839. Was it a presage of his fate that his birthday fell on the feast of St. Stephen, the first martyr? Two days later, in St. Martin's church, he was given the names of Charles John Baptist in holy baptism. On May 30, 1850, when eleven years old, he received his first communion and confirmation from the hands of the Rt. Rev. L. J. Delebecque, Bishop of Ghent. His parents, Charles Francis and Pauline Seghers, died when he was quite young; but, as they were in easy circum-

stances, their son had the advantage of an excellent education in the famous College of Ste. Barbe, in his native city. Having finished his course of preparatory studies with success, his gentle and pious nature led him to choose the sacred ministry for his profession, and on October 1st, 1858, he entered the diocesan seminary. On the 18th of June, 1859, he was tonsured, and in the three following years received respectively the minor orders, subdeaconship, and deaconship, in the Cathedral of St. Bavon, in Ghent, from the same bishop who had given him his first communion and confirmation. Feeling himself called to an apostolic life, he left the seminary on August 9, 1862, the day on which he was ordained deacon, to finish his studies in the American College at Louvain, where he could better prepare himself for missionary labors in America. Finally, at Mechlin, on Saturday of Whitsun-week, May 31, 1863, he was raised to the priesthood by his Eminence Cardinal Engelbert Stercke, Archbishop of Mechlin, and on Trinity Sunday offered for the first time the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. In a *totum* breviary given him by the Rev. J. de Nève, V. G., and Rector of the American College, we find the inscription, "Argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia et doctrina." (II. Ep. S. Paul to Tim., iv., 2.) Words of counsel which he strove to fulfil to the letter, and with what success all who knew him can testify. The diocese of Vancouver Island, B. C., which he selected for his field of labor, was, humanly speaking, one of the least attractive and, at the same time, one of the most laborious missions. Vancouver Island is nearly three hundred miles in length, with an average width of thirty miles. The population consists of whites, who dwell chiefly in the towns of Victoria, Kanaimo, and Esquimalt, and in the settlements of Saanich, Cowichan, and Comox, and of Indians, who number about eleven thousand. Here there was a field, ample, indeed, and awaiting the harvester, whose devotion, self-sacrifice, and zeal led him far from his native Belgium to preach Christ crucified to those who had never heard of His saving cross. He knew of their spiritual destitution from their saintly bishop, Modeste Demers, and offered himself for work, hard work, with no alluring prospect of a martyr's crown. His studies completed, nothing now detained him, and so he set sail on the 14th of September, 1863, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross—a fitting birthday for his apostolic career. In these days of rapid passage and inter-ocean railroad connections, it is hard to conceive the difficulties of travel twenty-five years ago. Now, one might make the journey in wellnigh two weeks; then, it took as many months. So the young missionary started for his far-off island of the Pacific, by way of the Isthmus of Panama. He reached Victoria, V. I., his destination, on the 17th of November

(1863), and received a welcome such as only a bishop who has a vast field with a multitude of souls to be saved, and but few laborers, can give to a new apostle. The venerable Modeste Demers saw in Fr. Seghers a man after his own apostolic heart, and felt that he could lay upon these young and willing shoulders a portion of the burden that was crushing him. Of the early years of Fr. Seghers' priestly life no better account can be given than the words of his bishop, spoken in the American College at Louvain: "There may be an equally good priest on earth, but I do not believe there is a better one." What sacrifice, devotion, and zeal underlie these few but pregnant words! When Fr. Seghers came to Vancouver Island the diocese was in disorder; even the Sisters wanted to leave. For the Oblate Fathers, who had hitherto assisted the Bishop and cared for the Sisters, had been called away to labor in the newly-established vicariate apostolic of British Columbia, lately committed to their congregation. Bishop Demers appointed the new-comer chaplain to the Sisters, and under his care they soon became a model religious community, who for contentment, regularity and observance could not be surpassed. Such love of rule and religious life did their new spiritual director instil into their hearts. Fr. Seghers was stationed at St. Andrew's Cathedral, in Victoria, first as assistant and afterwards as rector. He remained in active charge until December, 1867, when he began to spit blood. He always administered the temporalities of the diocese in the absence of the Bishop, while Fr. Joseph Mandart held the office of Vicar-General. It was Fr. Seghers that established the first missions on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The occasion was the alleged murder of a shipwrecked crew. In consequence of this, a gunboat went in the year 1869 to a place called Hasquiat, to hang two Indians. The young missionary, who had instructed them in prison and baptized them, went with them to the scaffold. There he saw thousands of Indians plunged in utter barbarism, without ever having seen a priest, though living within a few hundred miles of Victoria. This was too much for his zeal, and he determined to help these benighted people. But a severe hæmorrhage prevented the immediate carrying out of this missionary enterprise. The critical state of Fr. Seghers' health filled Bishop Demers with alarm. By what means could he prolong so valuable a life? A summons to assist at the Vatican Council suggested the idea of giving the frail young priest the benefit of a visit to the Eternal City. The change of scene and climate might restore his shattered health. So the Bishop and Fr. Seghers set out for Rome. At a private audience in the Vatican Mgr. Demers presented the invalid to Pius IX., and begged a very special blessing for him, telling his Holiness that the poor diocese of Vancouver could ill afford

to lose so valuable a priest. The Holy Father gave the blessing most heartily, and assured the anxious prelate that the life of his protégé would be spared, for the Church had need of his services. He then alluded to a saying, common among Italian ecclesiastics, that a cleric who spits blood has already the Cardinal's red, by saying, jestingly, "You must not encroach on my privilege of making Cardinals."

After this Father Seghers seemed to recover strength for a while. This visit to Rome as secretary to Bishop Demers brings out the young missionary's capacity for study. Before he went to the Vatican Council he scarcely knew of the existence of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*; when he returned home he had acquired a thorough knowledge of Canon Law. On December 31st, 1870, Bishop Demers had a stroke of apoplexy which incapacitated him for any active work. This increased the responsibility and labor of the already overburdened Father Seghers. This strain brought on in the following spring a severer hæmorrhage than ever before. That he might be better cared for he was sent to the convent, as there was no hospital. There, however, he got worse, so that the doctor declared that his lungs were in such an alarming state that his death was only a matter of time. The naval doctors gave the same decision. Indeed, his appearance showed that his life was in imminent danger. On the 28th of July, 1871, Bishop Demers went to his rest after thirty-three years of missionary labors and after an episcopate of twenty-four years. When the sad news was cautiously broken to the invalid a pint of blood poured from his lips whilst tears streamed from his eyes. What a situation! The Bishop dead and the newly appointed administrator liable to smother in his own blood! All human remedies seemed powerless to aid him, yet he could not fail to see in what a sad state the diocese was about to be left. Some time before he had dictated a letter to Cardinal Barnabo asking him to obtain the Pope's blessing for him. From it he expected his cure. The Pope, he said, cured him once, he can finish the cure. The event warranted the confidence. For, as far as can be ascertained, Father Seghers ceased to spit blood about the very day of the audience in which the Cardinal asked the blessing. The petition was written and sent the 24th of July, 1871, four days before the Bishop's death. The following extract is translated from the Latin answer of Cardinal Barnabo to the Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, in whose name the letter had been sent: "I hasten to notify your Reverence that our Most Holy Father, in an audience on the 27th of last August, willingly acceding to the request contained in your letter to me dated the 24th of July, deigned to impart the Apostolic blessing to the Rev. Charles Seghers with all his heart." Father Seghers,

who had such faith in that blessing, attributed his recovery to it. The doctors were nonplussed. They knew that it was attributed to prayers, but dared not say much about it, as they had openly spoken of his speedy death as certain. Overflowing with gratitude, Father Seghers wrote a letter of thanks to the Cardinal to be sent in the name of Father Jonckau, his faithful friend and now the administrator of the widowed diocese. The translation runs as follows: "I have received with a joyful and grateful heart your Eminence's letter of the 2d of September, in which you informed me that the Holy Father had bestowed the Apostolic blessing on the Rev. Charles Seghers, and the more so as it appears that the blessing of his Holiness has restored to health my beloved friend and fellow-laborer. I should have acknowledged your Eminence's letter before this, but I deferred doing so that I might judge more certainly whether or not my friend had recovered. I beg your Eminence to pardon this delay." This letter was dated December 18th, 1871.

Father Seghers' lungs were permanently healed, and never again did he spit blood, in spite of the severe strain to which he often subjected them. For instance, when he was collecting alms for the diocese in 1884-85 he sometimes lectured as often as six times in one day, the lectures lasting over an hour, some even an hour and three-quarters. Still his lungs held out. The blessing of Pius IX. had a lasting effect. That blood was reserved to fertilize Alaska! Having so marvellously recovered his strength, the young administrator devoted himself to his responsible office, and displayed in it such zeal and prudence that at a solemn consistory held in Rome, March 23d, 1873, he was appointed to fill the vacant See. Pius IX. had not forgotten the protégé of Bishop Demers. Charles John Seghers was at this time only thirty-four years old, and thus became the youngest of the American bishops. His episcopal consecration took place on the 29th of June, 1873, in the Cathedral of St. Andrew at Victoria. Now that the full responsibility of the diocese was on his shoulders, he began to organize it thoroughly. New missions were started, new churches and schools built, and the fine building known as St. Joseph's Hospital erected. On Easter Sunday, April 5th, 1874, he consecrated his diocese to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, the solemn ceremony being performed in the Cathedral, Victoria, and in all the residences of the mission. Alaska was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Vancouver Island, but as yet no missionary of that diocese had visited the numerous Indian tribes in that almost unknown region. The youthful Bishop determined to be the pioneer of the Cross in Alaska. In the very year of his consecration he travelled to Sitka, the capital, and thence 1120 miles west as far as the Islands

of Kodiak and Unalaska, one of the Aleutian Isles. It so happened that while Bishop Seghers was journeying through the lower portion of the territory, Right Rev. Bishop Clut and Father Lecorre, O.M.I., were traversing the northern portion, not knowing to whose jurisdiction it belonged.

Though five years had passed since Father Seghers had visited the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1869, he had not forgotten the destitute condition of the poor aborigines. But ill health and over-work had hitherto prevented him from advancing their evangelization. Now as their chief pastor he hastened to supply their great need, and in 1874, accompanied by Father Augustus Brabant, he journeyed through the twenty-one villages into which the four thousand Indians were divided. In each village they preached the word of God and taught them the Catholic prayers in their own language, as well as several religious canticles. They also baptized 960 children under seven years of age.

The following year, with the same companion, he paid another visit to the west coast. To have an idea of what this implied, hear an extract from one of Mgr. Seghers' letters. "In passing from the camp of the Clayoquots to that of Iouclouliet we spent three days and two nights. We had to walk by day and sleep by night under a pelting rain. We had to clear ourselves a path through the brushwood, climb along cliffs, and jump from rock to rock. Our provisions were exhausted, and we were forced to pick up some mussels and eat them raw. Towards the close of the third day we reached Iouclouliet. It was time. Our shoes and clothes were in tatters, and we were nearly dead from hunger and fatigue." Yet he could see the humorous side of things, for he tells how an old man of the Machelat tribe had made himself a vest of an old flour sack, and bore on his back, in big letters, "*Imperial Mill*." In this tribe he had the consolation of having the Indians ask permission to say the prayers they had already learned, and with one accord they made the sign of the cross, and recited, without missing a word, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail, Mary! Truly a good soil, in which they sowed more of the good seed by teaching them the Creed, the Commandments of God and of the Church. Such happy dispositions determined the Bishop to establish a permanent mission at Hasquiat on the west coast, and the missionary he selected was the one who had twice been his companion—Fr. Aug. Brabant. On May 11, 1875, this young priest took possession of a modest church and presbytery there. The whole tribe had been converted except the chief, Mat-la-how, who only simulated conversion. Small-pox, that dreaded scourge of savage tribes, broke out. By the precautions and care of their missionary, the deaths at Hasquiat were comparatively few, but among the victims were

the wife and the sister of the chief. The zealous priest tended them in their sickness, and after death buried them with his own hands. Mat-la-how feigned illness, and sent for the Father. Not suspecting any evil, he answered the summons. The treacherous chief, armed with a rifle, awaited his victim. To the inquiry, "what ailed him?" the answer came, "*memcloast*," meaning equally "*I die*" and "*thou shalt die*," at the same time raising the gun. Fr. Brabant turned aside his head, and stretched out his hand to seize the weapon, and received a charge of a dozen shot in his right hand. Distracted with pain, he rushed from the lodge to a stream to bathe the wound. The chief pursued and fired again; twenty-six shot lodged in the missionary's loins. The guilty chief fled to the woods. All the Indians of the camp rushed to aid the wounded priest. Fr. Brabant wrote the name Mat-la-how on a slip of paper, and sent it by ten young men to the Bishop. Twelve days later, Mgr. Seghers reached Hasquiat. To the intense grief of the Indians he bore away the wounded missionary to Victoria, promising, however, as speedy a return as possible. Mat-la-how could not be discovered by the officers who had come to arrest him. Seven years later, Fr. Brabant found the would-be assassin's bones, together with the rifle, in the woods to which he had fled after the dastardly deed. The good priest has revenged himself by educating Mat-la-how's little son with the intention of making him a chief when he becomes of age. This incident illustrates the truly fatherly care Mgr. Seghers had for his priests, going, as he did, himself to bring home the injured missionary.

Having established missions on Vancouver Island, the zealous Bishop once more set his face towards Alaska, for which he seems to have always had a predilection. In June, 1877, he started with Fr. Joseph Mandart, by steamer, for St. Michael's Redoubt, on an exploring expedition to plant the cross in the heart of Alaska. They selected the region of the upper Yukon River. The reason for the choice was that the Indians on the lower Yukon live in the neighborhood of the Russian mission. The Indians on the coast are said by the whites to be spoiled by their intercourse with whalers and given to the use of intoxicating drink. "Therefore," he says, "our field of labor will be confined to the interior of Alaska, particularly that portion watered by the grand and noble Yukon. What a magnificent river it is! Here at Nulato, 600 miles from its mouth, it is no less than three miles wide. Its length is estimated at 2000 miles. Having made up our minds to go to Nulato, and to push our way through the interior, the question arose—how shall we get there? The little stern-wheel steamer, which every year sails up the Yukon, had left a few days before our arrival at St. Michael's. The traders that get their provisions there

every year at the opening of the season, had left for their respective trading posts on the 3d of July, *via* the Yukon river. There remained, therefore, only the alternative of waiting, nobody knew how long, for some unexpected chance to sail up the Yukon, or of pushing our way through the Ulukuk portage, the only practicable one in summer. We chose the latter." They accordingly set out in a *bidarra* or skin-made canoe, entirely covered with the exception of a few holes to receive the occupants. A sail of eighty miles in twenty-four hours on the Behring Sea brought them to the Indian village of Unalakleet. Up the river of the same name they sailed to *Anouhtak*, where they landed and hired two Indians to carry their baggage across the *Perenos* or portage to *Ulahuk*. There they encountered Alaska's scourge—mosquitos ! "They are innumerable ; their number is not legion, but millions and hundreds of thousands of millions. What a plague they are ! One is involuntarily reminded of the third plague of Egypt, the celebrated *Sciniphes*. They unceremoniously drop into your cup of tea ; they are uncouth enough to fall into your spoon before you take it to your lips. You open your mouth, either to speak or breathe, and half a dozen mosquitos sail into your throat, and give you a fit of coughing. We wrapped ourselves in our blankets; and having covered every inch of our bodies, we victoriously bade defiance to the bloodthirsty insects, and enjoyed a sound sleep until 3 o'clock the following morning. At 5 we were ready, and off we went, Fr. Mandart and the Indians each carrying a load proportioned to his strength, and marching through the *tundra* like soldiers ready to die or to conquer. *Tundra* is the name given to the marshy lowland of Alaska. It is overgrown with very soft and moist moss—so soft that at every step one sinks down above his ankles, and not seldom to his very knees. So you can imagine what a fatiguing march it was on a rising ground, and what amount of perspiration it drew from every pore.

"A word about our costume. Above our coat we donned the *Kamleeka*, which is a water-proof overcoat with sleeves, and a hood to protect the head, made of the entrails of seals. It is nearly transparent and very light, and as it has no other opening except a small hole to pass the head through, it reminds me of a chasuble. We wore gloves made of deer-skin, and boots without either heels or soles, also made of skin. Finally, a piece of mosquito netting to protect our faces gave us a most picturesque appearance. The hoods which the Indians have on their *Kamleekas* and *parkies* (overcoats made of reindeer-skin), and the manner in which they cut their hair, exactly like the monastic tonsure, would make one imagine that he is in a monastery of Benedictines. But this practice of wearing the tonsure is peculiar to the coast Indians." It

would be too long to follow them in their eighty-mile walk across the portage, crossing and recrossing creeks, making their way with great difficulty through thick brushes, deep ravines and tortuous defiles between high mountains, depending for food on the chance game they might shoot. What a consolation when they descried in the distance the placid waters of the noble Yukon, which looked more like a lake than a river. (The Yukon is said to be twenty miles wide in places.) The river reached, how were they to ascend it to Nulato? They were quietly eating some *yukali* or dried fish, which they had discovered stored away by an Indian called Tom, whom they afterwards met and paid, when one of the Indians shouted: "One canoe!" "We took it easy," says the Bishop, and continued our breakfast whilst the other Indian ran outside. They presently both returned with the shout: "Two canoes!" Undisturbed, we proceeded to satisfy our hunger with our *yukali*, when the Indians, having returned to the bank of the river to be on the lookout, suddenly came back with the welcome news: "One *bidarra*!" Then we could stand it no longer, but rushed out and beheld, at about a distance of four miles, a large *bidarra* sailing up the river and nearing the place where we were camped. It was one of the three traders that had left St. Michael's on the 3d of July, and was on the way to Nulato. Another of the traders was four days ahead, and the third some ten days in advance of the second. We applied for passage, were cordially received on board the *bidarra* with our baggage, and left for Nulato, a distance of some 120 miles from Lofka, their camp. During that trip, which lasted four days, our meals consisted of flour in the shape of flapjacks and *yukali*." Wearied out by hunger and fatigue, they reached their destination. Nulato has an ancient Russian fort, built of three houses with palisades, which give it a square form. It is now occupied by a Russian who trades for the Alaska Commercial Company, and several other whites. There are two large Indian villages near this redoubt. It is here that the Kayukuk Indians murdered Lieutenant Barnard, an officer of the British navy, in search of Sir John Franklin, besides two Russians and several women and children. A few crosses back of the fort indicate to the traveller their mournful fate and resting-place. "Here, then," says the Bishop, "is our centre of action. From here we intend to extend our sphere, and if we succeed, here will, probably, be the mission of the first resident Catholic missionary of Alaska."

"The Nulato Indians appear somewhat more cleanly and intelligent than the Indians we have hitherto seen on the Yukon river. The Kayukuk Indians are said to be a fierce, savage, indomitable race, always breathing menace of death to the white man. This, of course, will not deter us from going among them, as 'the last

are often found to be the first.' What astonishes me is the amount of hardship, suffering and misery traders have to endure in this country for the sake of temporal gain. '*Nonne potero quod isti?*' and that not for earthly and perishable goods, but for goods heavenly and eternal."

In order to be effective missionaries a knowledge of Russian and the Indian languages was absolutely necessary. Their acquisition was, as the Bishop says, an almost herculean task, for there are no less than twenty-three different dialects. Our European ideas of arithmetic, too, must be cast aside in this region, if we expect to be accounted good scholars, as two and two do *not* make four in Alaska! In order to count *seven* the Indians here repeat *two*; to count *eight* they repeat *three*; to count *nine* they repeat *four*; so that twice two (with them) is *seven*; three and three are *eight*, and twice four is *nine*! And then the dialects, besides being numerous, have the almost insurmountable difficulty of words almost endless! Thus, for instance, the numeral *eight* is called by the Mahlenuits—"pinyusunlagwinuleet," and the number *nine* by the still longer cognomen of "*nikoznalakaythlukchkulla*"! If the length of the words increases according to numerical expression, we can scarcely imagine how much space it would take to write down the denomination of a thousand! Yet the zealous Bishop and his companion set themselves to acquire these dialects and the almost equally difficult Russian. Monsignor Seghers must have had a special gift for languages, for when in 1877, in passing by Unalaska, he visited the Russian priests there, he could only converse with them through an interpreter. When he returned that way a year later he spoke such fluent and correct Russian that the popes were amazed.

In September, 1878, the Bishop reached San Francisco, after his year of missionary work in Alaska, full of plans for the evangelization of that vast country. What was his amazement to learn that he had been named on June 18th, 1878, titular Bishop of Canæa and coadjutor to the Archbishop of Oregon City. When some one congratulated him upon his promotion, the poor Bishop, according to Father Mandart, turned as pale as death, so greatly did he feel the sacrifice of giving up his cherished Alaskan mission. What he could do for Alaska he determined to do at once. He had a church built at Wrangel, a small town in the southern part of the territory, and stationed a priest there. Later on he was recalled to Vancouver Island, as his services were indispensable. After the missionary's departure an Indian woman was seen Sunday after Sunday kneeling before the closed door of the church, beseeching our Lord to send a priest once more to that mission. This was done in 1885, when Monsignor Seghers resumed his

jurisdiction over Alaska. But to return to his new appointment. The venerable Archbishop Blanchet had felt that the end of his long and unceasing labors for the advancement of the Church in the Northwest was at hand. His ever-increasing infirmities of mind and body forced him to ask for some one to share, if not to relieve him altogether of, the now too great burden. Where could he find a more suitable assistant and successor than the devoted Bishop of Vancouver Island? He signified his wish and his choice to the Holy Father, who knew how to appreciate the worth of the nominee. Accordingly Leo XIII. first appointed Monsignor Seghers Bishop of Canæa, June 18th, 1878. Then, on September 28th, Archbishop of Emesa *in partibus infidelium*, and by brief of December 10th confirmed the appointment and made him Coadjutor with right of succession to the See of Oregon City. Before entering upon the duties of his new office, Monsignor Seghers set in order the diocese in which he had labored for fourteen years and over which he had ruled as chief pastor for five years. It can easily be imagined that the grief of his flock at losing him was only equalled by his own at parting from them. He bade them farewell the latter part of June, 1879, and reached Portland on the first of July. He was most heartily received at the boat by several hundred of the most prominent and influential Catholics of the city and escorted to St. Mary's Cathedral. There in a few words of touching simplicity and sweetness the aged prelate welcomed his youthful assistant to the field where he had sowed and reaped so well, to which Archbishop Seghers replied in fitting and feeling language. He entered upon the active duties of Coadjutor immediately upon his arrival in Portland. So we find him in the month of October, 1879, making a visitation, or rather an exploration, of the vast territory under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Oregon City, who was also vicar-apostolic of Idaho, and as such was charged with Idaho and Montana as far as the Rocky Mountains. His journey lay principally in the rich mining region of the Salmon river mountains. On the 3d of October he arrived at a town of some thirty houses with about a hundred inhabitants, called Salmon City. There he celebrated the first Mass ever offered up in that town. There were about twenty Catholics, and he heard the confessions of eight, gave three baptisms and performed one marriage. We state this as a sample of the work he was anxious to do in this newly opened country. Travelling was no easy matter. It involved a continual ascent and descent of mountains thousands of feet high and a constant crossing and re-crossing of rivers and streams. In the Archbishop's graphic narrative we find him again and again drawing on his classical lore for illustrations, showing his love especially for the Latin poets. "I

was loath," he says, "to leave my horse at Challis on the way to Bonanza; for the poet was much mistaken when he said: '*et post equitem sedit atra cura*;' there had been no such thing behind me. Being without a horse, I travelled to Bonanza, forty miles west of Challis, in a fruit wagon. About halfway a kind-hearted Irishman made me share his tent for the night, which I passed very comfortably. At Salmon City, when writing a letter on the hotel-keeper's desk, I was mistaken for the bookkeeper by a miner who paid me one dollar for two meals, and whom I thanked with a grateful smile. At Challis I was taken for a '*bilk*' and a '*bogus*' bishop—and that by a Catholic! But here, halfway between Challis and Bonanza, I was mistaken for a *gambler*! Such is the fate that awaits clergymen when they pioneer through new countries."

He crossed the *Main Divide*—the ridge of the Rocky mountains that separates the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific slope, 9000 feet above the sea-level—in a fearful snow-storm. He was the first clergyman of "any persuasion" that had ever visited Bonanza, and was eagerly listened to by nearly the whole population. Before leaving he named a committee to look after the interests of the True Faith and to purchase land for a church and cemetery. "Such is the manner," he writes, "in which I crossed the country where there is no priest, never had been any, and where perhaps there will be no resident priest for a long time to come. I have tried my best to do good. Instead of leaving our ninety-nine sheep on the mountain, I have often, after the example of our blessed Saviour, rather left those in the valleys, in order to look on the mountains for the lost sheep." After a year's travel through Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, he returned to Portland with a thorough knowledge not only of the spiritual condition of the country, but also of the soil, climate, capacity, and general contour of the Northwest.

In the meantime Archbishop Blanchet had become convinced that it was for the advantage of his flock for him to resign his See. He, therefore, on the 12th of December, 1880, confided the entire charge of the archdiocese to Mgr. Seghers. On the 27th of February, 1881, the venerable Archbishop published his farewell pastoral, announcing the acceptance of his resignation by the Holy Father, from which we make an extract: "After sixty-two years of priesthood; after forty-three years of toilsome labor on this coast; after an episcopate of thirty-six years; after thirty-five years spent at the head of this ecclesiastical province, we may say with the Apostle St. Paul: 'The time of my dissolution is at hand; I have finished my course. Let, therefore, the Lord dismiss His servant in peace, for truly my eyes have seen the wonderful works

of His salvation.' We came to this country accompanied by the late Modeste Demers, the first Bishop of Vancouver's Island, in 1838, to preach the true Gospel for the first time; and where we saw nothing but 'darkness and the shadow of death,' we have now flourishing dioceses and vicariates, prosperous missions, a zealous clergy, fervent communities and a Catholic people of whom we expect great works and noble deeds."

Less than two years later, on June 18th, 1883, the Patriarch of the Northwest went to his reward, and the young Archbishop in moving words spoke over his lifeless body a panegyric that befitted an apostle to speak of an apostle. "His life was a continual, an incessant cause of edification; but, alas! it has come to an end. Do you realize it, beloved brethren? He is the Apostle of this coast, the foundation of this mission; the corner-stone of this Church, the seed that was sown here and grew into a large and lofty tree was sown by his hand; to him, under God, we owe the flourishing condition of Christianity in this country; and he is dead! 'Praise none before their death.' (Eccles. xi., 30.) What we were not allowed to do before, we are permitted to do now, and you will all bear witness to the truth of my words when I resolutely tell you that in his life and in his death we find much to praise. Ah! let us praise him! Let us be proud to be allowed to praise him! Do you know, beloved brethren, that a time will come when the name of Archbishop Blanchet will be coupled with those of Las Casas, the first missionary of Central America, of Marquette and Brébeuf, the pioneers of the Cross in Canada and the States of the Atlantic? Why? Because he was the first missionary, the Apostle of Oregon; he is to Oregon what St. Boniface was to Germany, what St. Augustine was to England, what St. Patrick was to Ireland!" May we not add, now, what Seghers was to Alaska! For even then the humble prelate had it at heart to lay aside his metropolitan rank to go forth once more to the drear and frozen Arctic regions. Nor did he lose the opportunity offered him soon after, in October, 1883, when called to Rome, with the other American Archbishops, to confer with the Holy Father about the Third Plenary Council to be held the following year in Baltimore. His former See of Vancouver Island had become vacant by the translation of his successor, the Rt. Rev. J. B. Brondel, D.D., to the new diocese of Helena, Montana. It was not easy to fill the vacancy, as the Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, the priest selected, had begged to be excused on the plea of ill-health. With some concern Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of the Propaganda, and Mgr. Jacobini, the Papal Secretary of State, consulted his Grace about a suitable candidate. Addressing him, the Cardinal Prefect said: "Well, Monseigneur, what are you going to do with

Alaska? That extensive region is altogether abandoned, and neither the Jesuits nor the Oblates are able to take charge of it."

"I replied that the matter was very simple. Let them send me back to Victoria. I would take care of Alaska and continue the work I had commenced in 1878. If they said: '*Quem mittimus? et quis ibit nobis*,' I would answer, '*Ecce ego, mitte me*.'"

"'And would you,' asked Cardinal Jacobini, 'give up the Diocese of Oregon, which you administer so well?'"

"'I would,' I replied, 'if I were sure of the Pope's approval and blessing of my resolution.'"

"The Cardinal suggested to me to ask the Pope himself. I said I felt too delicate about the matter, and would prefer him to do it for me. He promised he would. A few days afterwards the Cardinal mentioned the matter to the Holy Father and told me the same day that the Pope approved of it."

The following translation of an autograph Latin memorandum of his Grace shows conclusively, perhaps, to whom the initiative for his return to Vancouver Island is due:

BELGIAN COLLEGE, VIA DEL QUIRINALE,
Nov. 19, 1883.

TO THE MOST EMINENT AND MOST REV. JOHN, CARDINAL SIMEONI,
PREFECT OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDA FIDE:

Your Eminence is aware that I labored in the missions of the diocese of Vancouver and of the Territory of Alaska, or Russian America, from the year 1863 until 1879. In that year I was promoted, as your Eminence also knows, to be Coadjutor of the Archbishop of Oregon City, with the right of succession. Now, I would not have given my consent to this translation had I not thought that I should fulfil the will of God by fulfilling the will of the Sovereign Pontiff. But, owing to the late transfer of Rt. Rev. Bishop Brondel from the diocese of Vancouver to the administration of the vicariate apostolic of Montana, and the illness of Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, who had been named Coadjutor to the Bishop of Vancouver, the Church of Vancouver has been left in a state of widowhood, to the great detriment of religion, especially as regards the above-mentioned Territory of Alaska, now forsaken by all. Considering, therefore, on the one hand, that it would not be so easy to find a suitable pastor for the diocese of Vancouver, who has also care of Alaska, and on the other hand being confident that the nomination of another Archbishop of Oregon City would involve scarcely any difficulty at all; moved moreover by the love which I have ever felt for the above-mentioned charge of Vancouver, I beg your Eminence as a grace and a favor that the Holy See will leave me free to resign the metropolitan church of Oregon City and to return to the bishopric of Vancouver.

Nor is such a thing unusual in the Church. For St. Livinus, said to have been Bishop of Dublin in Ireland, retiring from his episcopal see, is related to have come to the shores of Belgium to labor for the conversion of a barbarous tribe near Ghent, my native city, which honors this same saint as its patron. St. Boniface, also, leaving the Archbishopric of Mayence and substituting for himself Pullius, passed over to the Frieslanders. If your Eminence deigns to judge my request acceptable and worthy of being offered to the Sovereign Pontiff, namely, that the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brondel be relieved of the diocese of Vancouver, then I humbly and earnestly beg that this matter be concluded as soon as possible, in order that while in Europe I may provide priests, money, vestments and other things necessary to found missions in Alaska.

The Holy Father was very much moved at the self-sacrifice and humble zeal of Mgr. Seghers. The interview between His Holiness and the Archbishop, in which the latter's plans were approved and blessed by the Sovereign Pontiff, was deeply affecting.

"On this occasion," writes the Archbishop, "I distinctly saw his eyes moistened, and I noticed him pressing his lips two or three times to overcome his emotion. My own feelings at that solemn moment I fail to describe. My offering was accepted. My scheme had received the highest sanction it could receive in this world, and the Pope's blessing on it is in conformity with the will of God. Prepare for me, therefore, a small corner on Vancouver Island, the land which in 1863 I selected as the portion of my inheritance, where I began my missionary career, and where, God willing, I shall terminate it."

Alas! how soon the end came! And not yet does he rest in "the land of his choice."

Leo XIII. accepted and ratified the noble proposal of the heroic prelate, but with the express condition that he should continue to use the title and cross of an archbishop.

On his return journey from Rome, in March, 1884, Mgr. Seghers spent a few days in his native Ghent. But always full of activity and zeal, he tried to interest his countrymen in the mission of his heart—neglected Alaska, then without a single Catholic missionary.

But, if Alaska was so dear to him, he had no intention of neglecting his island diocese. In his appeal he says: "A new church and a new house for the clergy are urgently needed in Victoria. The present cathedral is a wooden structure, seventy-five feet long, and can last but a few years more. The Bishop's house, also of wood, is fast decaying, and its unhealthiness exposes the clergy to serious danger." Then he appeals for alms to undertake new missions among the infidel tribes of Alaska, saying that he cannot believe that an appeal, made by a missionary archbishop who has spent twenty-one years of his life on the shores of the Pacific, will be made in vain. Thus did he throw himself and his cause on the generosity of the Catholics of France, Belgium, England, and Ireland, making his needs known in sermon and lecture. He returned to America in time to take part in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which opened November 9, 1884, and closed December 7, and still ranked as Archbishop of Oregon City. He preached during the Council a powerful sermon on the subject so close to his heart—Indian missions. His words were potent, not with human eloquence, but with that which comes from a life of intense unselfishness and self-sacrifice. Who could hear unmoved the simple tale of his labor for souls? No sentimental enthusiasm

did he strive to arouse, but the desire of toiling, suffering, and dying, if need be, to further Christ's kingdom on earth.

At the close of the Council, his Grace made a tour in the Eastern States, lecturing and preaching for the Alaskan mission. In the meantime, his successor, Most Rev. William H. Gross, D.D., had been appointed to fill the archiepiscopal see he had made vacant. He returned to Portland, and there, on March 29, 1885, in St. Mary's cathedral, he delivered his farewell sermon. Soon after he proceeded to Victoria. The joyous welcome that awaited him can be better imagined than described. His first care was the welfare of his clergy at Victoria; and he began at once the erection of a suitable residence. In September, 1885, we find him in Alaska, whither he had gone to found two missions, one in Sitka, the capital, the other at Juneau, a mining town. The following account, from his pen, will give an idea of his power of description:

"To a stranger who sees Juneau for the first time, its houses appear as if they had fallen pell-mell from the sky; one house is turned to the west, another seems to be looking for the rising sun, a third one turns its back to the water and its front to the mountains, as if it were about to start on a climb along the steep slope of the bluff; another, instead of appearing to stand on the ground, seems to be made fast and hanging from the side of the mountain. Sidewalks, twelve feet above the ground, are connected over the street by means of a bridge, if you please, making one think of New York's elevated railways. . . . On every side, except where the salt water is, lofty mountains of forbidding appearance, and rising to the height of 4000 feet, protect this American Gibraltar from the onslaught of unknown foes; and on the salt-water side, a vessel, glorying in the sublime name of *Pinta*, presents a lame excuse for a man-of-war, and keeps a sharp lookout to ward off, probably, the attacks of whales."

The Archbishop's sense of humor shows itself in the same letter. He had heard the report, he says, that the Witch mine at Sitka had been sold to a company with large capital, so he prophesies a great increase of population: "Now, people will say no more that 'Sitka has but one horse, and the same is a donkey.' And, N.B. —he is neither the one nor the other, but he is a mere old-fashioned mule."

Mgr. Seghers was not satisfied with establishing missions in the towns of lower Alaska; he was determined to push into the interior; the more so that he heard of the intentions of non-Catholic missionaries to advance into the Yukon region. What could he do? He had no priests at his disposal. He appealed to Very Rev. J. M. Cataldo, Superior of the Jesuit missions in the Rocky

Mountains, for aid. The first answer was, that it was impossible at that time, owing to the dearth of missionaries, but that perhaps in 1888 some help might be given. The Archbishop could not be put off. The need is urgent. Now or never. If the Protestants get the lead, the field will be rendered sterile for Catholic endeavor. Fr. Cataldo could not resist such a man, making such an appeal. He accordingly placed Rev. Fathers Paschal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut, S.J., at Mgr. Seghers' disposal for missionary work in Alaska. The eager prelate intended to start in April, 1886, but was detained several months to receive a special mark of the esteem and love of the Sovereign Pontiff. As Archbishop of Oregon City Mgr. Seghers had been invested with the Pallium by the Rt. Rev. Æ. Junger, D.D., Bishop of Nesqually, W. T., on August 23, 1881, in his cathedral church in Portland. He laid it aside, however, on resigning his metropolitan see. Leo XIII., wishing to honor the apostolic zeal of the humble prelate, sent him once more the Pallium, which was conferred on him May 30, 1886, in the cathedral in Victoria, V. I., by his own successor, Archbishop Gross. His plans being now perfected, and his companions having arrived, nothing hindered the starting of the expedition. On the 12th of July he writes from Victoria to the editor of the *Catholic Sentinel*, of Portland: "I presume your readers are aware that since I returned to this diocese I have been able to start only two permanent missions on the coast of Alaska Territory; but the interior, the Yukon country, the Aleutian Islands, the coast of the Arctic Ocean, are without Catholic priests. Human patience is often put to a sore trial, which has to wait and to let weeks and months pass by without being able to do anything; and we are often made to feel that 'the Father has put the times and moments in His own power.' But at last, thank God, the work of the evangelization of the interior of Alaska bids fair to have a good beginning. We will show the way, take the lead, open the gate, with the fond hope that others will come, enter, and join us." He then gives a brief sketch of the projected journey, and adds: "We shall, of course, select a central place where we intend to establish a permanent 'Mission of the Holy Cross,' besides the 'Mission of Our Lady *ad Nives*, or at the snow,' which I prepared at Nulato, in 1877. But, furthermore, we shall have to visit different parts of the interior, travel among the various Indian tribes, and scatter the seed of the word of God far and wide, with the expectation that, under the influence of the heavenly dew, it will grow up into a tree, and stand firm and unmoved in defiance of the fierce storms that may happen to rage around it. My absence will, probably, be long, very long, if God's blessing accompanies us, and this blessing I expect your pious readers' charity to ask and obtain for us."

Surely, God's blessing did accompany them, and the Archbishop's absence is beyond the measure of time.

The details of the journey are too well known by Mgr. Seghers' long and interesting narrative to be repeated here. We shall give only a few items. The route chosen was from Victoria to Juneau, and thence to Chilcat by steamer. There Indian guides and packers were secured for the crossing of the coast range of mountains. They experienced great annoyance at the hands of the chief of the Chilcat Indians, who to extortion added violence. They entered the Yukon country, writes the Archbishop, fulfilling nearly to the letter our Lord's commandment to go forth, "without gold, without silver, without money in our purses." On Saturday, July 24th, the Feast of St. Francis Solano, an American saint, they left salt water navigation. They formed a numerous party. Besides Mgr. Seghers and Fathers Tosi and Robaut, S.J., there were two servants, Frank Fuller and Antoine Provot, a French Canadian lately engaged, and in addition five miners and about sixty Indian packers, some with over a hundred pounds on their backs, "all in good spirits and great glee to begin the wearisome, arduous tramp."

By a remarkable coincidence, the Archbishop saw the Yukon the first time this year, on the same feast on which he had seen it in 1877—the Feast of St. Ann. The next day Provot mysteriously disappeared, and was never heard of after. On the 30th, Mgr. Seghers had the happiness of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass on the head waters of the Yukon, where, as he believed, no Mass had ever been offered. "But where was I?" he asks. "Was I still in Alaska, inside of the line that runs parallel with the coast? Was I in the Vicariate Apostolic of British Columbia or in my own diocese, in the far end of the Northwest Territory or in the Dominion? This is difficult to determine. I hope, however, that some accurate map will soon determine all the boundary lines and clearly show where the foot of Lindeman lake is situated. At all events, before leaving that place I nailed to a tree the following inscription: "Archbishop Seghers, of Victoria, V. I., accompanied by Fathers Tosi and Robaut, camped here and offered the Holy Sacrifice, July 30th, 1886." We must pass over the interesting account of how they built a raft, and gave evidence of how the Archbishop availed himself of the absence of his companions on the search for timber, to overhaul his wardrobe. So, on the shore of Lake Bennett, Saturday, August 14th, was a general washing day; not only the altar linen, but towels, handkerchiefs and underwear underwent a thorough cleansing. "If you had seen my clothes-pins," he writes, "you would have been very much amused; some of them burst. But, of course, my discom-

future was all to myself. Monday, August 16th, was a general mending day. I had to remain under my blankets to subject some of my clothing to the necessary repairs, perfectly safe from the intruder's visit. I hope," he adds, "you will pardon me the minuteness of these private details. They serve, at any rate, to give a complete description of a missionary life in a new country. The raft built, the most serious obstacles to navigation were in the shape of a succession of rapids about four miles long. These rapids are on the river connecting Lakes Marsh and Labarge, and between two cañons—Miles Cañon and White Horse Cañon. Each cañon is about one mile long, and necessitated consequently two portages, the packing of which was done by ourselves. Miles Cañon lies between two steep, almost perpendicular, banks of basalt in the shape of columns, through which the whole river, compressed into a space of fifty feet, rushes with tremendous velocity. The water boils up in large waves, having a depression in the centre, so that no floating object can possibly strike against the rocks of the bank. For about a quarter of a mile the banks are nearly parallel, then they widen out, the current being more slack between two eddies; the water, after leaving this wide spot, rushes over a large rock into another channel, and leaves the cañon roaring and foaming, as if to testify to its fury. One boat was unloaded, and the cargo, as I said, packed across the trail along the cañon. Fuller took the helm, Father Robaut took the oar, a miner we had picked up at the foot of Lake Marsh took one other, and as I did not want to see my people jeopardize their lives without sharing their danger, I took my place in the front of the boat, my watch in hand to measure the velocity of our locomotion. My presence seemed to remove from my followers all dread of the gloomy cañon. We started off at 1 P.M., and in a moment the swift current caught our boat, and whirled it between the breakers on each side of the cañon. It was a terrible scene. We were visibly on an incline, and rushing downhill with the velocity of a locomotive. The roaring of the water, the spray that filled the air all around us, the waves that struck our scow, which rolled and pitched as on the billows of the sea, made an impression on our minds that will not easily be forgotten. But we had no time for reflection. In a few minutes we found ourselves in a slack current and between two eddies, which we had to avoid most carefully. Then another plunge into the rest of the cañon. Passing over a rock over which the water poured and formed a real liquid hill behind us, that screened from our view the head of the cañon, we were hauled right and left, tossed and shaken, skipping the water at intervals, and emerged from the dark place, having made a mile in three minutes and twenty-five seconds. A quick motion

of the rudder gave a sharp turn to our scow, and brought her into slack water; whilst we landed, three of the miners waved their hats at us to congratulate us on the success of our achievement."

The party arrived at the mouth of the Stewart River on September 7th. Here they were heartily welcomed by Mr. Harper, a trader of the Alaska Commercial Company, by about thirty miners who had come to camp for the winter, and by the Indians. The river was already freezing up, and the Arctic winter with its intense cold was rapidly approaching. The zealous Archbishop thought that three missionaries in the same place were too many, especially as he learned that any delay in reaching Nulato might give the Protestants the first possession. He determined then to push on, without loss of time, though Nulato was nine hundred miles away. The Fathers were opposed to the plan, but had to yield to his superior judgment, though they seriously mistrusted the companion he had chosen—Fuller. This latter had given signs of mental derangement on the steamer "*Ancon*," expressing fears that white men were seeking to take his life, so much so that Fathers Tosi and Robaut both begged his Grace to send Fuller back by the same steamer. But the Archbishop, judging his services necessary, decided to take him along, hoping that his fear of white men would subside when they reached the interior, where they would meet but few whites. Fuller's extravagances, it seems, had not lessened, as had been hoped; still the Archbishop insisted upon taking Fuller with him. On the 8th of September they started on the long journey. Fr. Robaut says: "This separation was very hard for him (Mgr. Seghers) and for us; but it was necessary, he said, and so, after a tender and repeated good-bye, he departed from us." The two Fathers agreed to meet the Archbishop at his new station as soon as the river should be open for travel, at the end of May, or the beginning of June.

Monsignor Seghers and his companions reached Nuklukayet, a small Indian village and trading post on the Upper Yukon, on the 24th, where they were hospitably received by the trader, Mr. Walker, and the Indians. They remained there four days, and then the Archbishop decided to go back up the river eight miles to an abandoned trading-post where there was a small tribe of Indians, build a cabin and return in about ten days for supplies. It was noticed during their stay that Fuller was querulous, complaining and disposed to get out of sorts if required to do any work that did not meet his views, while the Archbishop was always pleasant and apparently light-hearted. Their Indian companions had observed the same thing. As they did not return at the expiration of ten days, Mr. Walker became alarmed and sent an Indian to find out the reason. In the meantime the missing

party returned by a different trail. They had not built the cabin as intended, and though it was not then stated, it appears that Fuller refused to assist in the undertaking. The Archbishop remained at Nuklukayet till about the 19th of November, and spent the time in instructing the Indians, to whom, as with all the Upper Yukon Indians, he had long been well known, and by whom he was revered and beloved. Fuller continued to be peevish and suspicious, showing resentment on the slightest cause, particularly towards the Archbishop, who, however, appeared to take no notice and always seemed in good spirits. Monsignor Seghers had not given up his intention of reaching Nulato, and tried to induce Mr. Walker to accompany him, but did not succeed, nor had he any better success with the miners; for the weather was growing bitter, the temperature ranging between 10° and 20° below zero. Finally he hired two trusty Indians—a man and a youth—and an outfit of three sleds with dogs. The Archbishop used one sled, Fuller and the Indian each one, and the boy went ahead on snow shoes, leading the dogs. Fuller, it seems, was much incensed because the outfit was only hired, and not purchased. About the 23d of November, three days after leaving Nuklukayet, the party reached a small trading-post kept by a Russian named Kokran, who was also an old acquaintance of his Grace's, whom he warmly welcomed. From this point the Archbishop wrote to Walker, giving an account of the journey thither. The letter was full of characteristic pleasantry about their little mishaps on the way, the behavior of the dogs, and other incidents, but nothing to indicate any trouble. It was the last letter that the beloved prelate is known to have written, and is still in Walker's possession. On the morning of the 24th they resumed their journey, and travelled on about four days. Towards the evening of the 27th, Fuller, who, according to the Indians' account, had grown more and more impatient and dissatisfied because of the Archbishop's attention to the suggestions of the Indians and indifference to him, asked his Grace to stop and pitch camp for the night at a place selected by him. The Indians advised going farther on to a place two miles distant, where they could find more comfortable quarters for the night in some abandoned huts. The Archbishop agreed to this, telling Fuller that the Indians knew best, and they pushed ahead and reached an empty hut in the evening. According to the Indians who accompanied the Archbishop, Fuller was very much displeased because his advice had not been followed, and he complained bitterly that the advice of Indians had been preferred to that of a white man. They say, also, that Fuller was very much excited during that night, and seemed not to have slept. At day-break they saw him get up and go about as if he would start the

fire, but did not do it. All at once he called the Archbishop and told him to get up. The Archbishop sat up, and on seeing Fuller with his gun levelled, folded his arms on his breast and bowed his head in resignation. The bullet passed through his forehead near the left eye and came out from the upper part of the neck, causing instantaneous death. The Indian witnessing the tragedy got frightened, and fearing that Fuller would kill them also, disarmed him. But he reassured them by saying that he meant to kill only the Archbishop. Nor did he show the least sign of regret. He seemed perfectly calm and cool, even helping to arrange the body of the martyred prelate. He took off the pectoral cross and episcopal ring, saying that he would deliver them to the ecclesiastical authorities in Victoria, B. C. Leaving the body, Fuller and the Indians went at once to Nulato. The murderer confessed his crime to the trader, Mr. Frederickson, but stated that he had a good cause for killing the Archbishop. The Indians of the village were so much incensed that Fuller's life was in danger. The next day, Mr. Frederickson sent for the body, which was found frozen, and had it brought to Nulato. There he had a wooden coffin made for it, and on the 10th of December it was taken to St. Michael's by some Indians, whom Fuller followed. The guilty man, while at Nulato, had written to Mr. Walker, at Nuklukayet, confessing the crime and giving all the details. When the Archbishop's body arrived at St. Michael's, Fuller presented himself to Mr. Henry Numann, the Agent of the Alaska Commercial Company, saying that he had brought the body of the Archbishop and that he had killed him, without showing any compunction at the foul deed. Numann was stunned by the news, as he had a warm regard for Monsignor Seghers. He had the body placed in a zinc coffin and laid in the old Greek Church at St. Michael's, awaiting its removal to Victoria. There the precious remains lay until July 6th, 1887, as the captains of the steamers that touch at St. Michael's refused to take them on board to convey them to San Francisco. "Then," Father Robaut says, "I was confident that Captain Healy, of the revenue cutter '*Bear*,' which was expected every day, being himself a Catholic, would surely do it. But even he, though most willing to do anything he could, said that it was not in his power to do it; for, according to the law, a permit from the Government must first be obtained. The only way left me then was to bury temporarily the remains of the Archbishop at St. Michael's. As soon, therefore, as I received this answer from Captain Healy, I made arrangements for the burial. I chose a corner of the Russian graveyard about 200 yards from the post just over the sea, as being the driest place. After the grave had been dug, six white men, who happened to be at St. Michael's, carried the coffin to the

cemetery. Among those who accompanied the sorrowful procession were two Presbyterian ministers. On arriving at the grave, I recited the prayers for the dead over the remains of the Archbishop, and blessed the grave. Mr. Romanoff made, at my suggestion, a large cross to be put over the grave, which will be surrounded by a fence. On the cross will be inscribed in Roman characters his Lordship's name and titles."

Happy Alaska, to possess even in death the body of him who had devoted his life to your evangelization! What a terrible shock awaited Father Tosi and Father Robaut when, according to appointment, they went down the Yukon in June to meet the Archbishop!

The main spring of the mission had snapped!

Father Tosi left on the steamer bound for San Francisco to inform his superiors of all that had happened; Father Robaut remained alone to labor among the Indians of the Yukon near Anvik.

The wretched murderer, after living for eight months in a cabin in a small village on the Yukon, isolated, shunned and detested by all, was arrested on July 8th, 1887, and carried a prisoner to Sitka by Captain Healy, of the revenue cutter, "*Bear*." There can be little doubt but that Fuller is at least a monomaniac. He is reported to have said that before being hanged he wanted the consolation of confessing to a Catholic priest—not to accuse himself of the murder of the Archbishop, for which he felt no remorse, but of his past sins. Judgment in his case has since been rendered,—he has been convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, a sentence whose leniency can hardly be in harmony with the feeling of the people of Sitka, who held Monsignor Seghers in the highest veneration.¹

The administrator of Vancouver, the Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, is determined that the mission, founded at so dear a cost, shall not languish. He accordingly begged Very Rev. Father Cataldo, S. J., Superior of the Jesuit missions of the Rocky mountains, to take charge of the mission. Already the intrepid Father Tosi has returned to Alaska with Father Ragaru and Brother Giordano, S. J., as companions. They had good reason to hope to meet Father

¹ By an unfortunate mistake Frank Fuller has been spoken of as a Jesuit Brother. This arose from the constant practice of the Archbishop in calling him Brother. Fathers Tosi and Robaut both frequently protested against the name, as they said truly that the man was in no way entitled to it, as he was not then, and never had been, a Brother in the Society of Jesus, and that the misused name might bring trouble. But his Grace persisted, saying in his charity that it would encourage Fuller, and that no harm could come from it, little foreseeing the damaging use that evil-disposed men would so soon make of it.

Robaut before the winter set in and rendered travelling impossible.

If the Catholics of America would erect a monument worthy of Charles John Seghers, let them build it of living stones—souls of the poor savages of Alaska, fashioned and verified by the transforming and life-giving word of God. Prayers are needed. Alms are needed. Apostles are needed. The soil has been fertilized by the precious blood of its first chief pastor; shall it lack husbandmen to sow and to reap? We cannot conclude better than by quoting the feeling words of Bishop Brondel, of Helena, M. T., to his flock: "Our great love towards this saintly prelate prevented us from realizing the truth of the report of his death until it was too truly confirmed. We have lost him who visited many missions in Montana, who was successful in obtaining from the Holy See the erection of this territory into a diocese, and who brought us to you. We have lost the Apostle of Alaska, sent by Leo from Rome to bring the Catholic faith to the utmost limits of the earth. We have lost the saint who, imitating St. Livinus, who stepped from the Episcopal See of Dublin to bring the faith to the savages of Flanders, in our own day stepped from the Archiepiscopal See of Oregon to wade as a travelling missionary through the snows of the Yukon and bring the faith to the Esquimaux. We have lost a life-long friend who, in the last act of his life, has taught us to die manfully in the service of God. His memory is held in benediction, and without anticipating the voice of authority, we will cherish the thought that he died a martyr's death."¹

¹ The writer is indebted to the Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, administrator of the diocese of Vancouver Island, for much valuable information.

DOES THE END JUSTIFY THE MEANS?

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Compendium Theol. Moralis S. Alphonsi M. de Ligorio. Sive Medulla Theol. Moralis HERMANNI BUSENBAUM, S.J., ab ipso Ligorio, Adjectis Nonnullis Animadversionibus. Probata. Ed. Altera Emendatior, Priori omnino Conformis. Iriæ:¹ Typis Cæsaris Giani. 1840. Two vols. 8vo.

Theologia Moralis in V. Libros Partitæ. Auctore PAULO LAYMANN, Soc. Jesu Theologo. Venetiis: Typis Antonii Tivani. 1691. Two vols. Folio.

Encyclopædia Britannica (American Reprint). Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co. 1881. Vol. xiii., *art.* JESUITS.

IN our last number we spoke of the popularity of F. Sabetti's abridgment of Gury's "Moral Theology" as evinced by the demand for a second edition, the first having been soon exhausted. Since then it has gained rather than lost in favor, and we are glad to see how well its merits are appreciated by professors and students. Every copy of the second edition was sold within six weeks from the date of publication, and a third has been prepared by the publishers, Pustet & Co.

Yet, in looking over these repeated editions one thing, and one only, has disturbed our equanimity. *Mihi unus scrupulus etiam restat*, as the comic poet says, *qui me male habet*. We have looked, and looked in vain, throughout F. Sabetti's volume for some trace of that "recognized maxim of the Society," as Dr. Littledale calls it: "The end justifies the means." How cruel of the good Father to take away from under Catholic heads that comfortable cushion, by the help of which, from the days of St. Ignatius to the present, his children have taught us to still any unpleasant murmur of conscience, and sin as we list, provided we decently veil it with a pious intention! What a pity that by his silence he has taken away from the Littledales, Coxes, and other Protestant divines, their rivals in zeal and honesty, all chance of quoting and denouncing him in company of the Busenbaums, Laymanns, Wagemanns, and other "leading Jesuit theologians" who "lay down the maxim"!

¹ Voghera, in Upper Italy.

But, seriously speaking, is such a maxim to be found in the works of Jesuit moralists? And if so, who first wrote it, and when and where? The latest writer to make the assertion on this side of the water is Bishop Coxe of Buffalo, who, though he cannot boast of profound scholarship or extensive reading, is a pleasing, versatile writer, and one who can pride himself on the protean facility which enables him to assume at will every shape and form of religious metamorphosis, Catholic, Protestant, High-Church, Low-Church, as may suit his purpose. The only thing in which he is consistent is his fierce, unscrupulous hatred of Rome, the Catholic Church and the Jesuits. We heard him give vent to it very lately in Washington, where he sat among the members of the Evangelical Alliance—a “Catholic” Bishop and successor of the Apostles (to take his own word for it) consorting with ministers whom he regards as laymen, and some of them religionists of very doubtful orthodoxy. No one would suspect him of such recondite erudition as to discover, what his betters have failed to do, where the impious maxim lies stowed away in the thousand and one folios written on moral theology by Jesuit divines. No doubt he had, in addition to the fables of the nursery and Sunday-school, read something of the sort in the infamous diatribes of the French atheist, Paul Bert, circulated with loving zeal in England and America by pious ministers and their religious newspapers; and further, in the writings of Rev. Dr. Littledale, with which he shows himself very familiar. But neither of these men stands so high in the critical world that his mere assertion will compel assent. Hence, when the “Anglo-Catholic” Bishop, in the course of his petty, dishonest warfare with the Catholic Church, thought fit to accuse the Jesuits of teaching that “the end justifies the means,” he merely asserted it, adding nothing to prove his allegation. This was about a year ago. The foul charge was immediately denied by the Jesuit Faculty of Canisius College, Buffalo. To their indignant denial they added an offer of one thousand dollars to Bishop Coxe or any one else who could sustain the slanderous accusation by a single reference to the pages of even one Jesuit writer.

To maintain his credit Bishop Coxe had to make some show of offering proof. The atheistical witness could not decently be summoned. He had not only vanished, but as witness he was doubly dead; or rather, his testimony had expired only to rise again as testimony on the other side. Paul Bert had departed this life, a victim of the deadly fevers of Eastern Asia, whither he had gone to represent the interests of the French Republic in its commerce and conquests. His death was no misfortune, as his friends in France regarded it. It was a stroke of God’s grace; a blessing

without stint or measure, and (humanly speaking) as undeserved as it was unexpected. Had he died at home, his last sighs for God's forgiveness would have been stifled by the importunate clamors of his infidel friends; his attempts at reconciliation with the Church would have been baffled by the vigilance of those foul fiends in human shape who, with blasphemous derision, style themselves Angel Guardians, and whose office it is to see that those over whom they watch die in their sins and unbelief. Thus died Voltaire, Victor Hugo, the poet Leopardi, and a host of others; and the loss of their souls was hailed with the plaudits of infidels, re-echoed by pious Protestants throughout the world. But it was in the wilds of Tonquin that God, in His infinite mercy, summoned Paul Bert first to repentance and then to judgment. He renounced his impiety and was reconciled to the Church. So notorious had been Bert's hostility to Revelation and the Catholic Church, which he logically identified with Christianity, that the news of his conversion startled all Europe. Infidels boldly denied it, and good Christians were afraid to believe it on higher ground than the poet's

Periculosum est credere et non credere.

But at last a letter from the French prelate under whose jurisdiction and ministry Paul Bert had died, dispelled all doubts.¹ Since, as all men know, no sinner can be reconciled to the Church without detesting and retracting all sins of impiety, calumny, and the like, it was plain enough that Paul Bert had ceased to be a witness on the infidel and Protestant side; and common prudence dictated that his testimony should be carefully suppressed, lest it should suggest to incautious Christian-minded Protestants that a man is more likely to tell the truth when he has before his face the solemn hour of death and the terrors of eternity.

Bishop Coxe, therefore, had to discard his recollections of Paul Bert and fall back on his other authority, Rev. Dr. Littledale. Consequently he brings him forward, or rather his article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," as a witness, furnishing "textual quotations from three Jesuit writers, fully meeting the challenge." This much we learn from a recent letter of Bishop Coxe, addressed to the New York *Churchman*, and republished in the New York *Herald* of January 9th, 1888. It is said that the bishop's statements were refuted by F. Coleridge in the London *Month*, and by F.

¹ We are aware that, recently, some have revived these doubts, and hence, though seeing no reason to call in question the prelate's assertion, we are content to abstain from pressing the point, or give it up altogether. If Paul Bert died in his sins, making no sign, no effort to repair the wrong he did, so much the worse for him. The Littledales, the Coxes, and the Presbyterian papers that gloried, some months ago, in his abuse of Jesuit and Catholic morality, are welcome to their godless friend and witness.

Jones in a book entitled "Dishonest Criticism," but we have been unable to lay our hand on either work, or on the bishop's original letter of a year ago. We, therefore, thrust him aside and turn our attention to his principal.

Dr. Littledale's allegation may be found in an article written by him for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" under the heading JESUITS,¹ in which he gives as "the result of dispassionate examination" that "the three principles of probabilism, of mental reservation, and of justification of means by ends, which collectively make up what educated men intend by the term 'Jesuitry,' are recognized maxims of the Society. As the last of these three is at once the most odious in itself and the charge which is most anxiously repelled, it is well to cite three leading Jesuit theologians in proof. Busenbaum, whose 'Medulla Theologiæ' has been more than fifty times printed, and lately by the Propaganda itself, lays down the maxim in the following terms: 'Cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita,' and 'Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media;' Laymann, similarly, in his 'Theologia Moralis,' 'Cui concessus est finis, concessa etiam sunt media ad finem ordinata;' and Wagemann in his 'Synopsis Theol. Moralis,' yet more tersely, 'Finis determinat probitatem actus.'"

We begin with Busenbaum. One would think that in a learned article written for an Encyclopædia, especially where charges of the grossest immoral teaching are brought forward against a body or school whose theologians are almost innumerable, no thoughtful or honest man would consider he had discharged his duty by merely huddling together a few disjointed scraps of Latin. It is a *prima facie* evidence of intent to impose on his readers. Dr. Littledale could, had he wished, have quoted more accurately, and given us chapter and verse of his original; in other words, some clew to the context, instead of the miserable attempt at "textual quotations" of which Bishop Coxe is not ashamed to boast, as if quoting a bare text furnished also its context. The first passage is taken from the "Medulla," Book IV., Chap. III., Dub. III., Article II., § 3. Why was no indication of this set before the reader? The answer is very clear. It would have defeated Dr. L.'s purpose, which was to slander Busenbaum and prevent the public from finding it out. It is not pleasant to have to attribute evil motives to the reverend writer. But the stern necessity of law and logic will not allow us to deal otherwise with this habitual offender against the eighth commandment.

In the passage we have quoted, Busenbaum is not laying down the fundamental principles of morality. These are treated by most theologians in a preliminary treatise, "De Actibus Humanis,"

¹ Vol. xiii., p. 661.

which is not found in Busenbaum's work.¹ He is only examining a special moral question, viz.: Is it allowable for a prisoner condemned to death to escape from jail and thus save his life? The answer is in the affirmative, and the reason is added. Since by the natural law a man has a right to his life, he may pursue and secure that right, provided he do not infringe the rights of another. Hence he may break his chains, scale the prison-wall, or in any other way elude the vigilance of his keepers, because these means become legitimate when the end to be attained is legitimate. "*Cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita.*"² This is not laying down any universal moral law, but an application of the law to a moral case, which may furnish matter for doubt. In fact, the section is called by this very name of DOUBT, "Dubium VII. de Reo," and Article II. has the caption, "*Quid liceat reo circa fugam pœnæ*—How far may a guilty man go in the matter of escaping punishment?" In his answer Busenbaum evidently supposes "means" innocent in themselves, not bad, sinful means that will become *good* because of the end proposed. For he distinctly lays down that in these means there must be no injustice, no invasion of the rights of others. Hence the escape must be effected without violence or wrong done to any one else (*præcisa vi et injuria*).³ But why should he take pains to maintain that in this particular case the lawful end renders the means lawful? Because here there is an apparent conflict of laws, natural law allowing what human law forbids; and it becomes necessary to decide which has the higher claim. Busenbaum decides in favor of the natural law. He may be right or wrong in his decision; but he lays down no immoral principle. If he is wrong, the wrong consists, not in any improper teaching, but in having mistaken the correct solution of the question.

But was he mistaken? He was not. All moral theologians, all who treat of natural ethics, give the same answer. Out of the thousands that might be quoted we give only two, Archbishop Kenrick in his "Moral Theology,"⁴ and Bishop Jeremy Taylor,⁵ a Protestant of the same sect ("branch" they would have us call it) as Drs. Coxe and Littledale. We can now understand why Dr. L. so carefully suppressed all reference to the place of his "textual quotation." He trusted that his readers would take his mere word for any anti-Catholic statement he might make, and

¹ Hence in the edition of Voghera a brief summary of such treatise was added from the "Homo Apostolicus" of St. Alphonsus Liguori.

² Ed. Iriae, p. 269.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Theol. Moralis," ed. of Malines, Vol. I., p. 260.

⁵ In his "Ductor Dubitantium," Lib. iii., ch. 2, apud Kenrick, loc. cit.

he has rewarded them, as they deserved, by abusing their confidence and deceiving them. Bishop Coxe, we take for granted, never saw the passage in the original, and erred, like the rest of that credulous crowd, in pinning his faith to the sleeve of his Anglican fellow-worker against the Church and the Jesuits. But the error is a serious one. "A teacher in Israel," as he claims to be, ought to have a little more discretion, and, it is no harm to add, a little more conscience. It might be well for him to take a lesson out of the moral theology taught by those wicked Jesuits, and endorsed by the Church. They say that it is a grievous sin not only to slander another, but also deliberately to expose oneself to the danger of slandering him by recklessly, and without due inquiry, accusing him of teaching what is blasphemous and subversive of the Ten Commandments. And the slander acquires a tenfold intensity when such wickedness is attributed not to one individual, but to thousands of men, consecrated to God, and in whose holy lives a hostile world, and the very slanderer himself, confesses that he can find no matter of reproach.¹

Now, is Dr. Littledale a safe guide, an authority that an honest man could blindly follow? Eighteen or twenty years ago he would not have written as he writes now. He was then standing almost on the threshold of the Catholic Church and devising plans (it was said) for opening the doors of intercommunion between her and the Anglican clergy. These plans failed, whether by the framer's bungling or by opposition from within or without, we are unable to say. But from that day Dr. L. was a changed man; and there are not wanting, even in his own "branch," some who attribute the change to mortified vanity. It has driven him back to be once more, what he was originally, an Irish Orangeman. Not that he believes in "the glorious and immortal memory" of pious King William, or would swear to "wade knee-deep in Papists' blood";² but that he entertains once more for the Catholic Church that fierce, relentless hatred of which Orangemen are the worst type. He continues to be, however, a leader among the Ritualists, abhors the very name of Protestant, and denounces

¹ Dr. Littledale himself confesses that, while many of the secular and even parochial clergy did not live up to their holy state of life, "the Jesuits won back respect for the clerical calling by their personal culture and the unimpeachable purity of their lives. These are qualities which they have all along carefully maintained, and probably no body of men in the world has been so free from the reproach of discreditable members, or has kept up an equally high average level of intelligence and conduct." (ART. JESUITS, p. 658.) On the next page (660) he admits that one of the most serious blows that damaged their credit, viz., the publication of the "Monita Secreta," was a "forgery." Yet, with all this, he goes on so to explain, patronize, caress and fondle this idle story, that he shows evidently his regret that it was a forgery, and would prefer that people should believe it to be true.

² Amiable phrases of the Orangemen's oath.

the great "Reformers" as a pack of the most unmitigated rascals that were ever seen in the world. Yet, without having first made his peace with the "Reformers," he knows how to pander adroitly to the prejudices, and work himself into the favor, of their children. He has written lately a book¹ to dissuade Ritualists from seeking salvation in the One, True, Catholic Church. For wicked slander and venomous misrepresentation of all that Catholics look upon as true and holy, the book might have been written by an apostate priest such as William Hogan, by the Hoyts and other clerical friends of Maria Monk, or (barring the decency of style) by that unmitigated rascal (as Dr. L. loves to call him), Martin Luther himself.

The book contains about two hundred pages, and keen critics have proved that there are in it just that number of glaring mistakes, one to every page. And these mistakes are not of the kind that may be excused as having their origin in ignorance or negligence. They are deliberate misstatements, ranging from the *suppressio veri* to downright mendacity. But the most frequent of them all is habitual MISQUOTATION, giving words "textually," and deliberately suppressing the context, because it would furnish their true meaning. He himself has confessed the truth of these charges by making alterations in the second and third editions of his "Plain Reasons." But who could alter the spirit of his book? The changes he has introduced are made in a grudging, half-hearted way, that shows them to have been extorted by shame and fear, not by candor and love of the truth. In a passage vituperative of Catholic theologians, he has painted himself and his controversial habits in such accurate colors, that we must transcribe it:

"Things have come to this pass, that no statement whatever, however precise and circumstantial, no reference to authorities, however seemingly frank and clear, . . . can be taken on trust, without a rigorous search and verification. The thing may be true, but there is not so much as a presumption of its proving so when tested. The degree of guilt varies, no doubt, from deliberate and conscious falsehood with fraudulent intent, down through reckless disregard as to whether the thing be true or false, to mere overpowering bias causing misrepresentation; but truth, pure and simple, is almost never to be found, and the whole truth in no case whatever."

A capital picture, drawn from the inmost depths of self-consciousness! And is this the man, even though he speak through the pages of an encyclopædia, who is to be admitted as a witness against the Catholic Church and her religious orders?

The second quotation from Busenbaum we have been unable to

¹ "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome."

find, after an accurate search through his "Medulla." We feel almost certain that it is not to be found there at all. It is the former passage, substantial in the sense, but slightly varied in the form of words. Dr. Littledale seems to have picked it up at second hand from some of the many German pamphleteers who, during the late Kulturkampf, attacked the Jesuits and their teaching, and quoted the words from memory.

The third quotation from Laymann has been already virtually disposed of in what was said of Busenbaum. He, too, is treating of the question, whether a man condemned to death can lawfully escape by flight. He answers, yes; and quotes many theologians of great name in his favor, among them St. Thomas, Cajetan, Toletus, etc. "And to effect this (he adds), he may burst his bonds and break through the jail enclosure (*vincula et carceres perfringere*). For to one to whom the end is allowable, to him also the means necessary for that end are allowable. *Cui enim concessus est finis, huic etiam media ad finem necessaria concessa sunt.*"¹ Dr. Littledale's form of words does not exactly agree with the original. Are we to suppose that he has taken this quotation, too, at second hand, and from some German Protestant or infidel source? The fact that none but German Jesuits (Busenbaum, Laymann and Wagemann) are brought into play, would lend some color to the supposition. But our quarrel is not the mere change in form of the quotation. Why was the word *necessaria* changed into *ordinata*? NECESSARY means for a good end, must always be good; but bad means may be *suited* or adapted for that end. To propagate God's kingdom on earth, preaching and teaching are necessary and good means; to hate and persecute those who will not come in, or drag them in forcibly, may be *suited* to the accomplishment of that end, but does not make them good means or lawful. We fear that this change was not honest. *Latet anguis in herba.*

The last quotation is from Wagemann's² "Synopsis." We are unable to verify it, not having any copy of the book. To say that "the end determines the goodness of an action" is susceptible of a very good and true meaning. But it may also carry with it a bad and false meaning. Hence we have no hesitation in saying that the quotation has not been correctly given, and that its "terse-ness" consists in the excision of some words necessary to make it complete and unexceptionable. Dr. Littledale's notorious dishonesty in the matter of quotation forbids our taking his word

¹ Layman, Theol. Mor. Lib. i. Tract vi. cap. xv. p. 64 of the Venice edition, 1691.

² This author died in 1792. His book was published about 1765. See Hurter in "Nomenclator."

on trust without accurate search and verification. It is not the practice of our theologians to be loose or inaccurate in laying down principles in a text-book. It is not only the goodness, but also the wickedness of an action that flows from the end proposed; and none of our theologians has ever failed to state this distinctly, especially in the treatise "*De Actibus Humanis*," where the sources and fundamental principles of morality are laid down and vindicated. We gather at random a few examples.

Kenrick says: "*Ex fine actus bonitas vel malitia etiam derivatur.*"¹ "From the end of an action flows its goodness, and likewise its wickedness." F. Sabetti: "*Actus humanus veram moralitatem a fine desumit.*" "Man's deliberate action takes its real moral character from the end." These, too, are the identical words of Gury.² F. Clement Marc³ says: "*Finis operantis tribuit veram moralitatem actui humano.*" "It is the end proposed by the agent that gives its true moral character to his deliberate action." And that very Laymann⁴ who is triumphantly quoted by the Littledales, Coxes and other pious controversialists of their stamp, as a chief exponent of wicked Jesuit morality, says: "I maintain that this end (the end proposed by the agent) gives to an action a new specific character of goodness or wickedness." If Busenbaum had written a treatise "*De Actibus Humanis*," he would have said the same thing, for it is the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

But does any Jesuit expressly lay down the doctrine that good ends will NOT sanctify bad means? Yes; all of them, without exception. Laymann says: "Sixthly, the adjunct of a good end does not help an action that is bad in itself, but lets it remain in its simple and thorough wickedness (*relinquit simpliciter et undequaque malum*)."⁵ Gury says clearly: "*Omnis electio medii mali est mala.*"⁶ "Every choice of evil means is wicked (even where the end is good)." But what is the use of multiplying quotations? Let one Jesuit be produced who has written a treatise "*De Actibus Humanis*," and has either deliberately suppressed or even innocently forgot to put down this teaching, and we will surrender our entire case.

These falsehoods about Jesuit teaching are not new, nor are they confined to the English-speaking countries of Protestantism. The bigot, whose anti-Catholic zeal urges him to misrepresentation and slander, is to be found everywhere. In Germany, the birthplace of

¹ Theol. Mor., vol. v., p. 16. Op. cit., p. 19.

² *Moralitas* is not our English "morality." In theological works it has a technical sense, and means "moral relation or character," whether good or bad.

³ Compend. Theol. Mor., Romæ, 1874, vol. i., p. 26.

⁴ Institutiones morales Alphonsianæ. Romæ. 1885. Vol. i., p. 193.

⁵ Op. cit., Lib. i., Tract. ii., cap. ix., p. 23.

⁶ Ibid. "Sexto casu," etc.

⁷ Ibid. p. 27.

the "Reformation," they have never been wanting. From the day when the patient labor of the Jesuits, under Faber, Canisius and their disciples, first checked the spread of the new heresy, purged southern Germany of its leaven, and drove it back to its northern home, anti-Jesuit calumny became the fashion, and lasted for hundreds of years, until about a century ago, when the Lutheran clergy became skeptics and infidels, and cared as little for Luther as they did for the successor of St. Peter. After this lull, a revival of the no-Popery cry has revisited Germany, and the old, stale calumnies are republished as boldly as if they were new discoveries, and had not been a thousand times triumphantly refuted. What gave the first impulse was the partial freedom gained by the Church after the events of 1848, which aroused the anger of those who had long enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her placed under the yoke of State supervision, and who seemed to regard it as their own loss that she should emerge from the chains of bureaucratic tyranny.

To revenge their disappointment, the usual contrivance of attacking the Church through the Jesuits was resorted to. Their immoral principles, and, above all, the maxim, "The end justifies the means," were made the subject of unnumbered books and pamphlets. Of the bad faith and wicked motives of these writers there can be no question. It is enough to say that amongst the impugnors of Jesuit morality we find the name of that holy! man, the notorious Joannes Ronge, the "second Luther," as his flatterers loved to call him.¹ These calumnies, however, were not allowed to go uncontradicted. Father Roh, a preacher of some eminence, at the close of a successful mission in Frankfort (1852), which Lutherans and infidels had tried to impair by disseminating in print the wicked maxim attributed to the Order, read from the pulpit a declaration, to which he begged his hearers, Catholic and Protestant, to give the widest circulation. The substance of it was this: If any witness could produce a Jesuit author who had uttered the maxim, "The end justifies the means," literally or in equivalent terms, he would pay him a thousand florins (Rhenish currency). The decision was to rest with the Protestant faculty of the University of Heidelberg, or with the mixed faculty (Protestant and Catholic) of Bonn. This offer he repeated in the Protestant cities of Halle, in 1862, and Bremen, in 1863. Ten years and more had passed, and no one had accepted the challenge. At last a theologian, Maurer by name, took it up and published a pamphlet in which he claimed that he had proved his point and was entitled to the reward. All he could allege was the passage of Busenbaum already discussed (about a condemned priso-

¹ He died a few weeks ago in obscurity, despised or forgotten, unrepentant and unshriven, as generally happens to apostate priests.

ner's right to escape): "Cum finis est licitus, etc." Of course, he furnished no context, to explain how or why Busenbaum had used such language. The faculty of Heidelberg would not allow his claim. Nor will it ever be allowed by any honest Protestant. One of them, Büchmann, calls the maxim a perversion or distortion of propositions found in Jesuit moralists.¹ The same is said by another, Wander, in his "Lexicon of Proverbs."² And a third, Hertslet,³ positively affirms that the Jesuits never held or taught such a maxim, and attributes the hold it has on the popular mind to knavish romancers like Eugene Sue.

It is a proud distinction for the Jesuits that their enemies can find no valid weapons against them, and are compelled to resort to falsehood and slander. They are in this point faithful representatives of the Church of Christ at this day, as she is of the primitive Church of the Apostles. Are our Protestant friends aware that they are repeating against us the identical slanders that were hurled at the Church in the days of St. Paul? Then, too, wicked Jews and lying Pagans charged her with holding the blasphemous maxim, that evil may be done for a good purpose. (Rom. iii. 8.)

¹ *Geflügelte Worte*, Berlin, 1882. "Eine Einstellung Jesuitischer Satze." This popular book has reached a thirteenth edition. Quoted in "*Geschichtslügen*," Paderborn, 1885, p. 532, a valuable little book, which we hope to see translated some day into English.

² Leipzig, 1880, quoted, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

AN ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL OF A PAST GENERATION.

WHY is it that we care so much for anything merely because we shall never see it again? Why do we recall the memories of places which have done little else than weary us, and of people who have done little else than worry us, with a regard almost amounting to tenderness, for no other reason than that the last time we encountered them was some thirty or forty years ago? Why, in especial, does such a lustre play about the remembrances of that most unsatisfying and unsatisfactory period, the time of youth? It cannot be because boyhood is the season of enjoyment, and manhood of care; for the cares of manhood, even of struggling manhood, are, except in very peculiar cases, the salt of life, while the cares of boyhood create only a feeling which is of all sensations the most miserable. Take the case of a broker out for a holiday, or a lawyer, or a physician, or a contractor, or any one engaged in any business whatsoever, except, perhaps, that of legislator or professor; and mark how happy they are when they can get hold of some one with whom to talk "shop," even if they cannot do real business; and how wearily goes the day for them when they have nothing to do except to enjoy themselves. On the other hand, if anybody wants to know what despair is like, let him take up a Hebrew or Sanskrit grammar and conjure up the sensations he would experience if his whole future fortune depended upon his appreciation of Hiphil and Hophal or his progress in the Bagho Behar or the Puranas. Shall we say that youth is the period when health and strength are at their zenith, and that no enjoyments of later years can compete with those of vigorous life and an elastic frame? Unfortunately the facts are all the other way. There may have been a time in former days when young people were strong, just as there may have been a time when May was a delightful month for others besides poets; but as matters go now, it is the young whom consumption and rheumatism seem to favor with their particular attention. Is it, then, to an early friendship that we look back with pleasure, as that romantic cynic, the late Lord Beaconsfield, was wont to maintain? It may be so, for one real diamond will redeem a vast quantity of paste, and one sprig of lavender will keep a whole wardrobe sweet for many a year; but for our own part, we are much more inclined to believe that our regret for the past is a kind of grateful reaction from the well-

grounded expectation of boredom, which under the present conditions of civilization appears to be the inevitable accompaniment of any anticipations for the future.

However this may be, we must confess to having detested the public school where we spent six or seven of the most formative years of life, with as perfect a detestation as our natural faculties would permit; nor would we even now for any earthly consideration again go through a single month of that ceaseless oppression and never-ending worry, where, term after term, year in and year out, we never had a moment to call one's own, nor a foot of ground where one could read or write or think in peace. And yet no sooner did we resign all right which we possessed or ever had possessed "in the College of St. Mary of Winchester, near Winchester," and stripping off our scholar's gown bid farewell to those venerable precincts, than a sense of loneliness fell upon us, even though we were still of Wykeham's sons and were but proceeding to the sister College at Oxford, and a love of the time-worn walls took possession of us, stronger than any affection we have ever felt for our own home, either in London or in the country; stronger than that love which came to us for Oxford, the Hesperides of the soul, "where the golden fruits for ever burn," stronger than for Australia with its glowing climate,

"Where the bright Air pours high her living wine,"

stronger than for Italy, with those old-world associations, and for Jerusalem with its sacred localities.

"Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ."

No scene that we have ever visited, and no experience we have ever undergone, has left upon us anything like the mark impressed during the years that we spent at the College of Our Blessed Lady of Winchester, near Winchester.

The town of Winchester, where, five hundred years ago, our founder, William of Wykeham, exercised the offices of bishop of the diocese and high chancellor of England, is one of those charming old-world places, the delight of such writers as Hawthorne and Anthony Trollope, and, in fact, is not, improbably, the original of the famous "Barchester." Nothing seems to move there, yet nothing exactly stagnates. Life flows along placidly, with a calm, lucid stream, like its own silvery Itchen, and centuries glide away with less rush and disturbance than is crowded elsewhere into as many years. The college, itself one of the most recent additions to the town, celebrated its quincentenary a few years ago, and

looks upon the days of Queen Elizabeth as an affair of yesterday. The cathedral, a shapeless mass without, but with an interior rivaling the stateliest edifices of Europe, dates back from the days of the Confessor, and contains a whole history in its mere architecture. From its doors was repelled the corpse of the infamous Rufus. Within its choir are preserved the cysts wherein once reposed the bones of Saxon monarchs. In the nave stands the chantry-tomb of the saintly bishop, still unmutilated in the midst of the havoc wrought by the zealous believers in the gospel of blasphemy and destruction, having owed its preservation to the interference of a Cromwellian soldier who had gained his education from the munificence of Wykeham.

At the top of the High street, the single great street of the town, is the ancient city gate; near the bottom, just at the entrance of the Cathedral Close, stands the beautiful Market cross, as in old Catholic times. On the side of the Close, remote from the street, lies the Deanery garden, a charming spot, with thickly foliaged trees shading delicious grass, and a pellucid trout-stream running through their midst. Within the precincts are the houses of the canons, the leaders of Wintonian society: a society, it may be remarked, preëminently aristocratic, provincial and connubio-ecclesiastical. The dean of our day was a very old man and a widower; the bishop (with an official income of any number of thousands) lived in his palace some twenty miles off, and never dreamed of occupying his throne in the cathedral; so the canons had it all their own way, and a very dignified little way it was. Eloquence was their strongest point, especially in exposing the errors of "popery," and of denouncing those miserable men "who turn Reason (with a big R) into Rebellion (with another big R), and Faith into Faction" (capital letters again). Never shall we forget the thrill of horror which flooded our innocent souls, and the torrent of ecclesiastical invective that poured scathingly forth, when his late Holiness committed that terrible act of Papal aggression that restored the Catholic hierarchy of England. That a foreign ecclesiastic should dare to preach the Gospel in a way not by law established, and even repugnant to Act of Parliament, was bad enough; though, so long as merely spiritual matters were concerned, it might, perhaps, be borne; but that an Italian bishop should venture to confer titles upon English subjects, and those titles actually higher than the canons themselves; this, indeed, was an aggression which called forth the powers of offended majesty.

Leaving now the Cathedral Close, we come to an archway supporting the quaint and diminutive Church of S. Swithin, another celebrated (and canonized) bishop of Winchester, who, to the amazement of his clergy, insisted upon being buried under a water-

spout, and after his death caused unceasing rain to descend until the recalcitrant canons submitted to his will, and permitted his body to remain in the spot he had, through humility, chosen. Hence the saying still runs in Winchester, that if there be rain on S. Swithin's day, there will be rain for forty days after. Passing under the archway, and turning sharply to the left, we enter the short street leading down to the college where, facing the road, at the corner, stands the Porters' Lodge, or outer building of the structure. There were always two porters belonging to the college; and upon the lower of these, by one of the incomprehensible practices common to the school, was bestowed the name of one of the minor prophets conferred in reverse order. Joel was the title of the under-porter during our time; at what author of Scripture they may now have arrived, we are not aware. The head porter, who was also the principal carver at the boys' dinner, was a tall, somewhat saturnine personage; but he is recorded once to have been guilty of a smile. One of the college boys, finding the leg of mutton belonging to his own mess to be considerably reduced, ventured to ask the porter, Mr. Poole, for a cut off another. "Where's your own leg?" cried Mr. Poole, not over-graciously. "Here it is, Poole," said the boy, patting his own leg complacently, "but it isn't roasted quite enough." Then the grim features relaxed, and the cut of mutton quickly appeared. Jokes, however mild, were not plentiful at Winchester.

Within the gate was a kind of paved court, having on the left the warden's house, a fine old mansion with a beautiful garden behind, watered by the same stream as ran through the deanery grounds, and on the right a number of outbuildings, the chief of which was devoted to the blacking of shoes, and thence entitled Edom, because "over Edom will I cast out my shoe." In the same way the washing-place was called Moab, because "Moab is my washpot," and a small ruler a Benjamin, because "there is little Benjamin, their ruler." If we had had as much scripture in our morals as we had in our mouths, there would have been less repugnance between the design and the reality of the foundation.

Crossing the yard, we come to another gateway, called Middle Gate, with a chamber built over it, where the principal examinations of the year were conducted, and the election-rolls made out both for Winchester and for New College, of which the proper title was the College of B. Mary of Winchester near Oxford. Through Middle Gate we enter Middle or Chamber Court, where stood the chief buildings of the college. Around three sides were the boys' dormitories or "chambers," containing from eight to ten beds each. On the further side of the court was the chapel, a fine structure, though of rather a debased style of architecture, and with windows

of rich painted glass, having beneath each of them a scroll containing the neglected entreaty : " Orate pro anima Gulielmi de Wykeham." On the arch of Middle Gate, opposite the chapel, was a large effigy of our Blessed Lady, the patron of the college, with the archangel kneeling to her on one side, and the founder on the other. From time immemorial no boy, of whatever standing, had been permitted to have his head covered when crossing this court, even during the hours when the dormitories were open, or when we passed through on our way to the cathedral; but this was ingeniously attributed not to respect for the Mother of God, which would have been scandalous in Christian youth, but for the sacred Master's window, which overlooked the court, and we were, of course, too well trained in the extraordinary tenets of our creed not to be duly grieved by the shocking example of reverence set to us by the founder and the archangel.

Behind the chapel was the college burial-ground, surrounded by the cloisters, a secluded spot forbidden to the boys, because it was said the celebrated non-juror Ken had in his student days so often cut his name there, and scarcely ever entered by anyone (the library of the Fellows was situated in the centre of it), but presenting a lovely appearance on a moonlight night, when the tracery was thrown out on the floor in silvery arches. At the corner of Chamber Court, over the seventh or largest Chamber, was the dining hall, a fine building about 100 feet long and 40 feet high, rarely filled except for the great banquets at election time. All round the walls were pictures of Wykehamist prelates, some in the splendid vestments of Catholic divines, the founder himself amongst them, and some in that wonderful arrangement of bedgown and balloon surmounted by a bigwig, which Anglican bishops appear to have adopted with a view to connecting the idea of episcopacy with an utterly anomalous and irresistibly ridiculous image.

Considering the smallness of our body, the organization of the college was not a little elaborate. At the head was the warden or "custos," with an income of about \$10,000 a year, derived from the college revenues, and nothing whatever apparently to do for it except to create "prefects" and to ask boys to dinner on leave-out days. Personally our old warden was one of the most kind-hearted and generous of men, always seeking and constantly finding occasion for doing some kindness to his neighbors; and his mere presence was like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land; but, unluckily, we boys had little or nothing to do with him in school affairs. Next to him came ten fellows (*socii*), receiving each about \$2500 a year from the college chest for the term of their natural lives, married or unmarried, beneficed or at large, and

having positively no duties to perform in return, not even that of visiting the college once or twice in the course of a dozen years. Of the officials whom the glorious "Reformation" had not converted into sinecurists, the principal was the head-master, or informator, and under him the second master, or ostiarius. Then came ourselves, the seventy scholars, gratuitously boarded, lodged and taught out of the resources, though not, alas! according to the principles, of the munificent William of Wykeham. Three chaplains, who performed service about three times a year on an average (the daily service being conducted by the hardly-worked head-master), an organist of much celebrity and brilliant execution, and a choir of sixteen country boys with the most execrable voices conceivable and a corresponding vocalization, completed the staff of the college. For about a century or so back, however, it had been the custom for the head-master to receive pupils not belonging to the college, but paying a handsome sum (about \$500 per annum) for the privilege of being educated at the famous school. These boys were called Commensales or Commoners, and associated with the collegians only during school hours. Their introduction necessitated an increase in the teaching staff, and various subordinate masters, or professors, as they would be called here, were paid accordingly out of the private speculation of the head-master.

Princely as was the institution of the college—and imitated afterwards by Henry VI. in his foundation of Eton—it formed by no means the whole, scarcely even the half of the munificence of the open-handed founder. A sister college at Oxford, consisting of a warden and seventy fellows (each drawing about \$1500 a year), was annually recruited, as vacancies fell, by a few of the senior boys from Winchester, who were thus not only enabled to prosecute their studies as far as studies in those days could well be prosecuted, but also became endowed with a competence for the remainder of their days, which could only be taken away from them either by their accepting a college benefice or taking to themselves a wife or—having the good fortune to be converted to the faith of the founder. And all these enormous expenses were defrayed by the revenues of the vast landed estates secured to the two incorporated colleges by the will of William of Wykeham. Truly has it been said of that most cheerful giver :

"Hic fundat dextrā, fundat collegia lævā ;
Nemo unam illius vicit utraque manu."

Of which distich we venture to offer the following attempt at translation :

Left hand and right, the founder's work is done ;
Let others use both hands, they'll not surpass his one.

These advantages being the privilege, and for most the easily obtainable privilege of such as are fortunate enough to secure admission into Winchester College at an early age (for to Commoners New College was as much closed as to the rest of the world), it will be easily understood that to get a boy on the foundation at Winchester was not by any means a matter for every one to attain. Every summer, at the close of the academic or old ecclesiastical year, an examination was held by a committee of six electors, consisting of the two wardens and four other members of the two colleges chosen in rotation. This committee drew up the rolls of admission for the ensuing year, both for Winchester and for New College. In the former each elector possesses the right of nominating candidates according to seniority; while for the latter the examination was ostensibly competitive amongst the eighteen senior boys in the college, though their order was in reality rarely varied. As, therefore, admission to New College with all its privileges was ultimately to be obtained only through Winchester, and as at the very least education and board for several years were thereby obtained gratuitously, nominations for Winchester were highly valued, and frequently sought and obtained before the candidates were even born. That the gift and acceptance of these nominations was a scandal and abuse, that a charity so noble and a machinery so complex could never have been established simply for the purpose of relieving the friends of the members from the expense of educating some of their children, and for providing certain lucky individuals with the means of remaining idle bachelors for life, never occurred for a moment to parent or to pupil. And yet though we heard it not, the stone cried out from the wall, and the beam from the timber gave answer. New College was designed by the holy founder to be a community of learned priests and Winchester to be the seminary subserving it; and stifle it as they would, the irrepressible voice cried out. In our ordinary dress, the split cassock or college gown; in our surplices on Sundays when we formed what was virtually the white choir at High Mass; in the peal which woke us of a morning and summoned us to night prayers of an evening, and which was none other than the Angelus, although we recognized it not; in the name and dedication of the college itself; in the images already mentioned of Our Blessed Lady and her servants; in the hymns and versicles preserved from the Breviary and in countless details little observed at the time, but gathering strength by accumulation, the spirit of the founder enforced an unconscious hearing. But of all the voices which spoke so silently, yet so powerfully, to the ear once opened to receive them, none, we think, penetrated more deeply than that expressed in the collect on the day of commemoration.

We give Thee thanks," it ran in Latin, "Almighty God, for our founder William of Wykeham, and the rest by whose benefits we are here brought up to good morals and the study of literature, beseeching Thee that we may well use these thy gifts, *ad gloriam resurrectionis tuæ perducamur immortalem.*" There was something in this prayer that seemed to give utterance to the design of the founder, beyond the mere education of the scholars, beyond even the providing of a community of clergy, and to thrill with a personal and eternal love for every one of the spiritual sons that should be born to him. To him the notion of the priesthood was faint and indistinct; the idea of the Mass blurred and distorted beyond recognition; but each of us could realize what was meant by the immortal glory of the resurrection, and the thought that William of Wykeham had had that glory in view of us, lent a strange and indescribable interest to it, to himself and to our companions.

The ceremonies attendant upon election were of a highly elaborate kind, but it would take too long to tell of the receptions and the Latin orations, and the banquets, and of the final evening when some thousand guests assembled to hear the sweet Wykehamist song of "Domum" sung again and yet again in the soft summer air. And we must pass briefly over many points in our school life interesting and notable in themselves, if only for their singularity. College once entered, the grist was soon absorbed by the mill, and each boy was moulded unconsciously upon the same form. On whole school days, and there were three of them besides Saturday, we had nine hours of school work and half an hour at chapel, besides which the greater part of our lessons and compositions were done out of school. In the lower forms it was the custom to take places during repetition and to mark accordingly for every lesson; but this practice ceased in the higher classes, and the consequence was that as the chance of a provision for life at New College depended upon the position at eighteen years of age, and that position depended upon the place gained at about fourteen or fifteen, a boy was weighted with a very heavy responsibility at a much too early age. Moreover, there was a custom of learning Greek or Latin rules by heart and repeating some thousands of them in the course of a single week at midsummer, which greatly influenced the position at the crucial moment, and consequently added much to the burden of the place.

Prominent amongst the elements of school-life at Winchester was the institution of fagging, of which the college was the very stronghold. This practice is by no means to be confused with bullying, and it was systematized with us to a greater degree, probably, than anywhere else. Every hour of the day was parcelled

out; every scholar in the school had his appointed rank, not for school work only, but for fagging also, and the duties were as well-defined as they were multifarious. To prefects alone, namely, the eighteen senior boys, appertained the right to fag, to the ten seniors at any time or place, to the eight junior prefects only in the evenings when we lived in the dormitories, or rather "chambers." Amongst the fags the duties were assigned, not according to position in the school, but to seniority of entrance, the position on the roll being preserved, and in each of the seven chambers was a set of fags called "junior in chambers," "second junior in chambers," and so on, chosen by the prefects at the commencement of each half year. No boy could, therefore, escape going through the entire mill unless, which rarely happened, eight vacancies should occur at once, in which case the lucky senior would become a "second junior in chambers" immediately upon entering college. Amongst the duties, too various to specify, were for the junior in chambers the calling several times repeated of the other boys in the same chamber; the cleaning and care of the candlesticks, extinguishers and snuffers by each boy, a filthy task; the fetching of shoes in the morning from "Edom," where they had been cleaned by the servants; attention to the fire, which, being composed of fagots put on from time to time, involved a great deal of labor, and such-like matters. The second junior was required to sweep up the chamber floor, and act as "valet" to one of the prefects; the third junior only to act as valet to another, and the fourth or fifth junior, a rank probably not attained for three years or more after entrance, generally escaped chamber fagging. Besides this, every boy in order of juniority was liable to be required by any one of the ten senior prefects (or "prefects in full power") to fag for him at cricket for any time not exceeding altogether two hours in the day; and if a boy found out that one of his seniors was fagging out he was bound to go and "take him off." This two hours' exaction was one of the things which told hardest upon the life of a junior; for what between school and fagging, he had never an instant of his own. Another regulation of a most severe and absurd character was that none but prefects were permitted to wear any covering on the head, merely because the old birrettas were abandoned as a "popish" custom, and no one in the course of three centuries had thought of replacing them. Consequently, boys used to go about with their heads uncovered in the midst of a scorching sun or a pouring rain, even when they were ill and under the doctor's care; nor was it till late in my own time that occasionally on a very hot day a junior was permitted to wear a cap when fagging out at cricket. All this created a terrible slavery, but to avoid the grinding of the machine was impossible.

Prefects were armed by authority with the power of "bending" and ruthlessly did they exercise it. The flogging by a master was a flea-bite ; but thirty or forty blows from a stout ground-ash stick was no joke at all. As for absolute disobedience, that meant expulsion, and expulsion from a public school in those days was little short of social ruin.

And what was the effect of this curious method of education, if method it could be called, where the only principle recognized was the denial of its own end and object upon the minds of those subjected to it? That is a question of no little interest, but it can be answered here only by personal analysis, and personal analysis, as Demosthenes observes, is always apt to be an invidious and ungrateful task. For one thing, it certainly taught us one Apostolic lesson, namely, "to obey at a word." An order once given, no matter whether by master or prefect, was performed without question or demur; and though to some persons this habit may appear to be slavish, it seems to us the very foundation of Catholic as of Apostolic discipline.

In positive attainments there was a fair proficiency in the subjects then considered to be proper to education, though how we acquired it we can hardly say, for we never received instruction, but had to find out everything for ourselves, in the "*propria parte*" system, as it was classically termed. Of science we knew just as much as we chose to read for ourselves in such leisure as we possessed; of geography and history, whatever we might have brought from former schools, or have picked up from reading novels. Mathematics made a great stride during the time that we were there, for when we went there indignation was expressed at the third book of Euclid having been introduced into the final examination for the highest class, while simple equations were about the limit of algebraic knowledge; but at the time of our leaving two or three of us were pretty well up, not only in the higher algebra, but also in trigonometry and analytical conics; nay, one of us had even dipped his nose into infinitesimal calculus, and vowed that the draught was delightful. Of French and German we were taught the rudiments, and some of us could read "*Gil Blas*" and "*Wilhelm Tell*" with the aid of a dictionary. That our own language contained a literature worthy of the deepest study was an idea which had not occurred at that time to any educationalist, however advanced; but, in some mysterious way, we picked up a sort of bowing acquaintance with Shakespeare and Tennyson and Pope and Byron, and read "*Alton Locke*," and "*Sartor Resartus*"; of Emerson, too, we had some knowledge, while Longfellow we regarded almost as a personal friend, and his poetry shared in familiarity with Macaulay's essays. Classical literature was, of course, the

real subject of our study, and as we spent eleven years of school life over it, of which six and a half were spent at Winchester, it was to be expected that some knowledge should be attained. Of Virgil and Horace we had not only read (with a few inconsiderable exceptions) the entire works, but had committed to memory large portions of each, especially of the "Odes" and the "Æneid." We had dipped into Lucretius, and were familiar with several writings of Cicero; nor were Livy and Juvenal forgotten. In Greek we had read pretty well the whole of the "Iliad," and some portion of the "Odyssey" (which we never could believe to be by the same hand), a book or two of Thucydides, and the same amount of Herodotus, some eight or ten Greek dramas, the idyls of Theocritus, the Pythian and Olympian odes of Pindar, and a few orations of Demosthenes; altogether a very respectable amount, sufficient to give one an insight into the true spirit of Greek literature. Original composition, also, both in Greek and Latin, not English, was constantly exacted from us; and every week we had to write a prose task of about forty lines, a verse task of about the same length, and three epigrams of exactly six lines invariably, sometimes Latin, sometimes Greek. Moreover, during one period of the year we had also to write Latin lyrics every week, and we remember sending up a long Greek ode, modelled upon one of Pindar's, and celebrating the birth of the young prince Napoleon, whereupon the headmaster politely requested that we would favor him with a Latin translation! Years afterwards, shortly before his untoward death, the young Prince Imperial honored us by a visit in our lodgings in London, and but for the sadness of the association we felt strongly inclined to tell him of our youthful effort in Pindaric verse.

Meanwhile, steadily if not speedily, the cup of time was filled to its surface. Term trod on term, and cricket was succeeded by election. The first years of fagging passed slowly away, and were succeeded by a period of somewhat less discomfort. Then came a couple of years of prefecture, and finally the last election was reached, the last examination passed, the last "Domum" sung, the last roll sent flying from the window, according to the extraordinary custom, borrowed apparently from the Cumæan Sibyl, into the hands of the expectant Prefect; and we can hear our school-fellow crying out, as he entered the chamber at midnight with the captured roll in his hand, "Bravo, Jack, you're second." So, "I got New College" after all. At this very moment, after the lapse of more than thirty years, after a life of vicissitudes sufficient to furnish an Odyssey, we can hardly believe but that we are still a scholar of Winchester, and that the changes since undergone are mere accidents to our Wykehamist identity. Now, as we write, the familiar scene is before our eyes, and it is hard to believe we

have no share in it. The Chamber Court is thronged again with eager faces, the scholars again "in the summer twilight sing their sweet song of home," the features live again which we shall see no more,

"Till with the dawn the angel faces smile
Whom I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

And so, with the undertone of that petition, "ut ad gloriam resurrectionis tuæ perducamur immortalem," ringing once more through the silence, the vision of Winchester fades solemnly out of view.

ANDOVER ORTHODOXY—WHITHER AWAY?

"*PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY*" is the title of a volume of essays comprising sundry papers contributed to the *Andover Review* by its learned editors, who are, at the same time, professors in the Andover Seminary. The purpose of their discussion of the subject matter, as boldly set forth in the introductory preface, the frank acknowledgment that they are seekers rather than dogmatizers, and the tone of respectful reverence for the divine problems treated of which pervades every page, offer unquestionable assurance of their honesty, sincerity, and earnest resolve to abide by the consequences of this their first blow struck for religious freedom.

There is a strength and directness in this blow that cannot fail to stagger the "orthodoxy" they have aimed at. It remains to be seen if they have courage and wind enough to follow up their advantage, and pluck enough to take the knock-backs they have so defiantly provoked and will be sure of getting.

The perusal of the writings of these gentlemen has awakened no little interest in many minds; as it is easy to perceive, from the very outset, that they have thrown down the gauntlet, and invited a contest which sounds the note of "No surrender but to the right."

But one is also very soon made aware that it is a home question with them, the settlement of which is of far greater vital interest to themselves than it could possibly be to others; for they stake the affirmation of their own faith, after due, prayerful, and courageous inquiry, upon the solution of a dilemma as yet, we

think, not clearly perceived by them, but which we propose to show is evidenced by their discussion; and which will force them to elect between Catholicity, which is the affirmation of divine order, or Nihilism, which is its atheistic denial.

This radical dilemma lies, indeed, at the bottom of all doubt; submitting the divine intent, plan, and outcome of the creation, redemption, and salvation of man to logical solution. The divine idea, its affirmation, expression, and final consummation, cannot be supposed to be other than positive, real, and infallibly and irreformably true; excluding all negation; and condemnatory of all other possible or supposable interests, means, or ends, however good they may appear to be in themselves.

The divine work is God's work, and whatever it is, it is, in its verity, as much out of the pale of discussion as the truth of His own being. The counsels of the Most High God are not only beyond all criticism of the creature, but the fact determined by them must be in its nature unique, all-comprehensive, and of universal application; intolerant of diminution; not a question of more or less, or of good and better, but of all or none, *the one* or none at all. God's own bond to man in His divine purpose and plan of salvation is, as these writers cogently prove, not only divinely logical, but divinely ethical as well. One need hardly affirm, therefore, that, as a necessary consequence, man's bond to God—his religion—must be no less divinely logical and ethical.

This is the dominant idea presented to us throughout the entire volume as a basis for discussion of the momentous questions involved. "We much prefer," say they, in the introductory essay, "to be recognized as disciples of Him *who is the Truth*, than to be credited to standards of belief of human construction. Human progress would be impossible if everything in belief were changeable. No man could hope for moral perfection, if in the power of choice itself there were not the possibility of a *permanent preference*, or, if liberty were not exercised in a *system of things which makes for stability*."

The whole of this very remarkable statement of their assumed standpoint, from which they prepare themselves to view the origin, the operations, and final cause of the creation, redemption, and salvation of mankind, and, especially the words we have italicized, prove that they have thrown aside all special pleading for this or that doctrine of religion, and have determined to get to the bottom of things, and inquire after the ultimate reason of God's dealings with man. He is the Truth. His expression of truth in creation must be as true as the original conception of His own divine idea. A system of religion, if worthy of God, who is the truth, should

therefore be worthy of permanent preference, a system which does not lie within the competency of human wisdom either to construct or reform, but must be an assured expression of the truth as it is in God. Also, unless the exercise of religion on the part of man be free, it is necessarily valueless, for religion is as essentially ethical as it is logical. But, liberty of the subject is the free, intelligent, and willing obedience to legitimate authority; and this connotes stability, order, the logical application of truth in the expression of authority, denominated "a system." As in every systematic selection of coördinate powers tending to a definite end, the synthesis of active and of passive, or resisting forces, is the equation, or harmonious expression of the unique idea affirmed by the originator or author of the system, it is evident that in a system of forces, intelligent and free, the authority or magisterium of the author demands and exacts a free, unfettered action, and submission of all the combined forces in the exercise of their correlative functions, or the idea would be deprived of its perfect expression, and the original design frustrated. Think of a wheel of a watch, if endowed with intelligence and volition, being unable to attain the knowledge of a definite position and order of movement, as a position and movement to be permanently preferred in order that the idea of the maker of the watch may result in the perfect expression of a time-piece; or, if the combination or system in which it was called upon to exercise its free, unclogged action were itself lacking in stability. Liberty supposes stability in the expression or exercise of authority, or it is a misnomer. All pretensions to liberty are vain if the system of government under which we live is so unstable as to offer no guarantee that the enjoyment of our rights will be either certain or secure. The history of the world is full of examples to prove that weakness or instability of government, in Church or State, has ever been the signal for the uprising of anarchical mobs, and the consequent obstruction or extinction of all social, political, or religious liberty.

These gentlemen have, therefore, enunciated a profound and irrefragable philosophical principle when they say that "human progress would be impossible if everything in belief were changeable, and that no man could hope for moral perfection if the choice of a permanent preference were impossible to him," there being no object of permanent preference to elect, and that, lacking a system which makes for stability, liberty would be exercised in vain. Most assuredly they have struck a blow which will make for their religious freedom, for they have enunciated a fundamental principle underlying freedom in every order of human life. "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

We are not surprised, therefore, to find our earnest essayists bringing the primary fundamental doctrines of religion, such as the Incarnation and the atonement, to the test of this pure, logical and ethical criterion. Whoso affirms the Incarnation affirms a synthesis. God, the thesis ; man, the antithesis ; and God-man, the synthetic unity. "The God-man" is an expression supremely logical and profoundly ethical, or it is nothing better than vaguely sentimental.

The first essay, on the Incarnation, is a fine specimen of popular theological exposition of doctrine. It is terse, clear, direct and persuasive, to the majority of non-Catholic readers; and even to many among those who lay claim to possess the requisite qualifications to be professors of Protestant theological science, there is much which will appear as new and original. One may be allowed to expect that the views are so presented as to leave the impression upon the general reader that they are, in the main, original. There is not one hint given, for instance, that the doctrine exposed in the third section of the first essay, and more distinctly affirmed in the second one, that the Incarnation is a primary divine decree of creation, and not consequent upon the decree of the redemption, has ever been more than suggested by theologians. "We do not claim," they say, "for this later thought upon the Incarnation any exclusive originality." They have no right to claim any originality at all, since we cannot suppose them to be ignorant of the fact that among Catholic theologians it is no new or unheard-of thing, but that it has been widely held and taught. The whole doctrine and its application was lately thoroughly elucidated by the Rev. Father Hewitt, C.S.P., in the pages of the *Catholic World*, under the title of "Problems of the Age," in which the Rev. author arrives by profound theological reasoning at the conclusion that "it is certain that God, in His eternal, creative purpose, determined the universe to an end metaphysically final, and that this end is attained in the Incarnation, or the union of created with un-created nature in the person of the Word." (*Catholic World*, October, 1866.)

Although our essayists appear to be not so confidently sure of the truth of this doctrine as to warrant them in affirming their categorical adhesion to it, as when they write : "The opinion has, therefore, reason in it that there would have been the Incarnation even if there had been no sin," yet it is quite evident that this view of the Incarnation is really the keystone to the new theological arch they have so boldly set themselves to construct, or rather to measure and copy what is already constructed ; having found, moreover, that without it the attempt to justify the creative act by a congruous reason for it has been far from

satisfactory ; or as well, to present any complete, logical and ethical basis for the application of the atonement to the individuals of the human race. Back to this fundamental doctrine must be referred the ethical principles of the solidarity of Christ and His creation, through whom and for whom all things were made, and on which is based the universality of the Redemption—"as all in Adam die, so shall all in Christ be made alive."

The creation, redemption, and judgment at consummation of the universe and of man, its intelligent, concorporate representation, are not fancies of the divine mind seeking diversion, to be made and used as playthings, so to speak, at their own expense. They are the terms of a divine synthesis, apprehended and affirmed by the created mind, thus recognizing and, as it were, reaffirming the truth of the creative Word, and freely accepted and coöperated with by created volition as an objective, stable system ; founded in the last analysis upon the divine immutability, or equilibrium of law, which is the *reason of the act of being*. God has created, has incarnated Himself with, and is redeeming, the universe ; and will bring about the perfect consummation and final equilibrium of all things, not because of what He has done, but because He is God—the Being of whom and of whose acts only perfect truth, absolute freedom and unique goodness can be predicated. He creates because He is God. He becomes incarnate because He is God. He redeems the world to a like spirit and liberty with His own because He is God ; and the divine end of all will be effected, because in the beginning He, who cannot fail of His purpose, was the original designer, and so affirmed it.

As the Logos, the Word, God affirming Himself as acting, is the principle to which creation must be referred, the creation is, as we may say, the out-spoken word of God, His created language, just as the acts of all created existences are, in some form, their word, and through which they can alone derive the "*glory*" or recognition of their acts.

"*Qui a semetipso loquitur propriam gloriam querit.*" Only God has this right to speak *à semetipso*, and therefore He can alone seek His own glory. And unless creation does perfectly recognize its Author, and thus render adequate glory to its Creator, the end of its existence must be necessarily frustrated.

The whole Christian revelation has shown how perfectly and solely this can be realized by the Incarnation of the Word, and the whole and sole purpose of the Christian religion is to affirm and realize this recognition of the Creator through Christ. Hence the conclusion of every prayer and ascription of praise to God is thus framed, "*per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.*" If the Incarna-

tion be the principle of the life of creation, *i.e.*, of its recognitive acts, it is because it is the principle of its created existence—" *Principium essendi est principium operandi.*"

As applicable to, and illustrative of, the true idea of redemption, our essayists have kept this in view when they penned the following forcible and beautiful passage: "The created universe and all rational beings are through Christ and in Christ. Therefore, He mediates or reveals God to any part of His universe, according to the condition or need which may exist in that part. If, at any point His world is sick, weary, guilty, hopeless, there Christ is touched and hurt, and there He appears to restore and comfort. This earth is, it may be, the sheep lost in the wilderness, while the ninety and nine are safe in the fold. Christ cannot be indifferent to the least of His creatures in its pain and wickedness, for His universe is not attached to Him externally, but vitally. He is not a governor set over it, but is its life everywhere. He feels its every movement; most of all, its spiritual life and spiritual feebleness or disease, and appears in his glorious power even at the remotest point. If there were but one sinner, Christ would seek him. If but one planet were invaded by sin, Christ would come to its relief."

The affirmation of the keystone which we have indicated, is evident in every line of this. That keystone is the solidarity of Christ and creation through humanity, exhibiting the perfect substantial sympathy between Christ and it. It affirms the principle of all existence and life, *viz.*, diversity as the image or expression of unity, individual personal responsibility as the image or expression of a united common solidarity. And conversely, diversity affirms itself to *be* by affirming its origin from, and relation or re-ligion to, unity, as individual responsibility affirms itself by affirming a united solidarity in like manner; principles which may be regarded as the *ratio* of all stability in the family-society, in the state and in the Church.¹

¹ We have lately had exhibited so striking a proof of this in the history of our own country, that we think we may be pardoned for its introduction here by way of illustration. Our national motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*," was supposed to be the expression of national solidarity, and the consequent formulæ of unity and strength. But no sooner did the separate interests of the many clash than the Union was at once threatened with dissolution. In the hour of peril the reigning power instinctively saw that contention under the old motto would be vain and illogical; and, by the virtual proclamation it made of the contrary principle, "*Ex uno, plures*," the Union was saved, and order restored. The history of the Christian religion and its struggles with all heresies and schisms, ought to show the impartial student the true secret of the order, stability and marvellous permanence of the Catholic Church contrasted with the disorder, instability and ephemeral character of all pretended forms of religious government, in which "the many" is made the principle of unity, a principle logically indefensible, and which, in the ethical order, must, sooner or later, prove the cause of dismemberment and annihilation of a union which, being illogical, cannot be other than fictitious.

It affords us a congruous reason why God should regenerate and redeem His own work by personally assuming the responsibility of its nature, in order that His word, into which He has breathed His divine spirit, may not return unto Him void. The creation may passively relate Him as its author, "the heavens may declare His glory and the firmament show forth His handiwork," but it cannot actively and personally recognize Him, and so return unto Him, unless a personal solidarity be established between Him and it. Let us see how this bond of solidarity is obtained between the Creator and the creature; both in the natural Adamic humanity and in the supernatural or Christian humanity; and we trust this little philosophical diversion may not prove wholly irrelevant.

Creation, as diversity, or the universe (*uni-diversi*), affirms itself as an "*istentia ex Deo*," an istence from God; or, as we combine it in one word, an *existence*; and it is impossible to make any affirmation of a being or of its acts as existence, unless the Perfect Istence or the Absolute Act is included explicitly or implicitly as a term; or, what is equivalent in form to an equation, one factor of which is the Perfect, the Absolute, the Implural. God, as the Perfect, or as the Absolute, is logically affirmed in every affirmation of anything that is or acts. Its istence or act is not affirmable, except as an ex-istence from God, or as an existence acting by His virtue. "In Him we live and move and have our being." Whatever we may say of anything is reducible, as the mind always does instinctively reduce the affirmative to—*it exists*, or it *is* (exists) acting, which are the only comprehensible expressions for the simpler forms—*it is*, *it acts*. We say, elliptically, "I am." But only God can so affirm Himself. He alone is "The Am." He only can logically affirm Himself, "I am who am." Theologically, we would be obliged to say, "I am who *is*." Is what? An existence; not *the* Istence, but a one of many ex-istences. But multiplicity, or diversity, can only affirm itself by affirming its relation to unity. Therefore, we must say, "I am a one of many istences or beings, who are from the One Istence or Being." In other words, the Relative or Conditioned can only affirm itself, *i. e.*, define its existence by affirming the Perfect or the Absolute as the reason or meaning of existence.

Conversely, as we said, unity images itself in and expresses multiplicity and diversity. All created existences are, therefore, the expressions of God's affirmations of the Divine ideals or examples. When we apprehend these expressions we *hear*, so to speak, the Divine spoken word. Our cognition of them and subsequent affirmation of them that they *are*, and are *what* they are, is, as is evident, logically reaffirming the word of God, the Creative or

Speaking Being, *ex quo sunt*, which is the act of the worship of adoration; and as well appreciating the Divine will, *per quem facta sunt*, which is the act of the worship of obedience; and admiring and dilecting the illuminative, informing beauty of God, the Light of light, *cujus lumen manifestant*, which is the act of the worship of Love.

These are the answers we give to ourselves for the what, the how, and the why of Creation, and the primary fundamental relation of the creature to the Creator.

As has been clearly reasoned, "Both ideas, the Divine and human, stand in this relation to each other that God realizes the one eternal idea of the world in the act of creation, while man has to acquire his idea of the world from reasoning and an experimental examination of the world as it exists after creation. As the idea, then, to God is the first, and the world last, so, on the contrary, to man the world is first and the idea last, as that, namely, which he has to gain for himself as the result of a scientific examination of the Divine work." (Staudenmaier. *Die Christliche Dogmatik*, vol. III., part i., p. 42.)

The free extrinsic affirmation of the ideal on the part of God is, therefore, creative. When God said, "Let there be light," He affirmed light to be, and it existed. All acts of man are also his word, or *quasi* word affirmations of his ideas, derived from the apprehension of created things. These acts are often styled his "creations"—the creations of his mind, of his genius or skill, because they are similar to the creative act on the part of God; but, of course, his affirmations do not possess creative power, because his ideas are not original or self-derived. But in this cognition of creation he recognizes the creative act of God; not affirming "Let it be," but "It is existence," it is from God. There is, therefore, no act, in speech or otherwise, possible to man which does not implicitly recognize, and, after man's manner, affirm God as the origin of his recognitions. It is the argument of St. Paul, when he wrote to the Romans, "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood" (recognized and affirmed) "by the things that are made, His eternal power also and His divinity."

The same reasoning is applicable to the ethical order. If we affirm an individual man to be a human person, we logically affirm the divine ideal of the solidarity of humanity, *i.e.*, the common united responsibility of human nature in its personal life to the Creator; a nature of which this particular man is an individual expression; and, conversely, the divine expression of humanity in multiple men, in their ethical relations of the family, society, the

nation, government, etc., supposes the unity or oneness of humanity, by affirming the divine ideal of a common nature subject to a common responsibility.

These principles enable us to understand more clearly that fundamental doctrine of Christianity—the oneness of humanity; how the nature of Adam is in us, and we in it, with all its consequences and responsibilities. If we are not diverse expression of the one humanity of Adam, we are not human at all. We are, indeed, both logical and ethical expressions of it, since we cannot affirm ourselves without affirming the unity of human nature in Adam, and we cannot affirm Adam without at the same time affirming God. Conformable to this is the language of the genealogy of Christ given by St. Luke, who concludes it by saying: “Adam, who was of God.”

But whence did God derive His idea of humanity and of its ethical relations? Surely, not from the created man; but we should rather say (if we may be allowed the apparently paradoxical term) from His own divine, perfect, absolute *humanness*. The ideal of what, so to speak, is *human* in a creature must be a divine ideal. Created humanity is to the divine ideal what our spoken or acted words are to our ideas, words which realize more or less perfectly what we call our “ideal.” The essence of the doctrine of the Incarnation would, therefore, consist in this, that the most perfectly logical and ethical expression of the personal humanness of the Creator of humanity would be the personal incarnation of that divine humanness to which the creative act terminating in humanity is to be referred as origin. Hence the introduction of a new, positive element in the solidarity of the Adamic humanity introduced by the divine personality of the humanity of which Jesus Christ is the perfect expression, as the Word of God, the Head and Principle of the Creation. “By whom all things were made, and without whom was made nothing that was made.” The personal responsibility of human nature in Christ was therefore divine.

Our readers will, of course, have understood the sense in which we use the term divine humanness to express the divine ideal of which humanity is the image. The divine ideals are not separable from the divine essence, but are identical with it. If there were no divine *beautiffulness*, for example, in God, there could be no actual beauty expressed in creatures. If there were no divine will or love in God, there could be nothing of the sort in us. If there were no divine humanness in God, there could be no actual humanity expressed in man. What the expressions of these divine ideals are in creation, is, indeed, only imperfectly cognoscible by

us. What the original divine ideals are in God must be necessarily incomprehensible to us. For the Word of God, being original and creative, must be in its nature incommunicable to what is created.

In Jesus Christ the humanness of God is not simply imaged as an expressed existence, as it is in the humanity of Adam. It is *personally* expressed in Him. In Him the divine ideal receives its most perfect expression possible.

We refer our readers, without quoting, to St. Paul's language confirmatory of this in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians, from the 15th to the 20th verses. And, although, as is evident, this does not destroy the original principle of the solidarity of the Adamic humanity, it does re-create its ethical expression, and inform it with a divine life. It has introduced the principles of re-generation, re-creation, and reversibility. The humanity of Jesus Christ, of which we become members, is therefore a new humanity, not in the sense of a new race possessing a new, separate solidarity proceeding *from* God, but new in the sense of the divine restoration, reversion, religion of humanity *to* God. Perfect religion, according to the principles adduced, would, therefore, be perfect recognition. Perfect recognition of the divine act of creation would be to render its perfect praise to the Creator. This we know can only be perfectly done *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*.

The Personal humanness of God in the Word Incarnate becomes then the principle of the reversibility of humanity, *i.e.*, it is the divine principle of the bond or espousals of the creature to the Creator, and of the religion or responsibility of our humanity as we receive it by regeneration from Jesus Christ, the second Adam. The evident consequence is that the religion of Jesus Christ is a divine religion, and our association with him renders all our acts of worship divine; because we, through Christ, enter into a divine solidarity which St. Peter calls "a participation of the divine nature."

But now, what is another important fact? It is that God comes personally to regenerate and revert to Himself a humanity which is debarred from that sublime destiny by its own act, its rejection of the proffered love of its Divine Author, and its refusal to recognize Him as such, and ascribe to Him the entire glory of its being and life. This is what is meant by the fall of humanity in Adam; and its reversion and restoration by and through Jesus Christ is what we call the redemption. As Adam sinned for all, so Christ died for all. The affirmation of the person Adam at the fall was, in effect—"I am not of God, I am, and act of my own self, and by

my own will,"—the proud self assertion of all who participate in his prevaricated nature. It is the denial of religion and of all responsibility to God. The affirmation of Christ, the Redeemer, is, on the contrary, the humble adoration of the intellect and sacrificial worship of the will, prompted by, and tending to, union of perfect love. "I am come not to do my own will, but the will of Him who sent Me." "If I do not the works of my father, believe Me not." "The son cannot do anything of himself but what he seeth the father doing." "As the father hath loved Me, I also have loved you; abide in My love."

This principle of redemption plainly shows the ethical consistency of the Catholic doctrine of voluntary sacrifice and suffering, of self-denial, the life expression of the divinely regenerated and revived intellect, will, and affections of man, whose acts are no longer human inquiry, expectation and beneficence, but divine faith, hope and charity. God, and not self, is now affirmed and recognized as the supreme object of glory and praise. Humanity, being averted from God and degenerate, cannot in thought, word, or deed make this affirmation and recognition without an act of self-renunciation, a reversal of the act of humanity in Adam. The divine expression, therefore, of the life of Jesus Christ, Redeemer, and of all who are in the solidarity of that regenerated humanity, is necessarily manifested in all things as a life of self-denial, of self-abnegation and of self-sacrifice. Even religion is, as it always was, a yoke and a burden to fallen nature, but the self-denial required to endure the one and bear the other, has been made easy and light by the grace of Christ. Our worthy essayists of Andover have distinctly enunciated this ethical principle of Christianity precisely as it is affirmed, taught and lived by the Catholic Church; and it is not a little astonishing that they have failed to deduce the inevitable practical consequences of this true ideal plan of Christianity, whose keystone, as we have already said, affirms the whole arch and gives it unity and cohesion, as every true keystone does for a logically planned structure. One must, at least, give them credit for honesty and sincerity in thus boldly accepting and acknowledging an irrefutable fundamental principle of a real Christianity, a Christianity which we trust they will not be slow to perceive must be categorical and positive; effective in the formation of divine character, and of universal application.

That we have not misinterpreted them is plainly evidenced by the statement of their postulate as given in the introductory essay: "For the most part," say they, "a single line of inquiry has been followed, under the guidance of a central and vital principle of Christianity, namely, the reality of Christ's personal relation to

the human race *as a whole and to every member of it*,—the principles of the universality of Christianity." Again and again they assert this universality of Christianity, which their logic should clearly prove implies also its organic unity and divine solidarity.

Protestantism, by its revolt against these principles, was obliged to reaffirm this principle of the original fall, and to do as Adam did—proclaim the sovereignty of private self-judgment, and deny the universality and organic unity of Christianity. It was a reaffirmation of original sin, and its consequences, so unhappily disastrous, have repeated themselves in a second Babel. Man does not reach heaven by building a tower of human dimensions and strength upon the earth, but he ascends thither because God has come down to take him, purified for that ascent by man's own self-death on the cross; by a life of willing suffering and free oblation of self for the sake of God's love, so that to Him alone may be all the glory, who is all in all.

Every now and then we meet upon the pages of these writers good evidence that they have attempted to seize upon the idea of a positive, organic Christianity, which finds its origin not in man, but in God. As, for instance, "The race is reconstituted in Christ." "The race of men with Christ in it is essentially different in fact, and therefore in the sight of God, from the race without Christ in it. . . . Different in fact and in the sight of God, because containing powers for repentance and holiness, of which, without Christ, it would be hopelessly destitute." "Likewise, the individual in Christ takes the place of the individual without Christ, is looked on as one whom Christ can bring to repentance and obedience, and so is justified even before faith develops into character."

We have quoted this last passage as one most fully exemplifying the truth of the exposition we have offered of their logical position.

It affirms, as the Catholic Church affirms, the organic solidarity of the Christian humanity into which the individual is regenerated, receiving the principles of a new life. His birth into that new life gives him justifying faith, hope and charity, the capacity of receiving a divinely spiritual growth. As they say again, "God does not become propitious because man repents and amends, for that is beyond man's power. He becomes propitious because Christ laying down His life makes the race to its worst individual *capable* of repenting, obeying, trusting." That one has a right to conclude from their views of the Incarnation and Redemption that they argue from the postulate of a Christian humanity, such as we have shown to be a logical necessity, we think no one will dispute.

For what is a Christian humanity without a solidarity of that humanity? What would be the natural, Adamic humanity without it? And without solidarity how could the doctrine of the inheritance of original sin be affirmed, and how could the individual "participate" in the supernatural "divine nature" and be generated by the Spirit of God and personally appropriate the personal merits of the first born son of the humanity?

The Adamic humanity deprived of its solidarity would result in a severance of man from man. Destroy the doctrine of the natural brotherhood of mankind and proclaim the nihilistic gospel of which Proudhon was the Satanic apostle when he wrote in his book upon "*Economic Contradictions*," "Do you speak to me of fraternity? Yes, I am willing to admit that we are all brethren, with the understanding that I shall be the elder brother and you the younger; and that society (sic), our common mother, shall honor my right of primogeniture and my services by granting me a double portion." In his "*Confessions of a Revolutionist*" he explains what he means by "all men being born free and equal," when he concludes that "order results from the *free* (anarchical) action of all, from which must proceed the absolute negation of all government. Therefore, he who attempts to govern me is a tyrant and usurper, and I declare him to be my enemy." Hobbes forcibly expressed the same doctrine, when he declared universal, incessant, and simultaneous war to be the natural and primitive state of man.

Equally, if the doctrine of its solidarity be denied, there is no possible brotherhood with Christ, and with those who are His, in the supernatural humanity. Christianity would be the religion of anarchy; or, at best, nothing more than a sentimental admiration for, and imitation without intrinsic value of, Christ. Responsibility in view of a divine destiny could neither be assumed by mankind nor imposed upon it. Where would be the concrete, organic, stable system affirming and exacting conformity to the principles and duties of the Christian life, and producing what our essayists call *character*, as the result of the divinely ethical nature of Christianity *with* Christ? Solidarity denotes system, order, authority, relative obedience and duty in view of law. A so-called Christian humanity, lacking the supernatural order and law of a divine solidarity, could not constitute divinely ethical relations, and is a fiction of the imagination, resulting, as it has done with those who have denied such a humanity or failed to realize it, in a jumble of sentimental, incoherent, self-conceited, contradictory opinions and practices, devoid of all pretension to assume the supreme magisterium of truth, or of the divine right to enforce obedience to truth.

By the doctrine of solidarity, as will be well understood from the preceding arguments, is meant the substantial unity of humanity in a common and also an individual personal responsibility. Not that humanity is an organic unity which absorbs all men who, instead of constituting it, are only its instruments, which is the solidarity dreamed of by Socialism, but the vast association of the individuals of one race, united because they have one and the same nature.

This sublime and beautiful expression of Catholic dogma not only confers nobility upon man, but dignity upon human nature, even when viewed only as affecting the natural order; and it also accounts for what otherwise would be inexplicable—that sense of nobility, of divine race, and of personal worthiness of respect with which even the most ignorant and lowest-born Catholic is inspired on account of his Christian faith, and which the most exalted sovereign and most learned men instinctively recognize and treat with reverential courtesy in whomsoever is observed that stamp of the divine humanity with which Christ has ennobled him; and be he prince or peasant, king or beggar, has made him to be of one divine blood with them. It gives a rational meaning to the motive for action expressed in the appeal so universal with all Catholics, —“Do this or that, I pray you, *for God's sake* ;” an expression which presupposes the capacity in the Christian of acting from a divine motive, which, without the solidarity recreated by the Incarnation of God, would be impossible and absurd. The foregoing illustration, simple as it may appear, deserves more than a passing notice; since it affords signal proof of the practical faith of Catholics in the doctrine of regeneration through Christ as taught by the Church. A humanity without Christ would never be touched by such an appeal, since man has placed himself by his prevarication and arrogance of supreme sovereignty in such a position, relative to his fellows, as to preclude the reasonableness of any appeal being made to an authority higher than himself, or to any motive for action more desirable than for “his own sake.”

That the “universal Christianity,” as proclaimed by the writers of these essays, in so far as they have attempted to give it a concrete expression, is, despite their doctrine, devoid of the vivifying power of organic life, and can produce nothing better than a sentimental Christianity, is plainly evidenced whenever its practical application is the topic for discussion, particularly in their critical examination of missions and of their results. What is a missionary? would be a difficult question for them to answer. The very title itself implies that he is an accredited agent, representing the might, dignity and authority of a superior, central and original power.

Where is the superior, central and original power of their universal Christianity which must affirm itself, and be able to accredit him as an *alter Christus*, another Christ? He is, or ought to be, one sent—a Messiah. Who or what universal entity sends him? Where are his credentials to show that have been issued by this universal Christianity, conferring the requisite plenipotentiary powers couched in the commission, “He that heareth you, heareth Me”? Knowing, as they must, that Protestant missionaries have never yet been able to convert any one heathen nation to the faith of Christ, one would naturally think they would seek for the principle of fecundity which enables the Catholic Church to convert all the nations that are now Christians from their former heathenism, and finding that, would discover the cause of the disheartening unfruitfulness of Protestant missions, despite their numbers, their gigantic efforts and lavish outlay of means, but whose achievements, it must be acknowledged, have produced anything but a universal Christianity, or given promise of such. It would have been wiser in the writer of the essay on “Christianity and Missions” not to have ventured to moralize upon the supposed lack of missionary spirit in the mediæval mystics. Evidently, he has not made the “Lives of the Saints” his daily reading, and has but small acquaintance with those who are the Catholic missionaries of to-day.

That our theologians of Andover have not yet realized the inevitable and logical consequences of the doctrines they have enunciated, is seen in their failure to recognize the necessity of a *living* Church. For, as by the same necessity that human life is impossible unless constituted by virtue of its solidarity in elective, deliberative, judicial, decretive and executive government, so, by virtue of its divine solidarity, the Christian life is impossible, unless similarly constituted; one in its organic principle, but diverse in its human organizations. Christianity is universal (uni-diverse), not only because it is diverse, but because it is also one. The Christian, therefore, cannot affirm himself to be an individual expression of the Christian humanity, unless he affirms the one solidarity of that humanity of which he is an existence, affirmed as a diverse expression of it, as the creature is an existence from God because affirmed by Him. As the responsibility of the Adamic humanity as a unit makes the individual man responsible, and not the converse, so the individual Christian derives the principle of his responsibility from that of the Christian humanity as a unity.

The possibility of the well-being, the progress, and even the very subsistence of human life, exact this vital expression of solidarity in the natural order, and the divine life of man in the religious order plainly exacts it no less; and for the reason that, as our

essayists have in this so far agreed with Catholic teaching, **Christ**, the Incarnate Word, is the *first*, as He is also the *final*, cause of both.

To this divine body, itself the Body of Christ, of which **He** is the personal vivifying, directing, teaching, decretory, and judicial power, must be referred the question of what constitutes the **right** of prerogative to be incorporated into her body; in other words, what constitutes the material act of regeneration. To her **must** be referred no less the imparting of that new life, and the **right** and duty of its nourishment unto perfection. When a child is brought for baptism, the first question put to it is: "What dost thou ask of the Church of God?" and the answer is not, "**Baptism**," but, "**Faith**." And what immediately follows, "If thou wouldst enter into eternal life, keep the commandments," exhibits her **assumption** of the power to proclaim authoritatively, under **commandment**, the responsibilities and duties incurred by the life of faith which she is about to impart in order that the one thus re-born of her as this Christian mother may secure that degree of perfection in it to which he is called.

Our essayists put it thus: "The individual in Christ is one whom Christ can bring to repentance and obedience, and so is justified even before faith develops into character." Assuredly. Faith developed into character, enlightening the intellect, strengthening and reforming the will, and purifying the affections, perfects, indeed, the one who is made a Christain, and becomes meritorious, because his new life is made reversible to its divine origin in Christ; but his justification is not referable to character developed, any more than the value of Christain merit by the exercise of his regenerated faculties is commensurate with the development of his natural intellect, will and affections. Else the learned theologian might claim, as a right, a closer union with God on account of his superior knowledge and experience. He might say: "Oh, my God, I have made deep and scientific study of Thee and of all Thy works, and I see many new and many more reasons than that illiterate and inexperienced Christian brother can possibly know of for adoring Thee with my intellect, worshipping Thee with my will, and loving Thee with all my heart as the Supreme Truth, Goodness and Love." And God would reply: "All that is well; but did you, by chance, discover or make those reasons or those truths yourself? What is your knowledge or experience to Me? Is My truth any more true for your knowing of it? It does not teach Me, nor direct Me in anything. It is not knowledge which is blessed, but humility; and this illiterate, inexperienced Christian brother, who only knows that I am God, and humbly adores,

worships and loves me *for My own sake*, and not because he has good reasons for it, has more merit and is dearer to Me than thou. Thou art not more of a Christian for thy superior knowledge and experience." "Because thou hast seen me, Thomas," said our Lord, "thou hast believed. *Blessed* are they who have not seen, and have believed."

Perhaps this illustration may prove to be not unserviceable to our worthy Andover brethren who are seeking in probation after death a solution of one of their difficulties in enabling them to comprehend how any illiterate man, be he a heathen in our own land or one in an Australian jungle, who cannot read the Biblical account of the historic Christ, nor even knows that there ever was a Bible or a Christ, may, nevertheless, not be excluded *on account of his ignorance* from fulfilling that degree of perfection to which he is called, by the merits of Christ who died for him.

A universal Christianity, then, a Christianity for all men, because Christ died for all, cannot be affirmed, unless it be one, original, positive, systematic and stable; characteristics which suppose the solidarity of the re-created humanity in Christ, from whose regenerative powers men must derive the new life. Well do Catholics call the Church of Christ their Mother. And her maternity is as universal as the merits of Him who is her Spouse. *Extra Ecclesiam, nulla salus*. Deny these principles and there is no alternative but the anarchical universality dreamed of by Socialism, whose last and logical outcome is Nihilism; whose universal humanity is without solidarity; the denial of all order, law and system; the denial of religion, and of government; the denial of the parental, as of all social and personal responsibility. Freedom would be impossible, for Nihilism is the denial of law, and that is the denial of God. Well may we ask of our earnest seekers at Andover: Men and brethren, in the name of God and of His Christ, whither away?

Scientific Chronicle.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

IN the October chronicles of the past two years we touched briefly on the labors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the work accomplished in the preceding Summer meetings. If we except the National Academy of Science, a society of a higher order, although more restricted in its sphere of action, no other scientific body in this country has done so much towards diffusing scientific knowledge among the people as the American Association. The society was formed on the model of the British Association: the general scope of the two societies is the same, and in all essential particulars they agree perfectly. In view, therefore, of this fact, it may not be amiss to give here a brief account of the last meeting of the British Association, which took place in Manchester last September. Previously two of the annual meetings, namely, that of 1842 and that of 1861, had been held at Manchester.

The meeting of 1887 showed the largest attendance ever recorded, the number of actual members being nearly four thousand, more than four times the largest number ever gathered at the meetings of the American Association. This large number, we dare say, is due, not only to the high esteem enjoyed by the Association in England, but also to the fact that members *only* may be present at the meetings. As in our country the meetings are open to all, it follows that very many, while enjoying all the benefits of full membership, give very little help to the material well-being of the American Association.

The presence of many well-known foreign scientists lent additional lustre to the late Manchester meeting. Invitations had been extended by the local committee to nearly every eminent scientist in other lands. Over one hundred of these invited guests attended, among whom we were pleased to find not a few Americans. The presence of so many well-known savants, coming from all parts of the world, naturally gave zest to the proceedings and induced the English members to put forth their best efforts towards making the meeting all that could be desired. The success attained clearly shows that the steps taken by the Manchester committee on this occasion are the only practical means of forming something like an International Association, while it is believed that any attempt to formally constitute such an association would prove impracticable.

However, the large attendance at the Manchester meeting was not the principal cause of its success. Strong in numbers, the meeting chiefly signalized itself for the work it actually performed. Important papers read and discussed; special investigations of different committees and

the action taken on their reports by the whole association—these and like proceedings have given the meeting an importance greater than that attained by any previous gathering of scientists. Worthy of note and greatly aiding the success of the meeting was the opening (in Owen's College, where the meeting was held) of the "Anthropometric Laboratory" for the use of the members. An exposition of scientific instruments showed great care in every department and elicited considerable interest. Among the many scientific novelties displayed, several recent inventions of Sir William Thomson and an ingenious working model of the Manchester Ship Canal attracted much attention.

The opening address of the President, Sir H. E. Roscoe, dwelt at some length on the "Recent Progress of Chemistry," and was in keeping with his high reputation. The addresses of the vice-presidents, reported fully in *Nature*, while worthy of the assembly to which they were addressed, were, at the same time, of interest to a general audience. All bear testimony to the thoroughness which characterized the meeting. To discuss these papers in detail would bring us beyond the limits we have set ourselves. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with a few passing words on two of them.

Mr. Robert Griffin, President of the Section of Economic Science and Statistics, chose for his subject the "Recent Rate of Material Progress in England." It is a matter of interest for Americans to compare the progress of England with that of their own land, a land where so many vast and varied resources are at their command. The substance of Mr. Griffin's remarks may be summed up in the following statement: "In the last thirty years the income-tax assessment, the production of coal and of pig-iron have all more than doubled, while the clearance of shipping in foreign trade has become three times as large. This rate of progress has gone on through these thirty years with almost uniform regularity, except that from 1865 to 1875 it was greater than in the first and last decades.

In another paper the contemplated tunnel under the channel between England and the Continent was treated with great ability. The reading of this paper led to a discussion, the conclusions of which we subjoin.

It was argued that from a technical point of view the work is comparatively easy and not over-expensive. In answer to objections, taken from a military standpoint, objections which, our readers may remember, put a stop to this undertaking, it was shown that arrangements could be made to flood the tunnel in a few moments by establishing connection between it and the fort of Dover, from which sea-water could be passed into the tunnel at the rate of 100,000 cubic feet per minute. Considering it, in the third place, in its probable effects upon commerce, and setting aside the fears of a possible French invasion, it was made manifest that although it might injure the trade of vessels plying between England and the Continent, the carrying out of the project would, in the long run, prove of incalculable advantage to the trade and wealth of the United Kingdom.

INDUCTION TELEGRAPHY.

THE term, electric induction, designates the influence exercised by an insulated electrified body in disturbing the electrical equilibrium of surrounding conductors. If the electricity of the acting body be quiescent, it exerts *statical* induction; if in motion, traversing the body in currents, it exerts *dynamical* induction. Both forms of induction have long been known to scientists, and, while there are certain characteristics by which statical may be distinguished from dynamical induction, the general manifestations of both are so much alike that it is still an open question whether the forms are essentially different from one another.

In ordinary telegraphy, and in telephone service, the induction is found to be a great inconvenience. For instance: Cable messages require more time for transmission than do such as are sent over land; because, owing to the greater *inducing* influence in the cable, the interruptions of the currents cannot be made as quickly as in overland lines. For the same reason despatches cannot be so speedily sent in underground wires as in wires above the surface. In telephone service, the induction occurring between telegraph and telephone wires is a well-known source of annoyance, as it produces in the receiving telephone discordant sounds which sometimes seriously interfere with the spoken message.

Hitherto electric induction was utilized especially in dynamos and in electro-dynamic machines. Now that it begins to figure in telegraphy, we are inclined to think that the prediction made some years since by an eminent electrician, that, "for the future progress of electric science we must look to induction," is about to be fulfilled.

During the past five years, various trials have been made of this new system of telegraphy, in which, as the name implies, messages are sent by means of electric induction. The system allows of telegraphic communication between trains while both are in motion, even in opposite directions, or, while one is moving and the other is stationary, or, while both are at rest; and it has so far been perfected as to be of practical service to the managers and patrons of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. Duplex and even quadruplex telegraphy have been proved possible in the new system, and it is hoped that, by the aid of the telephone, conversation may be carried on between parties in different trains on the same or on different tracks. Should it ever be found possible (as many confidently expect it will) to make the system serviceable in ocean travel, it would not be easy to overestimate the advantages which would thus be secured to the world of traffic.

It is our purpose here to explain, as briefly and clearly as the subject may admit, the scientific principles involved in this new system of telegraphy. Our remarks are based chiefly on the system adopted by the Lehigh Valley Railway Company. On October 6th, 1887, at the invitation of the Consolidated Railway Telegraph Company, two hundred and fifty scientists, desirous of testing the efficiency of the system, made

the trip from New York to Easton, Pa., in a special excursion train placed at their disposal. The system is the outcome of inventions and improvements made by skilled scientists (and especially by Edison, Phelps, and Wiley Smith, to whom the science of electricity is so deeply indebted), and its workings on this occasion gave general satisfaction to the scientific party.

About three years ago, when the first trials were made on the Harlem River Railroad, dynamical induction was utilized. A coil of copper wire surrounding the car was connected with a battery within. The current passing through this wire acted by induction on an insulated wire laid along the road-bed between the rails. But in the trip made on October 6th, 1887, the experiments were made by employing static induction. It is a well-known fact that in all electric condensers (as, for instance, in Leyden jars), when one armature is suddenly electrified, or suddenly deprived of its electricity, a similar action takes place in the other armature, so long as it is in connection with the earth. Now, in this system of inductive telegraphy, the action is comparable to that of a great Leyden jar, one of whose armatures is the line-wire along the road, the other the metallic roofs of the railway cars united by a copper wire, one end of which is connected with a "double-contact" Morse key in one of the cars. When this key is pressed down, an ordinary battery placed in the train discharges the current on the roofs of the cars. The metallic roofs, thus electrified act by induction on the line-wire. In the circuit of this line-wire, at one of the stations, is a telephone, from which, as from a *sounder*, may be heard the signals of the operator on the train, the dots and dashes of the Morse alphabet being faithfully transmitted as he manipulates the key.

When the key is not pressed down, it closes a telephone circuit in the car and thus, by an operation exactly the reverse of the one just described, messages may be received on the train from the operator at the station. The line-wire acts as the electrifying body; induction is exerted by it on the roof of the train, and as the line current is interrupted the signals are sounded in the telephone in the car.

Thus, despatches can be sent equally well, whether the train be at rest or in motion, and all trains along the route receive the signals, so that, by a single message instructions, warnings of danger, etc., may be sent to all for whom they are intended. The system has, since its adoption, been variously modified and improved. No doubt, continued experience will suggest new improvements, especially as regards the details of instruments, of which our limited space will not allow us to give a minute description.

ALUMINIUM BRONZE AS A GUN-METAL.

ABOUT two years ago, we called attention in this *Chronicle* to the electrical furnace, then recently invented by the Cowles Brothers, for metallurgical purposes. By their new method, mechanical power,

whether stored up by nature in water-falls, or produced by steam-engines, is made use of to move large dynamos, thus developing great electrical energy. The current is conducted to the furnace, where it passes between two electrodes which offer great resistance to its passage. Thus the electric force is transformed into calorific energy, and so much heat is concentrated in a small space that many of the most refractory substances can be melted. We have already spoken of the great success which has attended the employment of this furnace for the production of aluminium alloys, especially aluminium bronze. These alloys are beginning to play an important part in the industrial pursuits both of this country and of Europe. Quite recently, the Cowles Brothers received from Germany an order for five tons of the strongest of all the aluminium alloys, containing nine parts of iron to one of aluminium.

In our own country, the aluminium bronze will probably be employed for a new purpose. Mr. Alfred H. Cowles proposes to make use of it for the manufacture of large guns. Mr. Cowles explained his views in a lecture which he gave at Annapolis, on the 27th of October. The lecture was delivered before the Naval Institute, but there were present many of the gun manufacturers of this country, and several Europeans who were interested in the matter. The lecturer claimed that, with the new metal, guns could be made superior to those of steel. They would have greater toughness and elasticity, so that it would be impossible to burst them with four times the charge of powder allowed in steel guns of the same dimensions. There would be no danger of crystallization. Moreover, the aluminium guns would retain the color and brightness of gold, since neither rust nor verdigris forms on the metal, and salt water has no effect on it. The new guns, made by the Rodman or Deane process, would be twenty per cent. cheaper than the steel guns. The cheapness is largely due to the fact that the plant necessary for casting such guns would cost comparatively little. A great part of the cost of a steel cannon is expended in the process of casting, while most of the expense of an aluminium gun is due to the material itself, which can be remelted and recast as often as necessary. Finally, it must not be supposed that there would be any scarcity of the aluminium itself, since the amount of ore in the country is practically inexhaustible.

These were the chief points of the lecture. From the animated discussion which followed it would appear that the gentlemen present had great confidence in the qualities of the new gun-metal. The Naval authorities have not yet (at the time of writing) come to any decision in the matter. It is to be hoped, however, that since Congress has made an appropriation for the defence of the sea-coast, and since there are several means of defence under consideration, the new guns may, in their turn, receive a fair trial. The application of aluminium bronze to this new purpose so soon after the complete success of Lieutenant Zalinski's pneumatic dynamite gun, would be a great honor for the United States. But if the authorities of this country take no steps in the matter, it seems probable that some European power will bring the question of the new gun-metal to a successful issue.

TWO INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS.

YEARS ago, the press helped to bring in contact the scientists scattered through the world. Each specialist began to hear of the work that others were doing in the same line as himself. Thus mutual co-operation and good-fellowship sprang up among them. But besides the help that the press has afforded, we must not forget that our modern conveniences for comfortable and rapid travel have had their share in producing the unity of action so beneficial to the cause of science. There are local scientific societies in every civilized land ; international meetings are now quite frequent, while great world conferences are not of rare occurrence. We wish to speak of two of these which took place recently.

The first is the International Medical Congress, that convened in Washington on September 5th, 1887. It was a splendid gathering of about four thousand physicians. The best medical talent of our own country was brought into intimate acquaintance with the views of famous specialists from the continent of Europe, from England and Ireland.

President Cleveland having formally opened the session, the Secretary of State followed with an eloquent address of welcome. Dr. Davis, of Chicago, spoke for the American profession, and then the representatives of England, France, Germany, and Italy responded in turn. The sessions lasted about a week, and before adjournment *sine die* Berlin was selected for the next Congress in 1890. By those members best qualified to judge, the Washington meeting has been pronounced a great success. The high rank that many of the representatives hold in their profession, and the general importance of the numerous papers that were read, would seem to justify this opinion. Of course, most of the papers were of a very technical character, and so had no very great interest for the general public. We may mention among the many contributions the papers on "Fevers and their Rational Treatment," "Laparatomy," "Pasteur's Treatment of Hydrophobia," and lastly that on the "Milk Supply of our Large Cities," to which Dr. Edson, of the New York Board of Health, attributed the dissemination of many epidemics, such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and the like.

The International Hygienic Congress met at Vienna on October 2d. The specific purpose of this body was to discover the best sanitary precautions to be taken, especially in our large cities, against the spread of epidemics. The subject of inoculation and vaccination was discussed at great length. The Congress strongly recommended that all governments should make vaccination compulsory. The value of inoculation in cases of typhus was also debated. But the most interesting and animated discussion of the whole congress was on cholera. Professor Max Gruber, of Vienna, said that, as far as he could discover, the plague in 1885-1886 had not been propagated by the water-supply; and that, ordinarily, water did not propagate the germs. To this Professor Spatzzi, of Naples, replied that many places, previously ravaged by every outbreak of cholera, during the past few years—and since the improvement in the purity of their water supply, were comparatively free from the fatal epidemic. Professor Pettenhofer, after years of experience in

India, came to the conclusion that the geographical position, the climate, and especially the habits of the people, had a great deal to do with the spread of any epidemic. The work of the Congress may be summed up briefly as insisting on these well-known sanitary principles: give the people, especially the poor, pure air and water, wholesome food and proper dwellings; avoid the overcrowding of tenement-houses; in fact, do away with them, if possible; in time of epidemic, remove all patients as quickly as possible to well-ventilated hospitals, isolated as perfectly as may be from all communication with our cities.

MINOR ITEMS.

1. In scientific papers we find the announcement of two new inventions which will prove to be of great usefulness, should the promises advanced by their owners be realized. At present we can merely allude to their object, as the methods employed and the principles involved in them are, at the moment of writing (December 12th) held in secrecy. One is a new phonograph by Edison. As is well known, the one invented by him ten years ago has not had, nor can it have, a practical application of any worth. It is said that, during the month of January, 1888, Mr. Edison will make known the new one, which, according to report, is very simple. The message, spoken into it, can be repeated as often as desired, either in the same instrument or in one at a distance. The announcement of the other invention comes from the Patent Office, and regards a new electric type-writer. It seems to resemble the ordinary type-writer now in use. When put in connection with a telegraph line, words can be printed at a distant station with the same ease as with the ordinary type-writer in the presence of the manipulator. It is said that two instruments, one at each end of the line, can be worked on the same wire at the same time. The message is printed at the receiving office in the form of a letter, whether there is a person near the apparatus or not. If true, this would be of great convenience. The instrument is called a dynamograph. Were we to indulge in surmises, we should say that it is a modification of the Multiplex System, which was shown to the public at the Electric Exhibition of 1884 at Philadelphia, and described by us at the time. As to the new phonograph, it does not seem improbable that in the same manner as in the old one or in the telephone, the voice puts in vibration a diaphragm, which causes small holes to be punctured in a sheet, metallic or otherwise, in a way similar to those made by an electric pen. A current of air passed through these holes successively can reproduce the voice of the sender. We advance this explanation merely as a surmise, not intending to accept Mr. Edison's challenge of making known the nature of his new appliance.

2. A new proof of the interest taken in solar physics has been afforded in the reports of the preparations made for observing the total eclipse of the sun which occurred on the 19th of August. For the first time, to our knowledge, balloons were brought into requisition for the purpose

of observing the phenomenon. The scientific world looked forward with interest expecting great results, for the places at which observations might be made were numerous and comparatively easy of access. The path traced by the moon's shadow was, for the greater part, overland, extending from Germany, through Russia and Siberia, to Japan. Unhappily, few of the astronomers were successful. Among those who were disappointed we regret to find the name of Fr. Gaspar Ferrari, S.J., who had charge of the Papal expedition sent to Moscow, with the consent of the Russian government. There were some few places in Siberia where observations were made with partial success, but we have been unable to learn whether any important result will be derived therefrom. The desire of seeing the grand spectacle must have been very great, to have suggested to some the bold project of observing it from balloons in case of cloudy weather. However, observations thus taken, cannot be very accurate. The trial was made near Moscow by two parties. More than ordinary courage was displayed by the astronomer of one of the parties. At the very moment of ascending, it was noticed that through a mistake of the aeronaut, the balloon chosen was not large enough to carry two persons. The astronomer, Professor Mendeleieff, then decided to make the ascent alone, and though he had never been in a balloon before, he was successful throughout, making the observation and landing safely after the eclipse was over. He certainly merited the medal which has since been presented to him by the Academy of "Aerostation" of France, "in recognition of the courage displayed by him at Klin on August 19th."

3. Beyond all doubt great progress has been made in electric storage batteries. They begin to answer the hopes which electricians conceived of them when first discovered. Though the principle on which they rest is undoubted, still many practical difficulties prevented for a long time their profitable use. Now these difficulties have been overcome in great part, and in many cases the batteries are applied in connection with electromotors which, especially in street cars, are bound to replace the use of horses. Even greater progress can be expected. From Connecticut comes the report that a new and successful installation has been effected in Birmingham, to light incandescent lamps by storage batteries. This new plant is attracting the close attention of electricians, because others have been tried before with but partial success.

A small dynamo can be worked by water-power all day for charging the storage batteries, or, when the mills are not working, dynamos may be employed to store energy for lighting during the working-hours of the mill, or for any other purpose. Storage batteries are also used for furnishing the motive power in a new submarine boat recently tried at Havre, France. The motor is a new dynamo, invented by Captain Krebs, famous for his "dirigible" balloon, and is capable of developing 12-horse power. With this motor fed by a storage battery, the boat has made six and a half knots an hour for five consecutive hours. Scientific men, visiting the Havre Maritime Exhibition, seem to consider the trial a success, and believe the boat a great rival to the "Peacemaker" and the "Nautilus."

Book Notices.

WEALTH AND PROGRESS. A Critical Examination of the Labor Problem. By George Gunton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

Wealth and Progress is an important contribution to modern political economy. By none could such a work have been written but by a master of the economic science, a thorough reader of statistics, a lucid and comprehensive thinker. At the outset the author disposes of two fallacies; the one accepted by many a workingman, the other often leaving its impress on the mind of the capitalist. Is it true that labor, *i.e.*, direct and unaided human exertion, creates *all wealth*, and that, as a consequence, *all wealth* rightfully belongs to the laborer? This statement, if defensible, is only verified in the savage state. As soon as capital has conjured up the hidden forces of nature, its share in the product far exceeds that of human effort, to which it imparts a hundred-fold efficiency. Capital is not, in a literal sense, *stored up labor*, but *the effect* of human energy *harnessing to production* the forces of nature.

The average employer assumes that the employment of capital and the use of machinery are due solely to his self-denial and sagacity. Under this erroneous impression he regards the laborer as an ungrateful wretch when the latter asks for higher wages. The author justly observes that if the capitalist devotes his wealth to production, it is because by so doing he expects to gain something. The employer forgets that the real incentive to production is consumption, and that the consumers are the great mass of the people, consisting chiefly of wage workers. This explains at once why *high wages* do not mean *small profits*; for high wages mean increased consumption, and greater consumption means higher returns. "In short, it is a universal law in the world of economics that the use of machinery ultimately depends on the consumption, and consequently can only be successfully extended as the general rate of wages is permanently advanced."

The conclusion of part first makes it imperative to consider the law of wages, and it becomes the subject matter of part second. Three popular theories at once confront the author: *the wages-fund theory*, *Mr. Walker's theory*, and *Mr. George's theory*.

The wages-fund theory may be summed up as follows: At any moment there is a fixed amount of capital to be divided among the workmen, so that the standard of wages can be found by dividing that amount into the number of workmen. This pretended law, advocated at first by Mr. Mill, then given up to the tender mercies of Mr. Thornton, received from Professor Cavines a few modifications and a new lease of life. Mr. Gunton handles it without gloves. In his opinion, it is but a specious argument for low wages. The theory supposes: first, that wages must be paid out of actually accumulated capital; secondly, that wages are regulated by the relative demand and supply of laborers. To the first assumption the author objects that, if a certain amount of capital is usually needed to supply the means of production, in many employments, and especially in new countries, the wages fund, *i.e.*, the amount of capital then and there available for the payment of wages—is seldom sufficient to pay the wages of the laborers employed, for a month, a week,

or even a day in advance. If the second or regulative phase of the wages-fund theory were justified by facts, then wages would never rise or fall except as the demand is in excess of the supply, or vice versa. But since the close of the fourteenth century, there has never been a time in England when the supply of labor has not been in excess of the demand, and yet during that period, wages, instead of falling, have risen from five pence to five shillings per day. Never were the wages so low as during the time when over one-third of the people had been stricken down by the *black death*. Moreover, if the theory were true, enforced idleness would be impossible, because as soon as the supply of laborers would be in excess of the demand, wages would fall to meet the contingency.

The theory of Mr. Francis A. Walker may briefly be stated in his own words: "The employer purchases labor with a view to the product of labor; and the kind and amount of that product determine what wages he can afford to pay. . . . Thus it is not production, not capital, which furnishes the motive for employment and the measure of wages." And in his *Political Economy*: "Wages equal the whole product *minus* rent, interest, and profits." This theory assumes that rent, interest, and profits are taken out of the product, before the wages are paid, but Mr. Walker himself has conclusively shown that the reverse is true. It is because what he calls no-rent land will only yield enough to pay wages and profit, that rent cannot be obtained from it. Do profits come out of wages? Not at all. The *entrepreneurs* of the lowest grade, the no-profit employers must pay wages sufficient to hire laborers; those wages must be paid before the employers can realize any profit for themselves. Moreover, if production were the measure of wages, when production is greatest a business depression would be impossible. "For as soon as the warehouses began to get overstocked, wages would begin to rise, and the stock would soon be carried off. But it is precisely when the warehouses begin to fill that wages fall, and hard times, with all their social evils, overtake us." (*Progress*, page 59.)

According to Mr. George, wages depend on the margin of cultivation, or upon the produce which labor can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it without the payment of rent. The only way real wages can be increased is by reducing or abolishing rent, or better, by abolishing the private ownership of land. This theory assumes that real wages (*i.e.*, the income of the laboring classes) are the highest where land is not subject to private ownership, and where no rent is paid for its use. Is this true? The facts on this point are too obvious to need recounting. Witness the tribal communities of Australia, India, and Africa, etc. It is a notorious fact that the nearer we find man to communal ownership, the nearer he is to savagery and starvation. Mr. Gunton does not say that communal ownership is the cause of this barbarism, but manifestly it does not prevent it. Besides, industrial data show that where rents are the highest, as in large cities, there also wages reach their maximum. Moreover, wages are not fixed by what men could make if laboring for themselves, for it is precisely because the employer can afford to give them more than they could make for themselves that they consent to work for another man. Lastly, the theory of Mr. George fails to account for the rise and fall of wages, for the unequal price paid for agricultural and industrial labor, for the rise of wages where rents are highest. Not only is it inadequate to explain the facts, but everywhere it is directly controverted by them.

After his telling criticism of other systems, Mr. Gunton states his own. Limiting the sense of the word wages, which in political economy de-

notes all the rewards of human exertion, to its popular meaning, viz., *the value or price of labor or service as such*, he defines real wages: *The actual amount of wealth (social well-being) obtainable for a day's work*; and nominal wages: *The amount of money obtainable for a day's labor*. The author likens the law of wages to the law of prices, and states it as follows: first, value in economics refers exclusively to the domain of exchange, and includes both commodities and services; it expresses the ratio in which quantities, whether of commodities or services or of both, will exchange for each other. Secondly, the ratio in which quantities of different commodities will exchange for one another is not determined by supply and demand, as popularly taught, but under normal conditions the price of commodities always tends towards the cost of production. Applied to labor, this law is, that the price of labor (wages) constantly tends towards the cost of producing labor, or service, i.e., what labor costs its owner, or the price of his living. Therefore: "The chief determining influence in the general rate of wages in any country, class, or industry is the standard of living of the most expensive families furnishing a necessary part of the supply of labor in that country, class, or industry." Hence if you raise the mental, moral, and physical standard of living among the workingmen, consumption must increase, increased consumption will stimulate production, and wages must needs keep pace with both in their upward movement. We cannot follow the writer through all the arguments, economic and historical, which he has brought to the support of his position; many economists may dissent, but none will deny the ability which has marshalled them together.

The third part of *Progress and Wealth* is devoted to an examination of the reforms which could be accomplished. Mr. Gunton practically reduces them to one. Raise the social standard! In order to effect this essential improvement, give the workingman more opportunities to improve himself, give him more leisure hours, and save him from enforced idleness. Gradually, not by a sudden jerk, reduce the working hours to eight for grown men, and for children to half a working day, leaving to the latter four hours to be spent in the school-room. The chief argument of the author we shall give in his own words: "The first and immediate effect of the general adoption of this system would be to reduce the working time of the 8,353,803 adult laborers three hours a day, or about twenty-seven per cent., and that of the 1,118,356 children seven hours per day, or sixty-four per cent. This would withdraw 25,061,409 hours of adult labor, and 7,828,492 hours of child-labor from the market, without discharging a single laborer. . . . Besides creating a demand for 1,118,356 children under sixteen years of age to work the other half day with those already employed, it would create employment for 3,552,029 new laborers." It is perfectly clear that such a measure would distribute wages and lessen the evil of enforced idleness; but unless it increased either the volume or the value of production, it is not easy to see how it could raise the price of labor, at least for the present. Doubtless there is a moment when human energy begins to yield diminishing returns, but foremen and medical doctors should be summoned to tell us whether eight hours is the limit of the period during which human activity brings out its utmost efficiency.

Mr. Gunton is too practical an economist to claim that this reform would prove an infallible panacea. He simply advocates it as highly beneficial morally, socially, and economically. He appeals to the successful experiments made in England to prove that it promotes rather than prevents the production of wealth. His historical sketches of the factory legislation from 1800 to 1840 will well repay a careful perusal.

To our mind, he has proved, beyond any manner of doubt, that production does not always increase directly with the number of hours which an employer may wring from the weary workers. Had he done but this, he would be entitled to our grateful acknowledgment.

But precisely because we consider the work as highly useful, we feel bound to point out a feature which might mar its usefulness. The author evidently overrates the efficiency of wealth. He tells us, page 205 and again page 378, that political freedom is the effect of industrial progress, and that wealth, intelligence, and morality give freedom; that the progress is from *the material* to the *moral*, making economics the basis of ethics. If those formulas mean that wealth is the *cause* of liberty and free political institutions, we beg leave to say that history will not bear out this assertion. Sparta was free when poor; pelf killed freedom. When Cincinnatus held the plough, Rome was glorious and free; when Cæsar could spend six millions in one election, Rome was enthralled. Venice and Genoa reached the acme of power and wealth under republican institutions, Spain and Portugal under powerful monarchs. To bring home the argument, the wealth of this republic has grown beyond the most sanguine expectations; are we more free than our forefathers? If so, how can it be said that *the social character must rise, or the Republic will fall*? Wealth may be a *means* to obtain or maintain liberty, but it may also prove *its bane*; it never can properly be called *the cause* of liberty.

Much less do we admit that economics is the basis of ethics, in other words, that wealth is the cause of virtue. With regard to this assertion, an appeal to statistics of crime and pauperism is unavailing. The statistics of pauperism show how many human beings have received public assistance, not how many have felt the pangs of hunger. Criminal statistics give the sum of trials and convictions, not the aggregate of moral delinquencies. Such documents point out the faults of the poor, which are already glaring enough, but they ignore the crimes of the rich, which are glossed over, and elude the clutches of the law. But if we would draw a lesson from the figures, however incomplete may be the data which they supply, let us take into account all the vices and crimes which are found recorded in statistics. For instance, with regard to suicide, divorce, illegitimacy, how does proud and wealthy England stand in comparison with poor, starving Ireland? Communing with the poor is no less necessary than reading statistics, it unveils at once a new picture, and reveals to our admiration deeds of unconscious heroism, which do not spring from wealth or the refinements of modern life, but from poverty nobly borne, and from the examples of Him who had not where to lay His head.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND. By the *Very Rev. M. F. Howley, D.D.*, Prefect Apostolic of St. George's, West Newfoundland. Boston: Doyle & Whittle, Publishers. 1888.

This work is much more than its very modest title indicates. Without being a general history (as it professes not to be) of Newfoundland, it yet contains a vast amount of valuable information respecting the early discoveries of that island and its rediscoveries by European navigators, its early settlement, and its political and other changes during the wars between England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and also during the Great Rebellion in England. Equally if not still more valuable, are the treasures of antiquarian and bibliographical lore respecting other parts of North America as well as New-

foundland, which are stored up in the introductory chapters of this volume. It is furthermore enriched with numerous fac-similes of ancient maps, letters, and other documents, coins, towns, ruins, etc.; with portraits of Sebastian Cabot, Jacques Cartier, the first and the second Lords Baltimore, the Right Rev. Dr. Michael Anthony Fleming, fourth Bishop of Newfoundland (with the title of Vicar Apostolic), and of the Right Rev. John T. Mullock, O.S.F., first Coadjutor to Bishop Fleming, and after his death his successor, under whom, in 1848, Newfoundland was erected into a regular diocese and annexed to the Province of Quebec. Additional to these illustrations are excellent engravings of the Cathedral at Harbor Grace, with the adjacent grounds and ecclesiastical edifices, of the city and harbor of St. Johns and of the Cathedral towering above all other edifices.

The work was prepared and published as a jubilee offering to our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., and a most worthy offering it is. Upon its first pages there are a highly appropriate dedication to His Holiness in elegant Latin, and a beautiful invocation (in Italian, and translated into English): "To Leo XIII., P.M., Indefatigable Restorer of Christian Philosophy and Theology."

While for the reasons above given the introductory chapters of the work are of rare interest and value, the following chapters, treating of the earlier and more modern ecclesiastical history of Newfoundland, are also very interesting. The foundations of the Church in Newfoundland were laid amidst difficult circumstances and frequent and violent changes of temporal rulers. For more than a century its secular history consists of a series of alternating conquests and defeats by the French and the English. The island was torn and harassed by petty warfare and depredation, being sometimes in the possession of the one power and sometimes of the other. The crews of piratical vessels also landed upon the coast and plundered wherever they could, and frequently murdered or carried away such of the colonists as they could capture. This state of things could not but be most unfavorable to both the temporal and the religious interests of the colonists.

In 1713 France, by the treaty of Utrecht, gave up all claim to Newfoundland, and since then it has remained under English dominion, though up to 1763 some of its ports and harbors were attacked and occupied at times by French fleets. After the English obtained possession systematic efforts were made by the English Governors to stamp out the Catholic religion, and also to prevent Catholic settlers establishing themselves on the island. The efforts to prevent the growth of a powerful settlement were so effectual that in 1763 the whole population was only 13,112, and of them only 7500 were permanent residents. But the efforts to stamp out the Catholic religion were, happily, less successful, for 4795, or more than one-half of the fixed population, were Catholics. Yet, large as was the proportion of Roman Catholics to the whole population, "their existence was only manifested by a series of persecuting enactments and proclamations levelled against them."

A few instances will show how rigidly these persecuting prohibitions were enforced: In 1755 an order was sent to Harbor Grace to arrest a priest who was said to have been seen there and send him to St. John's. The priest, however, got notice of this and escaped. About this time, also, Mass was reported to have been said in a certain house, whereupon the house was burned. A proclamation was sent forth prohibiting all persons from bringing Roman Catholic servants into the island, and strict orders were given that those that had been brought in during the summer should be sent home before the winter. A man named

George was fined £10 for "informing Catholics against Protestants," and a ship's captain was fined the same amount for "hoisting the Irish colors!" It became known that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up in the fish-house of a man named Keating, at Harbor Maine, a town which now is entirely Catholic. Keating was condemned to pay a fine of £50, and his fishing stage was hauled into the middle of the harbor and there set on fire. All the Catholic servants at this harbor were also fined, and the proceeds of the fines, after deducting fees and charges, were employed in building a jail. A man named Kennedy, having confessed that he had been married by a priest, was fined £10, his house was burned and he himself was banished. It was found out that Mass had been said in a house owned by a Protestant but occupied by two Catholic tenants; the tenants were fined £40, the house was burned, and £30 of the fine was paid to the Protestant owner as compensation. About this same time Governor Dorril ordered that the houses of Catholics be demolished, their land taken from them, and as many as possible be sent out of the country. Obnoxious oaths were also imposed on Catholics, debarring them from all civil offices. One of these oaths was: "We . . . do declare that there is not any *Transubstantiation* in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatever." In 1762 Governor Polliser added the following new persecuting enactments.

"Popish servants are not to be permitted to remain in any place but where they served previously."

"No more than two Papists are allowed to live in one house, unless in the house of a Protestant."

"All children [those of Catholics included] born in the country *must be baptized according to law*;" that is, by Episcopalian ministers, and according to the Episcopalian ritual.

"All huts inhabited by Catholics who induce people to stay in the island are to be pulled down."

Governor Duff in 1775 "renewed all the [previous] regulations against Papists."

In 1779 Edwards was appointed Governor, and the war of the Thirteen United Colonies for Independence was then raging. He issued no proclamations against Papists, but each magistrate in Newfoundland was a petty tyrant, and there are many traditions of the flogging of Papists and burning of their houses.

At last, on the 24th of October, 1784 (closely following upon Great Britain's acknowledgment of the Independence of the United Colonies), "liberty of conscience" was allowed to the people of Newfoundland. By that time, despite the persecutions to which they were subjected, Catholics formed three-fourths of the whole population, which then was about 25,000.

To show how systematically the British Government endeavored to prevent Newfoundland from being peopled, it is enough to mention the Polliser Act of 1775, which was supplementary to previous Acts on the same subject and which decreed that in order to prevent fishermen remaining on the island during winter, the masters of vessels should retain forty shillings of the men's wages to pay their passage home. Still more effective was the prohibition to bring women into the island, so that at that time only about one-seventh of the population were females.

Of the lives and hardships of the priests who kept the faith alive in Newfoundland during the earlier times the records and traditions are meagre. They had to contend with almost insurmountable difficulties.

They came and went as opportunities occurred, resorting to various disguises and taking refuge in fishing vessels or hiding in cellars and caves or in the woods to escape from those who were searching for them. There was no mercy for priests or for those who sheltered them or allowed them to say Mass in their houses. Hence the priests were often compelled to omit the celebration of the Most Holy Sacrifice and to be content to recite for the people the Rosary amid the rocks and woods.

Yet, while the occasional visits of these early priests were able to keep the Light of Faith from entirely dying out of the hearts and minds of the persecuted Catholic laity, they, along with non-Catholic residents, were almost destitute of practical religion. "The absence of all fixed spiritual guidance," says Dr. Howley, "the prevalence of drunkenness, the lawless character of many who came to the country, and the abundance of money in the hands of persons who knew not how to use it, unless as a means of low, sensual gratification, induced a deplorable laxity of morals and even weakened the faith of many. French infidelity, then so fashionable, was the boast of those who pretended to enlightenment, and indifference to all religion was common to all classes."

Such was the state of things in 1784, when Dr. O'Donnell, the Prefect Apostolic and first Bishop for Newfoundland, reached the island. Open persecution had ceased, but Catholics were still excluded from all civil offices, and secret indirect persecution and opposition to the Catholic religion still survived. But from this time the Newfoundland Church was organized and took its place among the provinces of Christianity.

At this point of time the ecclesiastical history, more strictly speaking, of Newfoundland commences. The situation which Bishop O'Donnell had to confront is well described by Dr. Mullock, the fifth Bishop of Newfoundland. "It is difficult," he says, "now even to conceive the obstacles a Bishop had to encounter during the period of Dr. O'Donnell's prelacy in Newfoundland. The sullen and unwilling protection offered him by the government, availing itself of his influence and still hating and insulting its benefactor; the tyrannical conduct of the petty officials to Catholics, which he was frequently obliged to overlook in silence; the rampant bigotry of many uneducated Protestants, who knew nothing of Catholicity but what they learned from 5th of November sermons; the difficulties of communication, for the whole island was then an impassable wilderness, without a single mile of road; the ignorance of the so-called 'better class,' so that a man like the Bishop, used to refined society, was completely isolated among them; the paucity of missionaries and the impossibility of that close surveillance which a Bishop is bound to exercise over his clergy and people—such were a few of the difficulties the pioneer of Catholicity had to encounter in this country. Well and nobly was the duty performed by Dr. O'Donnell. . . . He put his hand to the plough and never looked back till the good seed was sown, now, thank God! so abundantly fructifying, and which has made Newfoundland one of the most flourishing portions of God's vineyard."

Up to this time five bishops have succeeded Bishop O'Donnell in what was then the only Episcopal See in Newfoundland. Like him, they have labored with Apostolic faith and zeal, and abundantly have their labors and those of their devoted priests been rewarded. Newfoundland is now divided into two Episcopal Dioceses and a Prefecture Apostolic. According to the statistics we have been able to obtain there are in Newfoundland at the present time 54 priests, 140 churches, about 100 chapels and stations, and upwards of 100 Catholic schools.

The work before us narrates the trials and heroic labors of those who wrought in this glorious work up to the year 1850.

THE PURITAN COLONIES IN AMERICA. In two volumes. By *J. A. Doyle, M.A.*, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1887.

The two volumes on the Puritan Colonies in America are the second and third volumes of a larger work entitled the "English Colonies of America." The first volume of this larger work is occupied with Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. The fourth and fifth volumes are not yet published. The fourth is intended to include New York and the Quaker Colonies, and the fifth is intended to include all the Colonies during the reigns of the first and second Georges.

The material from which to reconstruct the life of New England in Colonial times is abundant, but there is great danger of misinterpreting it. This danger the writer describes at some length. The New England Puritan, he says, had an exaggerated and morbid sense of his responsibilities as a citizen and an enthusiastic conviction of the greatness that was in store for his new country. He never ceased to regard himself as one of a peculiar people, the chosen and predestined heirs to the new Canaan. Thus the provincial spirit of exaggeration which is so frequently found in young communities was intensified in the New England Colonies. The Puritan colonists saw a Latimer or a Calvin in every pulpit, and in reading their chronicles and biographies we are constantly in danger of being misled by the spirit of unintentional exaggeration and enthusiasm which pervades them.

Another danger lies in the nature of the subject and our own mental attitude towards it. The men of the seventeenth century are so closely akin to ourselves in their political ideas and aspirations that it is scarcely possible to judge them with impartiality. Even more difficult is it wholly to avoid partisanship in dealing with those theological disputes which are so inextricably blended with New England politics. "The feelings and antecedents of every Englishman must, in some measure, either incline him to sympathize with the Puritan in his moral earnestness, . . . his boundless and unswerving confidence in the ever-present guidance and protection of God, or else be repelled by his narrow aversion to all that lay beyond his own sphere of vision, the blind self-confidence with which he interpreted the divine decrees and the ruthless severity with which he enforced them."

"In another way, too, we must beware lest we import the ideas of the nineteenth century into our judgment of the seventeenth. In all questions of toleration, whether we are dealing with Churchman or Puritan, with Laud or Endicott, we must remember that the whole standard of public morality is altered. To speak of the Puritan, whether in England or America, as the champion of spiritual freedom, is a proof of ignorance or worse. Toleration was abhorrent to him. . . . He would have scorned those pleas of expediency which modern apologists have urged in his behalf. . . . He had possession of the truth, and it was his bounden duty, by whatever means, to promote the extension of that truth and to restrain and extirpate error."

"The difficulties which thus beset the history of the Puritan colonies are not to be avoided by refusing to consider the religious aspect of the question. In New England we cannot even temporarily or in thought sever religion from the other elements of national life. The word of

God as revealed in the Bible and as taught by certain authorized interpreters, served as a standard by which every act of individual or national life must be measured."

Thus the author seems to approach his subject in a spirit of candor and impartiality, but when we follow him into the body of his work we frequently fail to perceive it at times when it is most needed. A favorite apology of his is to attribute potent defects in the character of the Puritans, and glaring inconsistencies to the spirit of the age or the circumstances in which they were placed, without inquiring as to whether those defects and inconsistencies, were not the direct outgrowth of their false religious and political ideas. In a like way and by like special pleading he seeks to relieve them from the odium that justly attaches to them and relieve them from just responsibility for the many acts of treacherous double-dealing, fraud, cruelty and persecution, which darken the history of the Puritan colonies. Where no apology is possible, the facts are curtly stated, the details that show their peculiar atrocity being suppressed or thrown into the background, while such details as can be so framed as to impute blame to the victims of Puritan cruelty or hatred are carefully gathered up.

This may seem too sweeping an indictment. It is not. As evidence of how the author is disposed to condone and excuse deliberate insincerity and double-dealing on the part of the Puritans, we refer to his comments on the seven articles which the intending emigrants to America drew up and presented to James II. These articles are of such historic value, as showing under what false pretences, from the very start, the Puritan colonists left England, that we give them here in full:

1. "To the confession of faith published in the name of the Church of England, and to every article thereof, we do with the reformed churches where we live, and also elsewhere, wholly assent."

2. "As we do acknowledge the doctrine of faith there taught, so do we the fruits and effects of the same doctrine to the begetting of saving faith in thousands in the land (conformists and reformists as they are called), with whom also, as with our brethren we do desire to keep spiritual communion in peace, and will practice in our parts all lawful things."

3. "The King's majesty we acknowledge for supreme governor in his dominion in all causes and over all persons, and that none may decline or appeal from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but that in all things obedience is due unto him, either active, if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive, if it be, except pardon can be obtained."

4. "We judge it lawful for his Majesty to appoint bishops, civil overseers, or officers in authority under him, in the several provinces, dioceses, congregations, or parishes, to oversee the churches and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land, and by them to be ordered according to godliness."

5. "The authority of the present bishops in the land we do acknowledge, so far forth as the same is indeed derived from his Majesty unto them and as they proceed in his name, whom we will also honor in all things and him in them."

6. "We believe that no synod, class, convocation, or assembly of ecclesiastical officers has any power or authority at all, but as the same by the magistrate is given unto them."

7. "Lastly, we desire to give unto all superiors due honor, to preserve the unity of the spirit with all that fear God, to have peace with all men what in us lieth, and wherein we are to be instructed by any."

These articles (signed by Robertson and Brewster for the would-be emigrants) are utterly at variance with the doctrinal tenets of Puritanism. The author of the work before us, after suggesting several other palliations of their acts plainly irreconcilable with the essential points of Puritan belief, endeavors to explain away this irreconcilability by suggesting that we should look on these seven articles, not so much as an exposition of faith, but rather as conditions of agreement. But this attempted explanation is lame in both its legs. In the first place, the articles are clearly a declaration of the religious belief of the Puritan intending emigrants, as regards certain points which the king and the High Church party regarded as of primary importance. Looking at them from this point of view, they furnish incontestable proof of the profound duplicity of the Puritan emigrants and their leaders. On the other hand, if these articles be regarded as "conditions of agreement" between the king and the emigrating Puritans, they evince the utmost insincerity and bad faith on the part of the latter, and were drawn up and signed for the purpose of deceiving the king and High Church party, and of violating their agreement the moment they landed in America. Inded, the author himself impliedly acknowledges this, suggesting that "the followers of Robinson might feel that, though the king's hands are long, they could hardly reach an insignificant settlement," and that, therefore, the emigrating Puritans might, with *safety*, assent to doctrines which they did not believe.

We find a like disposition, on the part of the author, to apologize for the needless wars which the Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut waged against the Indians, and the horrible cruelties they inflicted upon them. He urges the plea of necessity; but that there is not even the slightest ground for this plea is evident from the fact that the few and comparatively feeble colonists of Rhode Island succeeded with difficulty in living on terms of peace and amity with the very Indians whom the colonists of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were shooting and burning by wholesale, and hanging, and selling as slaves. The truth is, and it cannot be concealed, that the Puritan colonists regarded the Indians as accursed of God, because they were heathens, and as deserving no better treatment than that which the ancient Jews inflicted on the inhabitants of Palestine. As for their land, they considered it to be "the Lord's waste," which they, the Lord's "elect," might freely appropriate. They provoked and fomented wars with the Indians, and between the different tribes of Indians, and then made those wars a pretext for mercilessly slaughtering them.

The scourging and banishment of Baptists, and the whipping, banishment and hanging of Quakers and Papists are treated by the author in like apologetic manner. The facts are stated as curtly as possible, and then the subject is dismissed with a statement of the plea of necessity, which the less fanatical and bigoted of the colonists put forth.

We have already overrun our intended limits, and cannot follow the author through his explanations of constant internal jealousies and contentions, and constant quarreling with and encroachments upon the territories of other colonies. Nor can we follow him through the still more interesting subject of the gradual growth among the Puritans of ideas of political freedom. The author attributes this growth to their religious principles, but it is perfectly plain to every logical thinker that this growth was not because of those principles, but in direct opposition to them.

THE CHURCH AND THE AGE. An Exposition of the Catholic Church in View of the Needs and Aspirations of the Present Age. By *Very Rev. I. T. Hecker*. New York: Office of the Catholic World. 1887.

This is a very opportune work. For though Christianity is unchangeable, and the Church which is its embodiment and exponent is likewise unchangeable, yet the prevailing ideas and aspirations of men change, and with them their intellectual wants and leading thoughts also change; and in correspondence with these changes it becomes necessary for those who devote themselves to the exhibition and defence of the truths which the Catholic Church believes and teaches should present those truths in new ways and under new aspects corresponding with the needs and aspirations of each succeeding age.

The clear perception of this truth by Father Hecker was evidently the impelling motive that urged him to compose this book. For, though it consists of papers prepared at different times, and published separately in the *Catholic World*, yet they form a complete organic whole, the same guiding purpose running through them all.

A thoughtful perusal of the work will be profitable to two entirely distinct and different classes of readers. To Catholics it will be interesting and profitable by showing them how thoroughly prepared and competent the Catholic Church is to satisfy all that is really and truly desirable in the needs and aspirations of our present age; needs and wants that, in one way, are common to all humanity and to every age, but which, in another way, differ in different nations, and races, and ages; and, also, how completely and thoroughly the Church is prepared to meet and answer all the new objections, or rather old objections under new forms, which modern non-Catholic thought brings against Catholicity, or, in other words, against Christianity as embodied, actualized, and exhibited in its living reality in the Catholic Church.

For very similar reasons, the book will be interesting and profitable to all honest and sincere non-Catholic thinkers. For, with keen discrimination it dissects and analyzes their leading ideas, doing full justice to whatever is true in them, while clearly but kindly pointing out what is erroneous. It lucidly shows, also, how far such truths as are comprehended in those ideas can conduct man towards an apprehension of the truths of Divine Revelation; with what other truths they must be correlated, and how, when held separately and apart from those truths, they fall short and lead to pernicious errors.

The work is particularly well adapted to interest and profit American readers; for it deals especially with those phases of modern non-Catholic thought, both Protestant and rationalistic, that are peculiarly American. And for this task Father Hecker is especially well prepared, owing to his former experience and studies. He is personally familiar with the leading schools of New England rationalism and transcendentalism, having passed through those schools, sitting at the feet of their greatest masters, and thoroughly familiarizing himself with their ideas, during his onward journeying towards the truth. Whilst so doing, he was also a careful investigator of "Orthodox" Protestantism, of which rationalism is at once both the legitimate offspring and the irreconcilable opponent. Of these schools of thought, therefore, he might with especial propriety say, "I write whereof I do know, and wherein I was once an active participant."

But we will let Father Hecker explain, in his own words, the main purpose of his book. That purpose, he says in his Preface, "Is to show that the liberty enjoyed in modern society, in so far as it is true, and the

intelligence of modern society, in so far as it is guileless, are inestimable helps to the spread of Catholicity, and the deepening of that interior spirit which is the best result of true religion."

The office of divine external authority in religious affairs, in providing a safeguard to the individual soul, and assisting it to a freer and more instinctive coöperation with the Holy Spirit's interior inspirations, is often treated of, and the false liberty of pride and error is plainly pointed out.

The logical order would, perhaps, place the articles on old-fashioned Protestantism first, then those on Unitarianism, etc. But, whatever the logical order may claim, the order of actual facts relegates our disputes with genuine Protestantism mostly to out-of-the-way neighborhoods, where the currents of intellectual thought have stagnated; hence such articles have been relegated to places other than the most conspicuous. The main question of the hour is, "How can religion be made compatible with a high degree of liberty and intelligence?"

In treating of the respective relations of Catholicity and Protestantism to civil liberty, Father Hecker shows that the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism are irreconcilable with civil liberty and republican governments, and particularly with the formative principles of the American republic, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The Protestant doctrine that the natural man is totally depraved, corrupt and enslaved, both as to his reason and his will, cuts off, root and branch, personal, civil, intellectual, moral, and religious liberty; and so Luther and Calvin and Knox and their followers believed and taught. As a legitimate consequence of this, Protestantism holds that the unregenerate man is entirely unable to do any good, and is inclined to all evil.

This Protestant doctrine, when applied to the political order, excludes unregenerate men from all part in the organization of the State, and all participation in the rights and privileges of citizenship. It cuts away the very foundations of all liberty, personal, political, civil, intellectual, moral, religious. The natural man has no rights whatever. As regards civil and political relations, all power and all rights belong exclusively to the regenerate, the "elect."

Hence the New England Puritans, where they shaped the State to suit their creed, granted political citizenship only to members of their sect. So, too, it was in Europe. And wherever Protestants did not do this, it was not because of their religious creed, but in contradiction to it. The descendants of the Puritans, in signing the Declaration of Independence, signed the death-warrant of their own fundamental religious dogma. For the Protestant dogma holds that human nature is totally corrupt; the Declaration of Independence regards human nature as essentially good. The former maintains that man, by Adam's fall, forfeited all his natural rights; the latter declares that the rights of man by nature are inalienable. The Declaration of Independence is the antithesis of Martin Luther's work on the *Slave-will* and of John Calvin's *Institutes*.

And as Calvinism logically excludes republicanism in politics, so too, republicanism logically excludes Calvinism in religion. The proof of this is simple and easy. The natural influence of the American political system, based on universal suffrage, is an incitement to the intelligence and conscience of the people under the conviction that the choice of the ballot-box will be, in the main, on the side of good government. For what is a vote? It is a recognition of man's intelligence, of his

free will, of his liberty and responsibility. It is the admission that man, as man, is and ought to be considered a factor in political society ; that he has the right to shape, and in bounden duty ought to shape, so far as his ability extends, the course of the destiny of his country. It is the practical application of the truth that all men have an equal right, as men, to "life," to "liberty" and the "pursuit of happiness." Now all these truths Protestantism, by its dogma of total depravity, denies. But the force of these truths, by virtue of their practical recognition in American republicanism, have effaced from the minds of Protestants of our day the dogmas which are taught in their catechism. It is not too much to say that not one Protestant in a hundred, perhaps not one in five hundred, can make an act of faith without important mental reservations in his Protestant creed.

But there is no such antagonism between the Catholic faith and American republicanism. According to the teaching of the Catholic Church, reason is the organ of truth, and acts upon the truth which lies within its own domain with infallible certitude. The action of reason implicitly or explicitly precedes faith. Man is by nature in the possession of his free will ; therefore, freedom is a birthright, and he holds it in trust from his Creator, and is responsible for its right use. Man has lost none of his original faculties, and has forfeited none of his natural rights by Adam's fall. Therefore he is, by nature, in the possession of his natural rights—"among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." With regard to these rights, "God has created all men equal." Therefore, all political authority in individuals may justly be said to be derived, under God, from the consent of the collective people who are governed ; and the people, under God, associated together in a body politic, are the source of the sovereign political power in the civil order.

These statements are in perfect accordance with the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church. In view of them it is easy to see that there is no antagonism, express or implied, between the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, or of the Constitution of the United States, and the doctrines of the Catholic religion ; on the contrary, they harmonize and agree. A citizen of the American republic, who understands himself, is all the more loyal to the American republic because he is a Catholic ; and he is all the better Catholic because he is a republican. For it is the doctrines of the Catholic Church which alone furnish him with the principles which enable him to make a synthesis between republicanism and Christianity.

So, too, true republicanism furnishes the most favorable field for the action of the Church in promoting true religion. For, to use the words of Cardinal Gibbons, the Church "has lived under absolute empires, constitutional monarchies, and in free republics, and everywhere she grows and expands. She has often, indeed, been hampered in her divine mission. She has often been forced to struggle for existence wherever despotism casts its dark shadow, like a plant shut out from the blessed sunlight of heaven. But in the genial atmosphere of liberty she blossoms as the rose."

These thoughts and arguments Father Hecker elucidates and enforces. It would be well if every honest politician and thoughtful statesman, and every intelligent American citizen, whether Catholic or non Catholic, would procure a copy of his book and read it carefully.

A HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Henry Charles Lea*, Author of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Superstition and Force," "Studies in Church History." In Three Volumes. Volumes I. and II. New York: Harper & Bros. 1888.

It is not easy to give an adequate appreciation of these somewhat pretentious volumes, which are appearing at short intervals, as this number of the REVIEW goes to press. The work itself, when completed, will demand a thoroughgoing examination, though it has hardly the importance claimed for it by the publishers. It is true, "no comprehensive history of the Inquisition, based on the results of modern scholarship, has yet been attempted," and much might be expected from the work of an author who "for fifteen years has been collecting material for it—material which has grown enormously," etc. But the publication of no amount of material gives true and comprehensive history, unless there be a competent historian to set it forth.

The secular papers have welcomed the volumes so far published with uniform applause, but with singularly contradictory appreciations. Some find in them almost a vindication, at least a strong weakening of the indictment, of the Church for the part taken by her during the ages in question. Others discover the confirmation of their worst prejudices. The Catholic student of history will read with some weariness this ponderous work, which does not differ materially from many other books on the subject, except in the crowded citations from recent research. He will also soon discover that the author is not competent to deal with this "material which has grown enormously."

First, Mr. Lea has to deal with several centuries of the Church's greatest activity through her officials—Popes, bishops, priests, and friars—in relation with the faithful and with those who for the first time were breaking away from the faith into heresy. There is question at every step of the Catholic faith; and *Mr. Lea does not even understand the Catholic faith of his own time*. He is guilty of such formulas as, "the theory of justification by works," "religion deprived of all spiritual vitality," "a dry and meaningless formalism," "the magical sacrament of penitence," "the internal condition of the soul was a matter of virtual indifference," "the modern theory of indulgences, as distinguished from that of the middle ages," etc. (I., pp. 46-47). In fact, the whole book proves the truth of the author's candid prefatory statement—"Doctrines are beyond my province."

But Mr. Lea has not even made himself acquainted with the monuments of the popular faith of the Middle Ages, of which, however, he treats so confidently. These monuments are perfectly accessible in collections often reprinted. They are contemporary lives of the saints, treatises of devotion, sermons, and spiritual writings, in which the times were rich. Many of these influence the Catholic piety of our own day. No one could make acquaintance with them and say, honestly: "The believer did not deal directly with his Creator—scarce even with the Virgin or hosts of intercessory saints. The supernatural powers claimed for the priest interposed him as the mediator between God and man." (I., p. 47.) Even garrulous Cæsar of Heisterbach might have taught the author that this judgment is as false as it would be if pronounced of the Catholics of to-day. But Mr. Lea quotes rather from his pages the more than dubious story of the massacre at Béziers. Cæsar told it on hearsay, in a distant country, years after the event, and none of the contemporary historians speak of the atrocious command supposed to have been given by the Pope's legate. Mr. Lea quietly inserts it in his text with, "a fervent Cistercian contemporary informs us," etc. (I. p. 154).

In a note to the entire paragraph (he does not usually assign his authority for each fact separately) he cites eight authorities, beginning with Pope Innocent III., and winding up with Cæsar of Heisterbach!

Perhaps his foreign correspondents indexed only the salacious chronicles in their archives. Certainly Mr. Lea's pages are painfully congested with accounts of the immoralities of the time, though he seems to know little of its faith and morals.

Secondly, Mr. Lea, through all these extensive volumes, is treating of the Church in her action as a compact and well-organized society. He recognizes the moral personality of the Church,—this is the common testimony she extorts from her bitterest enemies,—but he seems to have no clear idea of the nature of action by such a society. Hence the strangest contradictions are found. He begins by trying to show that "the Church by sundering itself completely from the laity . . . had thereby created an antagonism between itself and the people." (I. p. 5.) A few pages later he speaks of "the incongruous union of feudal noble and Christian prelate, . . . to be seen everywhere." It is natural that an author who has not understood the faith of the people of the Middle Ages—that inner principle which gave the unity of minds necessary to any society—should also miss comprehending the exterior principle—the authority which gave the unity of action that is also necessary. Mr. Lea is quite capable of quoting in the same breath a General Council and an anonymous *Libellus*. His former works have made known his incompetence in interpreting the canon law. In the present volumes, a more skilful manipulation of his material would have rendered tenfold stronger the antithesis he has rather naïvely chosen as the central point of his book—sacerdotalism and anti-sacerdotalism.

In fact, Mr. Lea is not a philosophic historian. He seems never to have resolved the notion of a society into its elements, and consequently his investigations are not complete and his judgment on any disputed point is worthless. If his method of presenting his material is any index to his own mastery over it, then this, too, is as fallacious as the result is exasperating to the reader. The second volume, it is true,—something after the old plan of universal histories,—takes country by country. But the first, which contains the fundamental principles, has neither order of time nor of place. There is a certain order of subject-matter, such as might be indexed in a library. Thus, under the caption, "Causes of Antagonism with the Laity,"—is massed together all the scandalous material possible against the clergy, carefully pigeon-holed by titles. Doubtless this might be valuable as raw-material (essentially one-sided and incomplete, be it remembered), but so far we are denied even a bibliographical index of it.

Finally, Mr. Lea takes apparently no notice of the works of modern philosophic historians. While he is grouping these painful and misleading details into what he, perhaps, imagines are irresistible masses, it seems never to occur to him that the judgment of unwearied students, of undoubted competence, might be of use in the interest of truth. Even his material is rendered defective in this way, notably in whatever concerns the decrees of Councils, and the official action of the Church as distinct from the individual activity, good or evil, of members of the clergy. Thus, among contemporary authors, Hergenroether, Hefele, Gams, Bickell, find no place in Mr. Lea's jumble of citations; nor, from the times of which he writes, the principal dogmatists and moralists, who stood behind the canonists in all their writings and furnished the final judgment on principles of right and wrong.

In sum, Mr. Lea's book, so far, shows that he has been a diligent scav-

enger, and he has peeped through a great many historic keyholes of the Middle Ages. This is the impression left by the greater number of his pages. His "examination of the jurisprudence" of the period in question will hardly bear the fruit he anticipates; for, neither temperament nor training, nor even acquired learning, had fitted him for such an undertaking. Even the literary qualities of the book show little power beyond that of grouping details—raising the dust of centuries in clouds which are fit only to obscure all clear vision, when they do not perturb minds.

LIFE AND DEATH OF REV. EDMUND GENNINGS. By his Brother, *John Gennings*. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

This account of the sufferings and death of the venerable Gennings is taken from a very rare and curious quarto volume, composed by his brother, Rev. John Gennings, and published at St. Omer's by Charles Roscord in 1614. Its title was the "Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Gennings, Priest, crowned with martyrdom at London, the 10th day of November, in the year MDXCI. Preciosa in conspectu Dei Mors Sanctorum ejus. Psal. 115." It has a frontispiece, a portrait of the martyr, engraved after the rude and quaint manner of engraving at that time, and also several other illustrative scenes, which are reproduced in the volume before us.

Rev. John Gennings, the author of the original work, was brought up in the Protestant religion. By a singular or rather a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence he was made acquainted with his brother, Edmund Gennings, but wished to have nothing to do with him, telling him that he was a "traitor, both to God and his country," and a "discredit to himself and all his friends." Subsequently, hearing of his brother Edmund's arrest and execution, "he rather rejoiced than in any way bewailed the untimely end of his nearest kinsman, hoping thereby to be rid of all persuasions which he suspected he should receive from him touching the Catholic religion. But his martyred brother's prayers for him prevailed before the throne of God, and about ten days after the execution of his brother he was converted in a wonderful manner. "Once a Protestant, he became a Catholic, without persuasion or conference with any man in the world," furnishing another instance that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church of Christ." He became afterwards a student at the College of Douay, where he was ordained priest in 1607, and the following year went back to England. Subsequently he entered the Franciscan Order, which by his instrumentality was set up again in England and of which he was appointed the first Provincial.

In the preface to his account of the life and death of his brother he makes this declaration: "I protest that I will make mention of no one thing which I have not either known to be true myself or heard from his mouth whose life and martyrdom I write, or have not received as true from very honest, virtuous and sufficient persons, whose tender and catholic consciences (as may justly be thought) could not bear the burden of uttering such untruths."

Edmund Gennings, the martyred priest, was of Protestant parentage, and, like his brother John, was brought up in the Protestant religion until he was about thirteen years of age. But he was a boy of "so great virtue and obedience to his mother, of modest behaviour towards all, of reverence towards his elders and betters and profited so much in his learning, that he was not only worthily admired and beloved of many,

but especially of his schoolmaster." God marked him for His own and caused that he should enter into the service of a Catholic gentleman, Mr. Sherwood, who, being "very much persecuted for his religion in his temporal fortunes, seldom made any long abode in one place, for the better preservation of his life." Mr. Sherwood "from the first day kept a watchful eye upon his new servant in all his actions, because he knew all his friends to be earnest Protestants, but in a short time he found him so trusty, so secret, and so diligent in all his business and affairs that he began to speak to him of religion and the salvation of his soul; and perceiving him to be tractable, capable and willing to learn, he so far instructed him that the youth . . . earnestly desired to be reconciled and made a member of the Catholic Church. . . . His pious request was not long denied him, to his exceeding comfort and consolation."

By subsequent providences he was placed in the college at Rheims, under the care of its then President, Dr. Allen, afterwards Cardinal. There he applied himself with all diligence to his studies, "but above all to the study of the science of the saints." One of his superiors has thus written of him: "Edmund Gennings was prudent and wise in counsel, humble in obedience, devout in Christ, strong in faith, prompt in good works, most true in his words, remarkable in goodness, excellent in charity." . . . The superiors of the College, "considering his fervor, procured a dispensation from Rome that he might be made a Priest before his time, he being but twenty-three years of age." He was ordained at Soissons, March 18th, 1590, together with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who suffered at York in 1595.

Father Edmund Gennings had not long been ordained before apostolic faculties were granted to him, and he was sent upon the English Mission by Dr. Barrett, then President of the College at Rheims. After some time they found a vessel in Normandy whose master consented to take him and four other priests to England. After encountering great dangers, both on sea and land, they separated and made their ways to different parts of England. In England Father Edmund Gennings labored devoutly and faithfully among the scattered and persecuted members of the flock of Christ. After saying Mass at the house of a Mr. Wells, he was arrested, along with another priest and several of the laity. He was cast into a dungeon without food, and two days afterwards was tortured and most brutally mangled and put to death.

All the others excepting Mrs. Wells were also executed. She died in prison. After the blessed martyr, Father Gennings, had been hanged and cut down, dismembered and disemboweled, and his heart was in the hand of the hangman, he in the distinct hearing of the spectators and of the hangman uttered the words, "Holy Gregory, pray for me!" upon which the hangman swore a most wicked oath and cried out: "Zounds! see! see! his heart is in my hand, and yet Gregory is in his mouth. Oh, egregious Papist!"

Thus we have endeavored to outline the scope of this work; but it is impossible for us to do justice to the simplicity and edifying character of the narrative. Those who imagine that the persecution of Catholics in England was owing mainly to political motives, and those who desire to realize in their own minds the Christian heroism both of the missionary priests and of the hunted, persecuted, faithful laity, on the one hand, and the demoniac hatred and malice of the English Protestants of those times, on the other hand, should procure a copy of this little book and read it.

TACTICS OF INFIDELS. By the *Rev. L. A. Lambert*, author of "Notes on Ingersoll," "Handbook of Scripture References," etc. Buffalo: Peter Paul & Brother. 1887.

This work, as its title page says, is by the author of "Notes on Ingersoll," which, it is not too much to say, has received universal recognition and commendation as the most thorough, trenchant, and masterly exposure of the fallacies of that noted infidel's arguments and statements that has been published. The work before us is of equally great merit. In it its learned author follows up the subject and adopts a very similar method to that which he employs in his "Notes,"—that of quotation and comment. Instead, however, of there being only two parties as in the "Notes," there are four in this work—Ingersoll, Notes, Lacy and Lambert.

The reason for this is found in circumstances which Father Lambert briefly states in the introduction to his work. These were as follows: Ingersoll did not attempt to reply to Father Lambert, but "maintained a studied silence, though urged by the press and interviewers in a way that must have been annoying to him. Two years after the appearance of the "Notes," one of his disciples, urged by "multiple requests and challenges," published a "Reply to Rev. L. A. Lambert's Notes on Ingersoll." From these "multiple requests" it is natural to infer that some response was considered necessary and that Mr. W. B. Lacy was the man competent to give it. Notwithstanding the title of his book, it is in fact nothing more than an essay towards a defense of Ingersoll.

This "reply" of Mr. Lacy's Father Lambert takes up and, as in his "Notes" lets Lacy and Ingersoll and the "Notes" speak each for himself or itself, and then adds his own comments.

The fallacies of so-called "*modern*" skepticism (for all its leading notions are simply a rehash of ancient infidelity) are seized hold of, held with tenacious grasp, dissected and analyzed and held up to the "white light of reason and common sense, so that their self-contradictions become evident." The fundamental falsehood of false theories and notions is chased into and out of all its lurking places, followed up through the various disguises and metamorphoses it assumes, until it is run down and destroyed by the unsparing, unerring logic of Father Lambert's method.

Almost every question raised by "modern" skeptics and infidels is searchingly examined and clearly answered. Among these are the alleged eternity of matter, the existence of God, the possibility of His existence being known to and proved by the natural reason of man, the Holy Trinity, the creation, the divine attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy (against all of which infidels attempt to raise objections), the freedom of the human will, the nature of sin, polygamy, war, slavery, the killing of the heathen by the Jews, the relation of the Old and the New Testaments, the authenticity and genuineness and credibility and inspiration of written Divine revelation, miracles, the morals of the Jews, Christian morality, human liberty, demoniac possessions, Papal infallibility—the objections raised by Ingersoll and Lacy against Christianity on all these points, are fairly stated in their own language and thoroughly refuted.

Father Lambert brings to his task admirable qualifications for its successful performance, extensive learning, familiar acquaintance with the sophistical theories and notions of skeptics and their methods of argumentation, keen discrimination, remarkable power of logical analysis and synthesis, and an inexhaustible fund of wit and sarcasm. He knows, too, exactly what instruments to select for the different parts of his work, and uses them with extraordinary good judgment. He never

employs a razor to chop wood nor an axe to crush a fly. Wit, pungent humor, irony, scathing sarcasm, merciless exposure of falsehoods, thorough dissection of sophisms, lucid statements of the real points of disputed questions, and irrefragable logic in serious argumentation, are all by turns resorted to, just at the right times and places, and employed with telling effect.

The style, too, adopted by Father Lambert as to the forms both of thought and language is admirably suited to the work. All rhetorical embellishments are discarded, and all superfluity of words. The language is strong, vigorous Anglo-Saxon, clear and simple, and the method of statement and argument (even where acutely metaphysical or severely logical) is direct, clear and plain, so that any reader possessed of common sense can follow without difficulty the line of reasoning.

The work ought to be in the hands of every lay-Catholic, and of every non-Catholic also who wishes to acquaint himself with the easiest and quickest and most direct way to meet and refute the stock objections which skeptics and infidels are constantly raising against the Christian religion—objections which are as old as written history records and have been refuted a thousand times, but are reiterated and will be reiterated as long as there are men who prefer darkness to light and evil to good.

HERODIAS. A Dramatic Poem. By *J. C. Heywood*. New edition. Revised. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

ANTONIUS. A Dramatic Poem. By *J. C. Heywood*. New Edition. Revised. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

SALOME. A Dramatic Poem. By *J. C. Heywood*. New Edition. Revised. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Each of these three dramas, published in as many separate volumes, is complete in itself. Yet the second is a sequel to the first, and the third is a conclusion to the other two, and, taken together, they form a perfect whole.

Herodias is based upon the narrative of St. Matthew respecting the beheading of St. John the Baptist by the order of Herod. Around this are gathered other incidents and scenes based upon history or the statements of St. Matthew, tradition, or evolved from the writer's own imagination.

The scene is laid at Jerusalem. The time is the night when Salome danced before King Herod and his court at a banquet given in commemoration of his birthday, and St. John the Baptist was beheaded by order of Herod, in accordance with Salome's request made at the suggestion of Herodias, her mother. The chief characters are St. John the Baptist, Herodias, Salome, Antonius—the father of Salome, and first and real husband of Herodias, whom Herodias deserted, first for Philip, the half-brother of Herod, whom she then deserted to take up with Herod—and Sextus, a Roman noble and officer, and lover of Salome. Subsidiary to these are an aged Jew predicting woes that would come upon his people, exulting voices of demons, and voices of angels declaring the vengeance of Almighty God.

The pleadings of Salome with her vile mother that she will not compel her to ask for the head of St. John the Baptist, her struggles against her mother's overpowering will, her contrition and lamentations over her own weakness in yielding to her mother's wicked demand, and her tearful persistence in dismissing her lover and forever refusing to marry him because her conscience tells her that she is a murderer, are pathetically depicted. Seldom have the passion of revenge and the terrific

tortures of remorse and despair been more profoundly analyzed and presented with more power. Few passages in modern dramatic poetry can compare with the vividness and force of the scene in which Herodias, with demoniac shamelessness, lays bare to her daughter the vile passions which possess her will and heart, or the scene in which she gloats in vengeance over the head of St. John the Baptist, and then, seized with remorse, declares herself tormented by demons, and becomes the victim of despair.

Antonius is the sequel to Herodias. The scene is the Isle of Mona, now Anglesey. The time is that of an invasion of Great Britain under Aulus Plautius. The personages are Antonius, father of Salome; Sextus, lover of Salome; Kaliphilus, the Wandering Jew; Caractacus, King of a British tribe; Druids and Druidesses; Salome; Berenice, formerly Salome's maid of honor; and Roman and British soldiers.

This drama abounds in passages of rare beauty and strength, and the interest of the former poem is fully sustained. It is even more powerful and dramatic in some respects than is "Herodias." It has an undertone which is sad beyond expression, and reminds us of some of the masterpieces of ancient Greek tragedy. The scene in which Kaliphilus, while vainly pleading for Salome's love, declares his awful crimes and terrible doom, is a magnificent effort of genius. And beautiful and true is the manner in which Salome describes how she, by contrition and faith, was led from darkness to light, and from wretchedness to peace.

"Salome" is the concluding drama of the series. It is full of another and a higher purpose, and is superior to both the others in dramatic intensity. The scene is laid within and without the walls of Jerusalem; the time is that when Jerusalem was taken by the soldiers of Titus.

All three of these dramas are lofty in conception and abound in passages of very great beauty and strength.

L'EGLISE ET L'ETAT EN ANGLETERRE DEPUIS LA CONQUETE DES NORMANDS JUSQU'A NOS JOURS. Par *Albert du Boys*. Paris: Delhomme et Briguët. 1887.

M. du Boys's reputation as a careful, conscientious and impartial historian was established before he gave this book to the world, he having already published two excellent works that at once won popular favor and had an extensive circulation—one on the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France of 1790," and the other a biography of Catharine of Aragon.

This third volume from his pen is on a kindred subject to that of the first, another argument against the subordination of the Church to the State, a proof that the secular power should leave religion free and untrammelled by any civil restrictions, a free Church in a free State being the best guarantee of the preservation of order and the observance of decorum. In other countries besides France, he says, the attempt has often been made to have the Church organization exist as a tool of the State, leaving to it only the semblance of independence; but in every instance in which such a course has been adopted, whether under a parliamentary form of government or under an absolute monarchy, the Church has been impeded and trammelled in her civilizing mission, and not only she herself, but the State even more so, has suffered great injury in consequence, in many cases dragging the people away from their allegiance to the central spiritual authority placed over them by Christ Himself. The task which M. du Boys has imposed upon himself in writing the book now before us, is to show by what means this sad result was brought about in England. By the simple narration of events,

as they occurred from the time of the Norman Conquest, he makes it clear to every reader how the "Reformation" of the sixteenth century was the natural and, humanly speaking, almost unavoidable consequence of the system of State usurpation of Church rights inaugurated in the eleventh.

After making some introductory remarks concerning the condition of the Church in the beginning of the eleventh century, he discusses, in succession, the relations of archbishops Lanfranc, St. Anselm and St. Thomas Becket with the early Norman kings of England; then, having taken a cursory view of the intervening period, he narrates the history of Cardinal Fisher, and discusses the position of Anglicanism as a state religion. In the early part of the volume three grand figures stand out prominently. During the episcopate of the three early archbishops of Canterbury named above, the most burning questions bearing on the relations of the Church with the State are discussed. It is literally true, says our author, that Becket's martyrdom purchased liberty for the Church, as well as a revulsion of feeling in her favor, which that apologist of despotism, the Protestant historian Froude, is pleased to qualify as a domineering and tyrannical reaction, but which, in reality, was only a release from slavery. Nor was this reaction accompanied by the continuation of violence which we read of in the works of so many pretentious, but systematically lying historians.

Want of space prevents us from dwelling any longer on this most interesting topic, or on M. du Boys's account of the Great Charter, which, though coming rather late to change the scene of battle, yet placed all classes of society under the protection of the Common Law, and by which the clergy, through the influence of another archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, secured guarantees against regal despotism. Then follow alternations of success in the struggle between the two powers, which are lost sight and sound of by the dust and clamor of the almost incessant civil and foreign wars. Under weak prelates the Church loses her prestige, and unwarranted and unjust encroachments are made by the civil power, which, for its own selfish ends, protects turbulent and rebellious churchmen and heretics. How the way is thus prepared for the final catastrophe wrought by Henry VIII., the reader will best learn from the pages of M. du Boys's absorbingly interesting book.

THE GLORIES OF MARY. By *St. Alphonsus de Liguori*, Doctor of the Church. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm, Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Vol. I. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

The fundamental thought and motive of this work are stated by St. Alphonsus himself in his brief address "to the reader," and in his equally brief "Introduction." He says that "it was, properly speaking, on Mount Calvary that Jesus formed His Church, and that it is evident that the Blessed Virgin coöperated in a most excellent and special manner in the accomplishment of that work. And in the same way it can be said that though she brought forth the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, without pain, she did not bring forth the body of this Head without very great suffering; and so it was on Mount Calvary that Mary began in an especial manner to be the Mother of the whole Church. And now, to say all in a few words, God, to glorify the Mother of the Redeemer, has so determined and disposed that of her great charity she should intercede in behalf of all those for whom His divine Son paid and offered the superabundant price of His precious blood, in which alone "is our salvation, life, and resurrection."

The work—"The Glories of Mary"—forms part of "The Centennial Edition" of the complete works of St. Alphonsus de Liguori, which is in process of translation into English and publication by Messrs. Benziger Brothers. The volume before us is the seventh volume of the series.

"The Glories of Mary" was first published in the year 1750, at Naples. St. Alphonsus was then fifty-four years old, and believed that, his bodily health having become exhausted by austerities and excessive labor, the end of his earthly existence was approaching, not suspecting that he had yet to live nearly forty years more in the service of God.

Had St. Alphonsus published no other book than the above, it would have been sufficient to render his name immortal. It is not only a source of great glory to its author, but it has been productive of incalculable good to others, and doubtless will continue to be thus productive in the future. It has been translated into all languages, and printed and reprinted in almost every country in the world. By souls that hunger and thirst after justice, or need consolation and encouragement, it has always been heartily welcomed, and been profitable to countless readers for instruction, correction, edification, and perseverance in the Christian life and in efforts to attain perfection. It is, like all the Saint has written, a summary, as it were, of Catholic tradition on the subject that he treats. Thus, it is not simply Saint Alphonsus, as an individual author, who speaks, but rather the Church herself who speaks through him, by the voice of her pontiffs, saints, fathers, and doctors, of all ages, whose treasures of wisdom, piety, and devotion he has collected.

The editor says, in his preface, that in order that full reliance may be placed on the authenticity of the quotations, he has carefully verified them all, and can vouch for their exact correctness. He has done this also with regard to the texts of Sacred Scripture that are quoted, and where errors have crept in has carefully corrected them, and has exercised like care with regard to other parts of the work.

The volume before us contains the first and second parts of the work. The first part is an explanation of the *Salve Regina*, and is divided into ten chapters or discourses, each followed by a most appropriate, fervent, and devout prayer. After this comes a collection of exceedingly beautiful and fervent prayers, addressed by various saints to the Holy Mother of God. Following these are translations of a number of hymns to her by St. Alphonsus. Part second consists of discourses on each of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, each discourse being followed by an appropriate prayer. Then there are a number of hymns, and after them a few brief meditations.

THE BAD CHRISTIAN; Or, Sermons on the Seven Deadly Sins, and the different Sins against God and our Neighbor which flow therefrom. In Seventy-six Sermons, adapted to all the Sunday and Holy Days of the Year. By Rev. Francis Hunolt, S. J. Translated by Rev. J. Allen, D.D. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1888.

We have here the third and fourth volumes of the sermons of Father Hunolt, S. J., and it is hardly enough praise of them to say that they fully deserve at least as much popularity as their predecessors. The subjects are clearly and satisfactorily treated in a simple and almost charming style. We may also state that their value is greatly enhanced by the use of copious marginal notes and a very full alphabetical index of the matters discussed.

The first of these two volumes of sermons on the bad Christian con-

tains thirty-seven discourses, and the second thirty-nine. All his evil ways are thoroughly discussed, from the incredulity of the unfaithful children who turn against their mother, the Church, to the most daring presumption which, to some extent, is characteristic of every sinner. Sermons, bearing on the various classes of sins, are grouped according to the class to which they may respectively belong. Thus, for instance, under the head of the seven deadly sins, we are first warned of the vain labor and folly of those guilty of pride, and then told of the means of attaining the opposite virtue of humility. The preacher again proves how easily carelessness in religious matters leads the avaricious man to neglect God, and exposes him to the almost certain danger of an unhappy death. Injustice is a natural effect of avarice, and unless restitution and full satisfaction be made by him who takes what lawfully belongs to another, it will go hard with him on the last day. Such is also the case with those indulging in unlawful sensual pleasures, the habit of which, especially of the degrading vice of impurity, so easily enslaves its victims. In connection with the treatment of the sin of gluttony and drunkenness, we are given an admirable, though too brief, exposition of the end and object of fasting; and, following the sermons on anger and vindictiveness, is one on sloth in the service of God.

The discourses on the deadly sins fill about three-fourths of Volume I., the remainder of which, as well as nearly all of Volume II., has a treatment of the sins known distinctively as those against God, such as superstition, disrespect of holy things, ingratitude, neglect and abuse of divine grace and of the hearing of the word of God in sermons. As showing how, even in minor matters, the truth is the same in all ages and countries, we need only point to a sermon on fortune-tellers in this collection, which is as well adapted to the present day in America as to the Germany of a century and a half ago. Such also may be said of remarks about disgraceful scenes at Shrovetide; nor did the preacher neglect to give due castigation to the sin of human respect, its meanness and injustice; and to unlawful social fashions and customs.

A considerable portion of space, but not too much, unfortunately, even for these enlightened days of ours, is given to sins against the person and character of our neighbor, the scandal of wicked tongues, fault-finding, interpreting others' actions in a bad sense, cursing and swearing, impure language, boasting of sin, and other cognate topics.

These volumes cannot fail to serve as a valuable aid to missionary priests, especially those having little time left for the preparation of sermons. Most valuable material, methodically arranged, and couched in simple and forcible language, is here ready at hand.

SONGS OF A LIFETIME. By *Eliza Allen Starr*, Author of "Patron Saints," and "Pilgrims and Shrines." Published by the Author, Saint Joseph's Cottage, No. 299 Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois. 1887.

There are some writers' names always linked in our minds with delicate, beautiful, chaste images, and whenever we find them upon cover and title page we are sure of a certain high and pure atmosphere of thought within. We take up such a volume with a feeling of relief and innocent enjoyment. There will be nothing to grate upon the best part of us, nothing to awaken an evil spirit within us by even a remote association during the hour it is our companion. We are sure of growing a little better in spite of ourselves, and of carrying away from the quiet season some bright or tender or noble memory, that shall again and again recur at an opportune moment. Such a name is that of Eliza

Allen Starr. *Patron Saints and Pilgrims and Shrines* have been long enough upon the library shelves of the Catholic public to familiarize it with her prose, and the Catholic press has presented many of her poems to that public during the last twenty years, yet the volume now offered comes to us with something of the pleasure of a surprise. So modestly has she proffered her claim as a poet that we had not realized the importance of her work. The volume is quite large and very beautiful. It is new and original in its dress, and there is a daintiness and dignity about its type, paper and finish which are the fitting exponent of its merit. The poems are not the rhyme and jingle of a shallow mind, but the expression of a thinker. They began long ago, and have grown with the years. So many things have served to make life beautiful with "the beauty of holiness" for Miss Starr, that it is impossible to give an idea of them from selections. The topics are domestic, yet not personal—every-day, yet not common-place. The purest affections, the familiar haunts of a gentle life, the refining touch of pain and sorrow, the voices of nature, the inner life of a deeply religious woman—one by one, as the chords of the heart were stirred, songs have arisen and echoed through the world God made, and always to His glory. Serene, sweet, peaceful, fervent, is the spirit of the whole, with such beautiful word-pictures, such steadfast faith, such deep piety, as forbids the marring of it by one frivolous ill mated verse. Miss Starr is an easy writer, and a casual reader will glean a portion of her meaning with every glance, but the finished beauty of expression, the exquisite delicacy of many of the thoughts will repay more careful and exacting students. About half the poems were published in 1867,—ten years ago,—but the other half are gathered for the first time from the waysides and by-paths where they have been scattered for the few who have the time and the taste to read in busy moments the "poet's corner" of daily and weekly issues. A portrait of Miss Starr really *adorns* the opening volume. Those who have the mild and benevolent countenance in their mind's eye will gladly welcome this shadow-reproduction of it, while those to whom it is unknown may here make its acquaintance. There are few who will not be able to trace in the fine yet strong lines the very nature finding its expression in musical words and exactly cultured phrases which define a clean, clear, conscientious thinker. Of these pages may be truthfully repeated the well-worn commendation of an older writer, and of many who are far from deserving its high praise. Miss Starr has surely never framed a word in her poems—far less "a line"—which, "dying, she would wish to blot."

OWNERSHIP AND NATURAL RIGHT. By *Rev R. J. Holaind, S.J.*, Professor of Ethics, Woodstock College, Maryland. Baltimore and New York: Hill & Harvey, Publishers. 1887. 12mo. Pp. 176.

TENURE OF LAND AND EMINENT DOMAIN. A Lecture delivered before the Leonine Union of Indianapolis, October 3d, 1887. Indianapolis: Carlon & Hollenbeck. 1887. 8vo. Pp. 22.

The little book of Rev. Father Holaind is small in size, but is of great value in its substance. For argument it is admirable, and for manner written in the proper spirit. His position as Professor of Ethics has laid open to him all the specious modern theories, however varied, on this subject, and his keen intellect has enabled him to weigh them duly in the balance of reason and natural right. He is master, likewise, of an agreeable, entertaining style, which makes his book no less interesting to the ordinary reader than to the learned student.

Its appearance is very opportune, as it may be justly called a "Tract for the Times." We have fallen upon the evil days foretold by St. Paul, which began with Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther. They, with their novelities, "reformed" the Church (as they boasted), and her doctrines, as revealed by Christ and made known by His apostles. Their successors pursue the same course, but go farther in their "reforming" spirit. They see no reason why the decalogue of Sinai and the natural law should not be altered and improved, as was done with Christian creeds and forms of worship. And against these new "reformers" it is as necessary for us to strive now as it was for the Ecks, Bellarmins, Gretzer's, and others, of three hundred years ago. And in our country it becomes doubly necessary to discuss and refute what modern heresy, in its latest development, has put forward in the shape of land and labor theories. For these are things which now fill the thoughts and words of men, and are perplexing and disturbing human society, menacing its peaceful existence, and doing their best to bring about in every State internal strife and perpetual anarchy. As Catholics form a considerable portion of those who are indebted to labor for a livelihood, and might be tempted and led astray (since they do not enjoy the Protestant privilege of taking up any theory that commends itself to their REASON, in other words, flatters their pride, and ministers to their greed), it is highly expedient that they be admonished and warned to hear the Church, and keep within the lines of strict duty and natural right.

Pastors of souls ought to read this little book and commend it to their flocks.

Bishop Chatard's excellent lecture is also full of instruction, which a priest may use to great advantage in explaining these matters to his people. What he says of eminent domain is worthy of general attention, for it meets completely the false claim of Communist and Socialist that the State can have ownership, properly so-called, in private property, whether of land or of capital.

EXPLANATION OF THE PSALMS AND CANTICLES IN THE DIVINE OFFICE. By S. Alphonsus Liguori, Doctor of the Church. Translated by the Rev. T. Livius, C.S.S.R., with a preface by his Eminence Cardinal Manning. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company.

Though perhaps among the least known of the many works written by St. Alphonsus de Liguori, this one is by no means the least important. Composed, as we are told in the preface, under the pressure of heavy episcopal cares, old age, and much bodily infirmity, yet it displays with marked distinctness all the well-known characteristics of the great saint and doctor's most popular writings, among which we hope to see it in its new English dress—which, by the way, is fully and faultlessly becoming to it—take the prominent and permanent place which its high merits entitle it to. It is not an exhaustive volume for learned students in Biblical science, but simply intended for the benefit of such as are the most in need of instruction in this matter; and its great utility to such persons, whether they be ecclesiastics, members of religious communities, or belonging to the great body of the laity, is enhanced by its spirit of piety as well as by its wide and solid erudition. As indicating the scope and value of the book, we append a few words from Cardinal Manning's preface:

"St. Augustine says that all the history and the prophecy of the Old Testament is to be found in the book of Psalms. It contains, also, the theology which, from Adam to Abraham, and from Abraham to the In-

carnation, was the inheritance of all who lived by faith. . . . For all who are bound to the daily recital of the Divine Office, it is of vital interest that they should be able to give not only a material, but also an intellectual attention to the Psalms. . . . It is, with all, a question of degree. The most learned will not apprehend all, and the least learned will apprehend much of the inspired words."

No reader needs further assurance that this book is a great aid to intellectual attention in reciting the Office, and a "source of light and sweetness in various measures both to the simple and to the learned."

THE STORY OF IRELAND. By the *Hon. Emily Lawless*. With some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888 ("The Story of the Nations" Series).

Not having closely examined all the volumes of the series in which this book appears, we cannot say whether it is the worst among them; we hope it is not the best, for then it would not be worth anybody's while to read them. A better illustration could not be had of the folly and futility of choosing writers at hap-hazard to get up a work to order for the purpose of filling a gap in a series. But the evil may soon bring its own remedy, as the series business is being very much overdone, and we know of nothing more loathing to good taste than a surfeit of such reading.

The author of "*Hurriah; A Study*," as Miss Lawless announces herself on the title page of her "*Story of Ireland*," has certainly not made a thorough study of Irish history, else she would not complain of finding so "many blind alleys," "sudden turnings," and "unaccountably crooked portions" in what she is pleased to call its "long dark road." She is not the "genuine explorer" that she speaks of, but rather "the less well-equipped traveller." The story is not an interesting one as she presents it; and that it can be made most interesting every reader of the late A. M. Sullivan's "*Story of Ireland*" well knows. Her presentation of it is not by any means as pleasing, as full or as accurate as is Walpole's "*History of the Kingdom of Ireland*," whose publication, by the way, removed the necessity for any other book of the same compass. So much of general comment. By way of particular stricture we need only say that Miss Lawless' references to the early Irish Church are entirely misleading and erroneous. Nor is she reliable on other points. But while "of writing books there is no end," her enemies will rejoice that she has written this one.

L'INDIANA: SUITE D'UNE FEMME APOTRE. Par *Mme. Clementine de la Corbinière*. Paris: Victor Lecoffre.

Few of the many stories of pioneer religious life in America are more interesting than that of the establishment and early history of the Sisters of Providence in Indiana. The annals of St. Mary's of the Woods would furnish enough material for a voluminous narrative. But a portion only of these records have, as yet, been given to the public; those, however, that have been printed for general circulation afford us a sufficiently clear insight into the institute to enable us to judge of the magnitude of the good work that has been accomplished. For what she has done, though prompted, it may be, chiefly by a sister's love, Madame de la Corbinière deserves the lasting and warmest gratitude of the Catholics of the United States, in giving us so much information about the good work in which two members of her own family took so prominent a part. A few years ago, she published the *Life and Letters* of Sister St.

Francis Xavier (Mlle. Irma le Fer de la Motte), which gave us, incidentally, biographical details of many other distinguished personages, who were active agents in the western missions. Recently, she supplemented this work with a volume of sketches of the ecclesiastical history of Indiana, beginning with the biography of Bishop Bruté and ending with that of his latest and still living successor, Bishop Chatard. We have also here a summary of Indiana history, sketches of Bishop Flaget, the Abbé Dujarié, Mothers du Roscoat and Lecor, Mother Theodora, the Superioress-General of the Indiana Sisters of Providence, Bishop Hailandière, Elvira le Fer de la Motte (Irma's sister), Bishop Saint-Palais, and a good account of the Little Sisters of the Poor in Indiana. Among other pieces of valuable information given in an appendix, is a list of nineteen missionaries secured for work in America, by Bishop Bruté on the occasion of his third journey to France.

INDIFFERENTISM; or, Is One Religion as Good as Another? By the *Rev. John McLaughlin*. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1887.

A most timely and admirable work is this little volume given to the world by a missionary priest of Glasgow, Scotland. As it is calculated to do immense service to the Church, and in her to the cause of religion and civilization, we hope it will find its way into the hands of every honest seeker after truth, and especially of every Catholic who may be in danger of being tainted with the most pernicious evil of religious indifferentism, so prevalent in these days and sapping the foundations of orthodoxy in so many weak minds.

In a brief space the author reviews the whole subject and refutes the theory of indifferentism both from reason and Revelation. Then he explains the chief marks of the Church, her unity and universality or Catholicity. In conclusion, he cleverly and forcibly explains how indifferentism may be turned to great profit in the search after the True Faith, how the disagreements of its advocates may enable us to find out where the only infallible Voice speaks.

ANCIENT HISTORY; From the Dispersion of the Sons of Noe to the Battle of Actium and the Change of the Roman Republic into an Empire. With Questions adapted to the Use of Schools. By *Peter Fredet, D.D.* New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1887.

Rev. Dr. Fredet's Histories were popular among Catholic students from their first appearance, and have, especially the volume dealing with modern times, retained that popularity to our own day. The shortcoming recently found in the "Ancient History" was one that could not be foreseen by the author, for of comparatively recent date are the archæological discoveries that have revolutionized our knowledge of the greater part of Eastern ancient history. It was a thoughtful and a grateful task, therefore, to revise and remodel his work on the line of these discoveries. The stories of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt are almost entirely rewritten in this new edition, as are also the earlier portions of those of Greece and Rome. We have here, besides, the added features of accurate colored maps and distinctive headings of paragraphs. A close examination of the work fully assures us that the publishers do not exaggerate in their statement that they have "spared neither pains nor expense in making such improvements as were best calculated to enhance its value."

APRIL, 1888.

THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. XIII.—APRIL, 1888.—No. 50.

THE LAW OF NATURE DIVINE AND SUPREME.

CARLYLE says somewhere in his "History of the French Revolution," "Nature rests on dread foundations, and Pan, to whose music the Nymphs dance, has in him a cry which sends men distracted." The cry of nature in behalf of starving men seems to have robbed some people of their wits.

The Atlantic cable has so fully explained the circumstances under which I appealed to the law of nature that I hardly like to weary the reader with a repetition. Nevertheless, I may so far return upon the past as to say that my words were spoken in a Conference, not a mere public meeting, and written for use in one of our most literary, I may say esoteric, reviews.

My object was to show the foundations, both natural and legal, of our English Poor Law, and to prove that its administration has drifted from its first principles and deviated from its essential obligations. The relief of the poor in England until the 5 Elizabeth, cap. iii., was by the voluntary action of private and ecclesiastical charity. Both in the tithes and in the lands of the Church the poor had a share by right. The *bona ecclesiastica* were described as "*Vota fidelium, pretia peccatorum, patrimonia pauperum*" (the oblations of the faithful, restitution for sin, the patrimony of the poor). I am not one of those who believe that the relief of the poor before the suppression of the monasteries was adequately discharged by

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the monasteries. They were, indeed, a thousand centres from which alms daily flowed. But this must have been partial and local. Their lands were one-third of the land in England, but the population of the remaining two-thirds were not relieved by them. For these the palaces of the bishops, the homes of the clergy, the castles of the rich, and the houses of the faithful at large afforded such relief as was given and received. The whole of this almsgiving was voluntary, springing from the law of Christianity, and resting ultimately on the law of nature.

When the Act of Elizabeth made this natural obligation compulsory by law it did not extinguish nor suspend the Christian or the natural law. Nor did this law recognize only the *obligation* of those who possess by the positive and human law. It also recognized the natural *right* of the poor to share in the common sustenance of the earth.

Now this high and sacred foundation of our Poor Law has been absolutely denied by many. It has been the habit to denounce it in all notes and tones. Even so moderate a man as Mr. Fawcett asks whether it might be wise and just to abolish the Poor Law, and answers only that "it would not be wise and just to abolish it precipitately." If put to the vote of the ratepayers I fear that it would certainly be abolished. But if there be a natural right in the poor to sustenance in time of extreme need, the Poor Law can never be abolished. Nevertheless, even good and generous people do not know or remember that such a natural right, with its correlative natural obligation, exists. They pay their poor rate, as they think, as a tax or out of pure benevolence and gratuitous charity. This habit of mind rests on a denial of the rights and obligations of nature, and generates an essentially erroneous and even immoral habit of mind. To combat this perversion of morals and to recall people, if possible, to a higher sense of duty, I affirmed that the foundation of our Poor Law is the natural right of the poor to work or to bread. The next morning the *Times* newspaper rebuked me for countenancing this "popular fallacy." Truths are not fallacies, and fallacies are not truths. To call it a fallacy is to call it a falsehood, and to propagate such a denial of truth both natural and Christian is fraught with consequences both harsh and dangerous.

It can hardly be necessary to justify what I have said among Catholics, I might even say among Christians; but both Catholics and Christians are often not fully aware of the broad and solid ground on which they habitually rest. I will, therefore, draw out in full what the other day I gave only in reference. I do this not out of pedantry but out of prudence, for some good men may, for want of knowledge, be misled.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church may be briefly stated in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, who sums up what had been always and everywhere taught before him; and his *Summa Theologica*, with the Holy Scripture, has been laid open in Œcumenical Councils as the highest authority in the tradition of Catholic doctrine.

I. By the law of nature all men have a common right to the use of things which were created for them and for their sustenance.

II. But this common right does not exclude the possession of anything which becomes proper to each. The common right is by natural law, the right of property is by human and positive law, and the positive law of property is expedient for three reasons:

1. What is our own is more carefully used than what is common.
2. Human affairs are better ordered by recognized private rights.
3. Human society is more peaceful when each has his own, protected by the law of justice: *suum cuique*.

III. Theft, therefore, is always a sin, for two reasons:

1. It is contrary to justice.
2. It is committed either by stealth or by violence.

IV. But the human and positive law cannot derogate from the natural and Divine law. According to the Divine law all things are ordained to sustain the life of man, and therefore the division and appropriation of things cannot hinder the sustenance of man in case of necessity. Therefore the possessions of those who have food superabundantly are due by the natural law for the sustenance of the poor. St. Ambrose, quoted in the "Decretals," says: "It is the bread of the famishing that you keep back and the clothing of the naked that you lay by; the money you bury in the earth is the release and liberation of those who are in misery."¹

• For the sake of those who may not have ready access to the works of St. Alphonsus, the following passages may be given.

The text of Busenbaum is as follows: "*Qui pro se vel alio in extrema necessitate constituto alienum accipit quantum necessarium est, nec furatur nec tenetur restituere postea sic assumptum, si quidem re et spe indigens fuit.*"

It is to be remembered that St. Alphonsus consulted for his theology some eight hundred authors, and his decisions, therefore, rest upon the widest foundation, and may be safely followed.

St. Alphonsus says that this doctrine is *certain*, and is founded upon the doctrine of St. Thomas, that in such a case "all things are common"; for the law of nations, by which the division of goods was introduced, cannot derogate from the natural law. "Though in extreme necessity a poor man has a right (*jus habet*) to

¹ St. Thomæ Aquin. *Summa Theolog.*, 2da 2dae, Quaest. lxxvi., Art. 1, 2, 5, 7.

the goods of others, he has not a right to the extraordinary goods of others, but only to those which ordinarily suffice for the sustenance of life." He says that "as the poor man has a right (*jus habet*) to take what he needs, no one ought to hinder his taking it." "Forasmuch as in extreme necessity all things are common, a rich man is bound in justice to give help to the poor, because the poor man may justly take it, even without the will of the owner" (*cum ille juste possit eam surripere etiam invito domino, et suam facere*). Throughout the whole treatise St. Alphonsus repeats over and over again the word *jus* or right possessed by the poor man.¹

This doctrine lies at the foundation of the positive law of property in all Christendom. It exists as an unwritten law in all Catholic countries; in France it is the *droit au travail*, in England it is clothed in a legal statute in our Poor Law, under which every one has "a right either to work or to bread without work." In the old Scotch law it was recognized under the title of Burdensem: A starving man had a right to carry away as much meal as he could on his back. All these authorities I give, not by way of example or exhortation to larceny, but in proof of the natural right from which they flow.

My friends in America have kindly sent me the newspapers which have commented upon my words, and I learn from them that the opinions of judges, barristers and divines have been asked and obtained on what I have said. I have read their opinions with great care. Those of Judge Altfeld, Judge Prendergast, Judge Baker, and Mr. Brady are calm, solid and judicial opinions, all the more remarkable because, not having the context of my words before them, they were compelled, like comparative anatomists, to construct the whole skeleton by proportion and measurement. In this they have shown a true judicial acumen, for which I thank them. Judge Waterman wisely says that to clothe the lawfulness of taking a neighbor's bread, in extreme necessity, in the form of a legal enactment would be unwise and mischievous. In this I fully agree. Such questions belong to conscience and moral theology. The right to bread or to work may be clothed in positive law, but to erect the lawfulness of breaking a law into an enactment would lead at least to confusion. I wish I could equally commend the answers of the divines. The discernment of jurists at once perceived the law of nature which underlies all positive law. It may seem strange that the divines did not even more rapidly discern it. Any Catholic priest would have at once seen that the question was one not of courts of law, but of moral

¹ Theologia Moralis, lib. iii., tract v., cap. i., tom. i., pp. 333, 334, 335. Ed. Bassano, 1847.

theology. But here moral theology hardly exists except in the Catholic Church. I do not pretend to know how this may be among the Protestant communions of America. I speak only of England. In the Established Church the chief and almost the only works of moral theology are Bishop Andrewes on the "Ten Commandments," Jeremy Taylor's "Ductor Dubitantium," and Bishop Sanderson's "Cases of Conscience." All three are nearly forgotten. Jeremy Taylor's works are voluminous, elaborate and eloquent. He believed, however, that his chief and most enduring work would be his "Ductor Dubitantium." It is simply forgotten. It is a large folio of casuistry, the nearest approach in Protestant literature to the moral theology of the Catholic Church. No one now but a student here and there reads it. Few even know of its existence. It forms no part of the education of non-Catholic divines. The truth is that three hundred years ago the chairs of Canon Law and Moral Theology were abolished.

It must always be borne in mind that my purpose was to justify and elevate the Poor Law of England by showing that it was founded upon the natural right of man to life and to the sustenance of life. In proving this I was compelled to show that this natural law is supreme over all positive law. The two questions, though distinct, are indivisible, as we have seen in the texts already cited from St. Thomas and St. Alphonsus. The opponents of the Poor Law, to evade the main question, promptly seized on the latter to escape the former. My words were as follows: "The obligation to feed the hungry springs from the natural right of every man to life, and to the food necessary for the sustenance of life. So strict is this natural right that it prevails over all positive laws of property. Necessity has no law; and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread. I am afraid that those who speak so confidently about rights, obligations and laws have not studied, or have forgotten the first principles of all human positive law. If the law of property did not rest upon a natural right it could not long exist. They who deny it justify the dictum, *La propriété, c'est le vol*. . . . Before the natural right to live all human laws must give way."¹ I gave the example of the natural law of self-defence, before which the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," gives way.

The calm and business-like way in which you in America have treated this matter contrasts with the hasty utterances of some of my countrymen, and brings out the historical difference of your fresh and vigorous commonwealth as compared with our old, traditional, unreflecting society in England. We are like the Great Babylon of old with its massive walls and gates and hanging

¹ Fortnightly Review, January, 1888, p. 154.

gardens, on which time has no power. In our city of three days' journey the minds of men are slow to move. The past is forgotten in the present, the present is the rule of opinion; old truths revived are looked on as novelties and modern errors; whatsoever is the popular opinion of the day is supposed to be the tradition of all time. Most men believe that all things are as they were from the beginning, and that what is new to them cannot be true. Mr. Lowell has sketched to the life our confidence in the supremacy of our wisdom:

"England really thinks
The world is all in darkness if she only winks."

I have committed *lèse majesté* by rudely reminding some who rule over public opinion in London of the fresh mother earth and of the primeval laws which protect her offspring. I was unconscious of my audacity. I thought that I was uttering truisms which all educated men knew and believed. But I found that these primary truths of human life were forgotten, and that on this forgetfulness a theory and a treatment of our poor had formed a system of thought and action which hardens the hearts of the rich and "grinds the faces of the poor." I am glad, therefore, that I said and wrote what is before the public, even though for a time some men have called me Socialist and Revolutionist, and have fastened upon a subordinate consequence, and neglected the substance of my contention in behalf of the natural rights of the poor.

PROF. HUXLEY'S DEMURRER.

WHEN, some months ago, in the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. Lilly accused Prof. Huxley of materialism, and supported the accusation by alleging that the great scientist not only upheld causationism in the material sense, but held mind to be a function of the brain, and looked forward to the time when we should arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, Prof. Huxley in reply, it may be remembered, admitted the allegation, but denied the accusation. That is to say, he put in what Mr. Lilly (a lawyer as well as a philosopher) might call a *demurrer*, which he argued in a characteristic play of logic, wit, and eloquence, wherein he fairly outdid himself—the only rival indeed that he has reason to fear. The brilliancy of his argument none will deny. We purpose in this article, however, to try its validity, of which, for our own part, we do not think so highly. Whether or not he turn out to be “guilty as charged” (a matter by no means of the highest concern), the examination may lead, directly or indirectly, to clearer views on the subject of the *charge*, which, we must say, begging everybody’s pardon, seems darkened by the multitude of its illustrators. We offer no apology for elbowing our way into this goodly crowd, since the darkest hour, according to the proverb, is just before day; in which case, though we may not disperse the darkness, we can hardly make it denser without becoming a “herald of the dawn”; so that, whatever fate awaits our presumption, truth is not likely to prove the loser.

With a view to simplicity, we accept without qualification, for the purposes of this inquiry, Prof. Huxley’s definition of materialism. “I understand the main tenet of materialism to be,” he says, “that there is nothing in the universe but matter and force, and that all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction from the properties assignable to those two primitive factors.” Materialism thus understood Prof. Huxley rejects, with satirical emphasis, while reasserting the opinions pointed out in Mr. Lilly’s allegation. To sustain his demurrer, he of course must show that these opinions are not derivable from materialism, or resolvable into it. Accordingly, this he undertakes. Let us look at his showing; and first, of causationism.

Twenty years ago Prof. Huxley said: “A really spontaneous act is one which, by the assumption, has no cause; and the attempt to prove such a negative as this, is, on the face of the matter, absurd.

And while it is thus a philosophical impossibility to demonstrate that any given phenomenon is not the effect of a material cause, any one who is acquainted with the history of science will admit that its progress has, in all ages, meant, and now, more than ever, means, the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation, and the concomitant gradual banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity." He added: "And as surely as every future grows out of the past and present, so will the physiology of the future gradually extend the realm of matter and law, until it is co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action." The opinion he then expressed in such words he now repeats in these: "I hold that opinion now, if anything, more firmly than I did when I gave utterance to it a score of years ago, for it has been justified by subsequent events. But what that opinion has to do with materialism I fail to discover." Possibly we deceive ourselves, but it seems to us that we are fortunate enough to discern what eludes Prof. Huxley's sharper sight.

If "the realm of matter and law" is "co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action," it must include "all the phenomena of nature," which, therefore, are the effects of material causes, whereof the elements are "matter and force"; but, as "all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction" from their causes, and as their causes are compounded of "matter and force," it follows that "all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction from the properties assignable to those two primitive factors"; which is Prof. Huxley's definition of materialism. Unless there is a flaw in this reasoning, and we have searched for one in vain, Prof. Huxley stands logically committed, by his own words, to materialism, in his own acceptance. His opinion respecting causationism has so much "to do" with materialism that it makes him a materialist in spite of himself.

Nevertheless, he stoutly refuses to "accept the situation," insisting, amongst other things less cogent, that "Augustine, Aquinas, and Calvin" were materialists, if he is a materialist, inasmuch as they all cherished, not less heartily than he cherishes, the "disbelief in spontaneity." True, but they did not hold, as he does, that "the realm of matter and law" is "co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action," or register, as he has registered, a decree banishing from that realm "spirit" as well as "spontaneity." He styles his argument here a *reductio ad absurdum*, but the absurdity, we conceive, appears in the premises rather than in the conclusion, the argument being not so much a reduction to an absurdity as a deduction from one—a *deductio ab absurdo*. The province which those famous theologians assigned to spirit, matter, and law, Prof. Huxley quietly assigns to "matter and law," un-

seating the triumvirate they acknowledged, and seating, in place of it, a duumvirate they notoriously disowned, yet to which he airily assumes they yielded true allegiance. This is the real absurdity. Calvin believed, doubtless, in the universality of causation, but he did not believe, as Prof. Huxley avows that he himself does, in the universality of material causation; he was a determinist, indeed, but not a materialist. Prof. Huxley is both, or there is no meaning in words—no virtue in logic.

With respect to causationism, therefore, his opinion resolves itself into materialism; and his demurrer breaks down. Let us now turn to the remaining point.

In the article under notice Prof. Huxley renews his assertion that "consciousness is a function of the brain," supplementing it with the admission that "material changes are the causes of psychological phenomena," and reaffirms, in different words, the pith of this sentence in his celebrated address on Descartes' "Discourse": "I believe that we shall, sooner or later, arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat." Yet what all this "has to do with materialism" he also fails "to discover." The connection is very real, nevertheless, and, if we mistake not, is capable of being clearly shown.

Causation, we may premise, is not creation, but transformation—the change of a given quantity of force into another form without altering the quantity. Essentially a cause and its effect are not two different forces, but one force in two different forms; they constitute an equation, of which relation the homogeneity of the two members, it were needless to say, is the fundamental property. Hence, a cause and its effect are necessarily of the same nature; they are, in the last analysis, consubstantial. This is a corollary from the law of the conservation of energy. It is a necessary truth. We now come to the point.

A function Prof. Huxley defines as "that effect or series of effects which results from the activity of an organ"; it is thus the effect of a material cause, and as such is itself material. In this nutshell lies the whole case. If "consciousness is a function of the brain," consciousness is material; for an organ and its function are of necessity co-essential. If "material changes are the causes of psychological phenomena," those phenomena are material; for causes and their effects are con-natural. If we can "arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat," consciousness is of the same nature as the equivalent from which it emerges, and just as material as heat is, no matter how much more subtle, how much more highly involved, how much more intricate and exquisite the texture of its

interrelations; for equivalence presupposes homogeneity. And, if all this be so, there is for us "nothing in the universe but matter and force," and "all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction from the properties assignable to those two primitive factors"; for, if mind is material, everything is material. We see only one way by which Prof. Huxley can escape this conclusion; and that is, to retract the opinions which necessitate it.

But he believes in them too much for that, if not quite enough for submission to their logical consequences. In point of fact he frankly repeats them, and still refuses to "accept the situation." He is gloriously obstinate. It is here that Prof. Huxley has most need for all his surpassing resources as a polemic, and here at any rate, we think, that he rises most clearly above himself, cleaving the upper air of philosophy with such freedom, strength, and beauty, with a playfulness so nearly riotous and wholly irresistible, and with such a chastened yet rejoicing and infectious sense of his own incomparable powers, that we confess we read the article with passionate admiration many times, before we read it once with conscious discrimination. There are passages that for ease and vigor and vivid grace—for prodigal splendor combined with rigorous precision, magnificence with distinctness—are hardly equalled in literature: passages that suggest the image of tropical luxuriance in the sober lights and cool shadows of temperate skies. But our admiration is getting the better of us once more.

We return to the point. It is our business to show that this captivating flight, even when not wheeling above the question or wide of it, is as idle as it is admirable. *Allons!* "Nobody hesitates to say," Prof. Huxley urges, "that an event A is the cause of an event Z, even if there are as many intermediate terms, known and unknown, in the chain of causation as there are letters between A and Z. The man who pulls the trigger of a loaded pistol placed close to another's head certainly is the cause of that other's death, though, in strictness, he causes nothing but the movement of the finger upon the trigger. And, in like manner, the molecular change which is brought about in a certain portion of the cerebral substance by the stimulation of a remote part of the body would be properly said to be the cause of the consequent feeling, whatever unknown terms were interposed between the physical agent and the actual psychical product. Therefore, unless materialism has the monopoly of the right use of language, I see nothing materialistic in the phraseology which I have employed." Ah! but in each of these illustrative cases, be it noted, in the homicidal as in the alphabetical, not merely is the chain of causation formed entirely of material links, but the swivel of the effect, if we may so express it, is material likewise: the concatenation is material through-

out. Does Prof. Huxley admit that in the case illustrated the chain of causation, including the swivel, is formed in like manner? If no, his instances are irrelevant, ordinary cases of causation, mediate or immediate, having nothing to do with the extraordinary case in which a material event is supposed to cause an immaterial one. If yes, he surrenders his point, and acknowledges, in the teeth of his own sarcasm, that his "phraseology" is purely and simply "materialistic." His illustrations either do not illustrate, or illustrate his materialism. We are far from thinking that "materialism has the monopoly of the right use of language," but unfortunately Prof. Huxley's practice, in this instance, adds no confirmation to our opinion.

We now approach the citadel of his defence, having first to encounter, however, what he probably regards as its bulwark. "It seems to me pretty plain," he tells us, "that there is a third thing in the universe, to wit, consciousness, which, in the hardness of my heart or head, I cannot see to be matter or force, or any conceivable modification of either, however intimately the manifestations of the phenomena of consciousness may be connected with the phenomena known as matter and force." Herein Prof. Huxley, we cannot help thinking, does injustice to his comprehension. He can "see" that "consciousness is a function of the brain"; he can "see" that "material changes are the causes of psychical phenomena"; he can "see" that we may "arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat"; and, if he can "see" any one of these things, he infallibly can "see," nay, does "see," that consciousness is some "conceivable modification" of "matter and force": for so much is implied in the perception of each.

Taking, for example, the relation of cause and effect, which in fact comprehends the others, it is absolutely impossible to "see" that consciousness is the effect of material changes, and not to "see" that it is material; for the change of a material event into an immaterial one involves the destruction of matter, which, in addition to being unthinkable, would tear the fabric of modern science clean from its foundations, setting the stately wreck adrift upon the waves of chaos. Nor this only. Seeing that the consciousness of a material thing dematerializes it, and seeing further that every material thing is capable of passing into consciousness, and does pass into it sooner or later, the immateriality of consciousness involves the annihilation of the material world, the microcosm devouring the macrocosm, at odd moments, till it leaves "not a rack behind." Prof. Huxley's argument wipes out matter. But this is not the worst of it. If all causation is material, as he holds, and mind is not material, as he also holds, what becomes of mind

as a causative agency? Nay, what becomes of mind as an effect? What becomes of mind in any mode? It cannot be a cause, for every cause is material; nor can it be an effect, for nothing material can lapse into immateriality. It vanishes altogether. Conceding the truth of Prof. Huxley's opinions, mind is literally nothing if not material; and he cannot "see" that it is material, he protests. His argument thus wipes out mind as well as matter: it abolishes the universe. The nimble microcosm, having swallowed the macrocosm, swallows itself, without leaving the faintest trace to tell of either. Most people would say that an assertion of which this is the outcome must be untrue.

It is due to Prof. Huxley to say that we have his authority for pronouncing the assertion untrue. It would be impossible, we are sure, to cite a higher authority, and almost impertinent, we feel, to cite any other. Certainly no authority could be more to the point. A prefatory word may be pardoned us. Self-evidently, the abyss between the material and the immaterial, if passable from either side, is passable from the other—admitting that material changes are capable of causing psychical phenomena, psychical changes are capable of causing material phenomena; mind must act upon matter, provided matter acts upon mind; for action and reaction are equal and opposite. The reader will please bear this in mind. "Have we any reason to believe that a feeling, or state of consciousness," asks Prof. Huxley, in the course of one of his late discussions with the Duke of Argyle, "is capable of directly affecting the motion of even the smallest conceivable molecule of matter? Is such a thing even conceivable? If we answer these questions in the negative, it follows that volition may be a sign, but cannot be a cause, of bodily motion. If we answer them in the affirmative, then states of consciousness become undistinguishable from material things; for it is the essential nature of matter to be the vehicle or substratum of mechanical energy." And these questions he himself answers in the affirmative, emphatically and unequivocally, when he asserts that "consciousness is a function of the brain," that "material changes are the causes of psychical phenomena," and the rest. Consequently, states of consciousness, Prof. Huxley being judge, are "undistinguishable from material things"; which is as good as declaring his inability to "see" that consciousness is not material. Instead of being unable to "see" that it is material, therefore, he is unable, on his own admission, to "see" that it is anything else.

Furthermore, Prof. Huxley has avowed, in no uncertain terms, that, beyond "the abyss of geologically recorded time," he can "see" the evolution of living protoplasm from "not-living matter"; and, if life from lifeless matter, why not consciousness from life? Surely this latter evolution, no less than the former, must

fall within the range of a vision so telescopic, especially since "the ultimate generalizations" of both, in the evolutionary philosophy, are confessedly "expressions of the same fundamental process"; this significant fact in particular we commend to his attention. In philosophy as in other things, it is the first step that costs. He has taken *that* (a mighty stride), and generously footed the ample bill. Let him not spurn the banquet he has ordered and paid for. If he has no stomach for the feast himself, he should not spoil the appetite of the guests he has bidden to it, much less attempt in his qualms to upset the table and throw the dishes out of the window. One must needs account such conduct very improper.

Again, since every effect and its cause are phenomenally unlike and substantially inconceivable, what, we pray, enables him to "see" that any effect is of the same nature as its cause, but that invariable and unconditional sequence which attests the causal relation, backed by that law of the conservation of energy which defines the relation? Naught else; and these are both at his command in the case of consciousness, as in every other case of causation. In a word, the identity of mind and matter, as we have repeatedly implied, comes out in their relation of cause and effect, assuming it to exist; and whoever can "see" them in that relation must perforce "see" them to be the same. It is true, there are men who cannot "see" that which treads on the heels of what they do "see," but they are those who have never been able to "keep up with the procession" that Prof. Huxley leads. We refuse to believe that he, walking at the head of the march of mind in this broad day of the nineteenth century, is that kind of a man.

"Wrong not yourself, then, noble Helican."

If, however, Prof. Huxley means simply that he cannot "see" *how* consciousness results from material changes, he says what undoubtedly is true, and what will remain true at all possible stages of human development; but not more true of consciousness than of every other effect. In the chain of physical causation that gives rise to consciousness, he can "see" how consciousness results from the last link, just as well as he can "see" how the last link results from the link next to the last, or any one link from any other; the causal relation is perceivable in every case, the causal tie in none. The causal tie, with the substance of the links, is inconceivable, lying beyond the reach of the human intellect. If our inability to "see" it proves that consciousness is immaterial, it proves equally that every other effect in nature is immaterial—that "matter and force," in short, quite through the wide compass of their manifestations, are immaterial; which, it strikes us, is proving too much

—particularly for an argument that draws its potency from impotency.

We think we may be permitted to pass on to the citadel.

And here, as may be plainly seen, Prof. Huxley deems himself unassailable. With Macbeth at Dunsinane, he feels, and virtually exclaims:

“ Our castle’s strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn.”

And assuredly his position is formidable in appearance at least. “The arguments used by Descartes and Berkeley to show that our certain knowledge does not extend beyond our states of consciousness,” he declares, “appear to me to be as irrefragable now as they did when I first became acquainted with them some half-century ago. All the materialistic writers I know of who have tried to bite that file have simply broken their teeth. But, if this is true, our one certainty is the existence of the mental world, and that of *Kraft und Stoff* falls into the rank of, at best, a highly probable hypothesis.” Dr. Büchner, a German materialist, at whom the phrase *Kraft und Stoff* is here fired, let us say in passing, appears to be, for some reason, one of Prof. Huxley’s pet aversions, coming into his head, at the mention of materialism, as a sort of “horrible example.” For aught we know, the aversion may be perfectly rational, or perfectly the reverse. We cheerfully give Prof. Huxley the benefit of the doubt. This by parenthesis; now to the assault.

But, first, we must express our regret that, in place of storming a citadel, with the prospect of which we inadvertently flattered ourselves a moment ago, we are reduced to the undignified and somewhat viperous business of *biting a file*, whereupon our “little” proof, in the most favorable event, will be “rounded” with a gibe. There’s strategy for you! What our illustrious scientist does not know about the art of disputation is not worth knowing. He may be trusted for putting his adversary “in a hole,” if he has to dig it on purpose. But to seize our steely foe.

Prof. Huxley, then, agrees with Descartes and Berkeley in saying that “our certain knowledge does not extend beyond our states of consciousness.” What states of consciousness? Primary or derivative? If primary, our “certain knowledge” does not extend beyond the primordial sensations, stopping short both of mind and of matter, the conceptions of which are eventually built up out of those sensations, incapable, meanwhile, of yielding the knowledge of themselves as states of consciousness, for lack of these conceptions; whence it follows that we can have no “certain knowledge” of anything, not even of our primordial sensations, which we know as sensations by means only of that self-consciousness ultimately

evolved from them. If derivative, our knowledge of matter is demonstrably more certain than our knowledge of mind; for the latter not only is reached by a process more complex and less distinct, as well as longer, than that which develops the former, but is reached through the former, upon which it depends. Our states of consciousness, to recapitulate, are either primary or derivative. If our "certain knowledge" is confined to the first, we have no "certain knowledge"; if to the second, our highest certainty is the existence of the material world. Prof. Huxley's argument, it will be seen, lands him in a dilemma. His jubilant assumption falls of its own weight. We need not stay to elucidate this point, for two reasons. In the first place, it is the familiar doctrine of modern psychology—a psychology which Prof. Huxley, as an evolutionist, may be presumed to accept. In the second place, it has nothing to do with the question, anyhow.

The relative certainty of our knowledge of the mental and of the material world has no bearing on the question as to whether the former is derived from the latter or the latter from the former, or, to calculate the statement for Prof. Huxley's meridian, whether or not there is anything in the universe but "matter and force"; because this certainty, incline whither it may, while consistent with both sides of the question, and serving to prove neither side, cannot be pleaded in favor of either without in effect taking the question for granted. "Our one certainty is the existence of the mental world," Prof. Huxley contends. The question in dispute, though, relates not to the "existence" of the mental world, but to its nature, upon which "our one certainty" throws no light, sufficing at best to show only that mind, whatever its nature, knows some of its modifications with greater certainty than it knows others. As to what its nature is, whether material or immaterial, this unique "certainty" proves nothing. Yet this is the question at issue. Regarding this question, strange as it must seem, the fact to which immaterialism "points with pride," and which materialism may be supposed to "view with alarm," is utterly insignificant, presuming it to be true, fitting in with both solutions, and contributing to neither. To adduce it in proof of either is a veiled *petitio principii*—begging the question, and that, too, in a mask.

Besides, pleading any state of consciousness, as a state of consciousness, in proof of the nature of mind, real or symbolical, implies that mind is capable of knowing not simply its states, but itself—capable of being, in the same act of thought, both subject and object; which is absurd. It is as if one should try to see his own eyes, or to lift himself by his waistband. The direct attitude of mind towards the nature of its states is the same as towards the reality they represent, the substance of the symbols transcending

subjective experience, as the substance they symbolize transcends all experience. Consciousness testifies directly to neither. Mind is no more conscious of itself as material or immaterial than of its ultimate substance ; it knows immediately as little of its symbolical as of its substantial nature. Both lie outside the sphere of consciousness. For this reason, by the way, Mr. Herbert Spencer's elaborate endeavor to test the identity of a unit of feeling with a unit of motion, by comparing the two in consciousness, is not less illegitimate than futile, since neither term of the comparison is present or presentable in consciousness, except phenomenally ; and it is one of the truisms of philosophy that the widest unlikeness in phenomena consists with the fullest identity in their proximate as well as their ultimate nature. Phenomenally heat is extremely unlike motion, yet heat and motion are identical, as respects not only their underlying substance, but their constituent substance, being alike material in their nature, and alike symbolical of the same unknowable reality. Wherefore phenomenal unlikeness, whether attested by consciousness mediately or immediately, and though as wide as that between motion and the feeling of motion, is not competent to disprove identity of nature, symbolical or substantial. On the supposition of the special analysis in question, indeed, a unit of motion and a unit of feeling stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect ; so that a unit of motion, as it presents itself in consciousness, becomes a unit of feeling, different in form from the antecedent unit, but in substance identical with it. Mr. Spencer himself describes a unit of feeling, in this supposed case, as the correlative of a unit of motion. Very well ; a thing which is the correlative of another must be of the same kind with the other ; correlation asserts community of nature—reciprocal convertibility. A unit of feeling and a unit of motion, by the supposition, differ in form only, as we have said ; in substance they are the same. So reason determines. What Mr. Spencer terms "the immediate verdict of consciousness" is a false verdict, transgressing the facts of consciousness, and usurping the office of reason. No state of consciousness, as such, can legitimately render any verdict concerning the nature of mind, as regards symbol or substance ; the nature of things forbids it. So far as this question is concerned, the evidential value of "our one certainty," be the certainty what it may, is exactly zero.

And the same mathematical symbol expresses with the same exactness the defensive value of Prof. Huxley's stronghold. The castle of whose strength he boasts is "a castle in the air," too unsubstantial to yield even the obsidional crown, which, on the unimpeachable authority of the gallant Baron of Bradwardine, we "wot well was made of the grain that takes root within the place

besieged." The citadel turns out to have been a mirage. And the *file*, alas! the redoubtable, tooth-breaking, adamantine file, is a phantom.

Nor is this the be-all and the end-all. There remains a file, that is not a phantom, for Prof. Huxley to bite, even-handed justice commending the ingredients of his hardened engine to his own teeth. Although what he calls "our one certainty" does not bear at all on the case of materialism *versus* immaterialism, there is something that does bear squarely on this issue, and which he, if nobody else, is bound to recognize. What it is our readers have not now to learn. The truth is, he begins his inquiry into the nature of mind at the wrong end of the series, if we may credit his opinions. He should prosecute the inquiry objectively, in lieu of subjectively. Investigating the nature of mind from within is, on his assumption, investigating effects out of relation to their causes,—examining only the figured side of the tapestry—ignoring the back of the shield. To consciousness indeed he must look for the effects of which the function mind consists; but for the nature of these effects, as concerns materialism or immaterialism, he should look to that of which they compose the function, and with the nature of which, accordingly, their own is identical; he should look to the organ of mind. An effect is known by its cause. The nature of a function is determined by the nature of its organ. If Prof. Huxley would know whether mind is material or not, and believes in his opinions, regardless of their consequences, let him look to the brain, of which, he says, mind is the function. Unless he mistakes error for truth, there and not elsewhere he will find what he seeks; and when he finds it, and rubs his eyes, he will not "fail to discover" that he is as "deep in the mud" of materialism as Büchner is "in the mire." The strangest thing of all is that he should now stand up to the chin in this primitive mixture without suspecting it.

Yet that such is his predicament admits of no doubt; for if, in fine, as he asserts, mind is a function of the brain, consciousness the equivalent of mechanical energy, material changes the causes of psychical phenomena, the realm of material causation co-extensive with the phenomena of nature, and all that, it is a logical necessity, absolute and flagrant, that mind originates from "matter and force," and "all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction from the properties assignable to those two primitive factors." So much is certain. Either his opinions are false or materialism is true: they are its legitimate offspring. To this conclusion the renowned scientist is forced. All roads, in the Huxleian field of thought, lead to materialism. The conclusion may be cavilled at, quarrelled with, recoiled from; but it cannot

be escaped. Here the candid reader, we are persuaded, will agree with us, whether he interpret the conclusion as establishing the truth of materialism, or, what is more likely, as reducing to an absurdity the opinions from which it flows. As for this, we leave him to his individual bias, content for the moment that he accept, as we believe he must, the conclusion itself. Our argument is strictly *ad hominem*.

We have now touched upon all that appears to us relevant and substantial in Prof. Huxley's magnificent plea. Concerning the inconceivability of "matter and force," in themselves, he indeed has some remarks, all just, and all expressed with his accustomed felicity, but not one of them to the present point. So far as we are aware, no materialist professes to be able, or holds it important, to follow phenomena, of whatever kind, behind the curtain of the infinite. The impossibility of doing it tells only against the discretion of him who makes the attempt. No one nowadays, barring perhaps some philosophic eaglet "mewing" his "mighty youth," is mad enough to try it. Prof. Huxley's account of his own boyish mishaps in the prosecution of this Quixotic enterprise is amusing, but the lesson it teaches, if he will pardon the remark, is needed by nobody, and at all events has no relevancy in this discussion. Materialism, to do it justice, deals solely with phenomena, asserting merely that the phenomena we call mental are evolved from the phenomena we call material, and, hence, are at bottom identical with them, whatever may be the common substance of the two orders of phenomena, as to which materialism asserts nothing, save only the self-same inconceivability adduced to confute it; and the infuriate adversary, who, with the drawn sword of analysis, runs that hapless *ism* out into the silent wilderness of *noumena*, should reproach himself, and not the innocent victim of his speculative rage. It would seem really as if at this point the wits of our polemical philosopher had gone a wool-gathering. To bring forward the inconceivability of noumena, as an objection to a doctrine which he himself had just defined in terms of phenomena, is a logical confusion of which we have not known him to be guilty before. Seldom, in truth, is such a master of controversy betrayed into so glaring an *ignoratio elenchi*. But Homer sometimes nods; though it should be said, in fairness to the wide-awake old bard, that he rarely takes his catnaps while he has on hand business of importance, and never when the fate of Troy is trembling in the balance. By the bye, Prof. Huxley is in the habit of saying that, if he were compelled to choose between idealism and materialism, he would take idealism, and of saying at the same time, with a touch of Pharisaical complacency, that he is not as those other men who would make mind the measure of the universe, forgetting or

overlooking the obvious inconsistency of the two assertions with each other, since idealism assumes that things exist only in the mind, independently of which, as it claims, they have no existence, thereby making mind not merely the measure of the universe, but the universe itself. Were he to execute his fond hypothetical resolve, he would jump out of the frying-pan into the fire; and there is no telling what he might or might not do if he should ever "discover" that he is in the frying-pan.

However, we do not hold a brief for "the beast materialism." Our client in this case is the jewel consistency; in whose favor we now ask the opinion of the court, Prof. Huxley, it is plain, having failed to sustain his demurrer. The opinions which he fathers, if the court please, are all resolvable into materialism; and, now and here, have been so resolved. His demurrer, we submit, must be overruled.

AMERICA DISCOVERED AND CHRISTIANIZED IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

THE intelligent reader of current public events in this country cannot have failed to notice frequent occurrences of late, which point to the discovery and colonization of the western continents, and parts of our own country, and the introduction of Christianity therein, five hundred years before the achievement of the great deeds by which Columbus brought the two continents almost face to face. On one day we read in the public prints of the unveiling in a great northwestern American city of a statue of Leif Ericson, the Northman, discoverer of America in the tenth century. We next read of the inauguration of a similar monument in honor of the same hero at Boston. And to-day we read a petition presented to the American Congress at its present session, asking that in the approaching celebration of the centenary of the Constitution, in 1889, a public and national recognition be made of the events commemorated by the Viking's statues at Milwaukee and Boston. This petition is signed by eminent scientists, antiquarians and historians in every part of our country, and to it we see appended the signatures of the leading officers and members of the Historical Societies of Vermont, New Hampshire, Virginia and other States; of General James Grant Wilson and other members of the Genealogical and Bio-

graphical Society of New York; of such artists as Daniel Huntington, Church, Moran, Brown, and others; of professors in our leading universities, and of many other most eminent and learned Americans. It is thus clear that the claim of Norse discoveries on this continent has entered into the living and current national traditions and life of our people. The learned few, the instructors of our people, seem satisfied and convinced. It is time now for this learning to be popularized and given to the people. The masses of our people must hear and judge. The present writer long ago investigated this claim of the Northmen and became convinced. It is proper first to state what achievements are claimed for the Northmen as the discoverers of our country, and this claim we will now state. The historical evidences in proof of the claim will be presented afterwards.

In the case of Columbus, who made a masterly and exhaustive study of the history of navigation before and up to his time, of the voyages of discovery before then achieved, of the traditions of the classic times in relation to the existence of continents beyond the then inhabited globe, as well as of more modern voyages, and had also explored the field scientifically as well as historically, there was an exact theory, a mass of direct and resultant information, and a firm conviction that, if afforded the means, he would discover the then unknown countries. We will refer again to this subject in another part of this article. But in the case of the Northmen no such methods were followed. The discovery made by them was in its very earliest stages the immediate result of accident; in the second stages the result of their love for the sea and habits of adventure and sea-roving; and in the third stages the result of their natural inclination to follow up the results thus attained. They were the most adventurous people of the world at that time, the most skilful and determined navigators, the most likely people of all nations to make the discovery of the lands lying so accessible beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Edward Everett justly remarked of them: "It is plain that no achievement of naval adventure, related of such a people, can be considered beyond the line of probability."

The Northmen, wandering fragments of Asiatic tribes, after traversing Europe, found a home and founded a nation in Norway, only when the sea arrested their progress. Here they achieved a permanent conquest and founded the mother country, from whose sea-indented shores proceeded so many expeditions pregnant with the fate of nations. The Orkneys, the Ferroës, Shetland and other distant lands and islands became familiar to these rovers of the seas. In 860, Naddod, a Norwegian pirate, on his voyage to the Ferroës, was carried far out of his course by a tempest, and this

accident led to his discovery of Iceland, the *Ultima Thule* of the ancients. This ice-clad island became a colony of the mother country. About the year 900 Rollo made the conquest of Normandy. In 1060 we find a Norman prince established in Apulia. In 1066 William the Conqueror becomes the master and King of England, and founds the present dynasty of Great Britain. It will thus be seen that the Northmen were at the height of their power and activity when they discovered and colonized portions of the Western Continent in the tenth century.

The despotism of the Kings of Norway drove from the country many of the bravest, boldest and most independent of the leaders and their families. Harold Haarfagr (the Fair-haired) determined to make himself sole monarch of Norway. The ambition of one of Norway's fairest and proudest daughters stimulated his own. Enamored of Ragna Adilsdatler (the daughter of Adil), he proposed to make her his queen; but she answered that the man she married would have to be King of all Norway. He gallantly and proudly accepted this challenge of love and ambition. After twelve years' hard fighting, during which time he would neither cut nor comb the fair hair for which he was so celebrated, he succeeded in conquering all Norway and thereby in winning his queen. At the battle of Hafersfjord, in 872, he consolidated the thirty-one small republics of that Spartan country into the united Kingdom of Norway. The proud families of the former republics would not submit to the harsh and tyrannical measures of this rude and iron-clad conqueror. Many of the leading men and families of the country were either expelled or voluntarily expatriated themselves. Some went to the Hebrides, some to the Orkneys, and others to the Shetland and Ferroë Islands. Iceland, which had been discovered by the famous Norse Viking Naddod, in 860, became a favorite asylum of most of these bold and unconquered refugees, on account of its remoteness and consequent security. Thus Iceland became a colony of Norway, and ultimately a dependence of the mother country. Among the voluntary exiles from Norway who settled in Iceland was Gunnbjorn, Ulf Krage's Son, a bold rover of the sea, who, in 876, was driven out to sea in a tempest, and discovered the white cliffs far to the west of Iceland, and bordering the eastern coast of Greenland. They received the name of Gunnbjorn's Rocks. Similar reports were heard from time to time from other mariners, and the imagination of these bold sea kings heightened the romance of the discovery. "Sailors' yarns" of great and marvellous details were spread and became traditional. One of these dread adventurers, Hollow Geit, claimed that he had gone thither over the ices with an Icelandic she-goat, had seen gigantic oaks covered with acorns

as large as men, and rocks of ice that shivered the ships in their passage.

Among the Northmen who went into exile from Norway was Thorwald, son of Oswald and grandson of Ulvi. His son Eric the Red had taken part in some disturbances in Norway, and was probably compelled to fly from punishment, for he had killed his man. Thus Norwald and his son Eric went together and settled in Iceland, and founded the settlement of Hornstrand. After the death of his father, another manslaughter by Eric caused him to feel the necessity for another emigration, for he was now condemned to another exile, and as he had heard so much of Gunnbjorn's Rocks, he determined to go in search of them and of the country foreshadowed by them as probably being not far distant. Accordingly in the spring of 984, he fitted out his ship and sailed in the direction given for Gunnbjorn's Rocks. He was accompanied by another prominent Iceland, Heriulf Bardson, a man of wealth and influence. He passed the famous Rocks and discovered the eastern shores of that vast body of land now known as Greenland. The land was found in the 64th degree of latitude. He landed and gave the name of Midjokel to the place, which means mountain in the midst of ice. He saw masses of rocks and ice commingled; and as the ices descended to the sea they became united to the already vast icebergs, and presented to the eye barriers at once fearful and grandly beautiful.

Eric faltered not, but pressed his brave ship southward, doubled Cape Farewell, and with his mind teeming with visions of fame and colonization, settled at the fiôrd Igalikko, which he called Eric's fiôrd. He erected a vast building at Brattahlida, availing himself of the rock palisade for one of its walls, and here with his colony he established himself. When Jorgensen in more recent times discovered the ruins of this vast pile, they seemed like the remnants of a town and showed evidences of immense toil in its construction. Eric's voyage westward from Iceland had awakened great hopes among the Icelanders, ever ready by their national tastes and habits to seek adventure, for Eric had promised to seek a land that was, unlike Gunnbjorn's Rocks, suitable for human habitation. Eric, on his part, was as skilful in schemes of colonization as many of our own contemporaries. He said to himself, if this country has a fine and attractive name, it will draw the unwary adventurer and colonist hither. So he called this bleak and ice-clad land by a name more suited to Florida. It was he that bestowed upon it the suggestive name of Greenland. He spent the winter at Ericseya, and it was in the following year, 985, that he settled at Brattahlida, after having spent the summer in exploring the western coast and in giving names to many places. In the

second year of his residence in Greenland his colonization schemes began to succeed, and having returned to Iceland to promote the movement, he returned to Greenland in 986, with no less than thirty-five Icelandic ships with colonists for the new country discovered by him. Of these only fourteen ships arrived in safety; the others were swallowed up in the waves and ice. Thus a new and independent state sprang up far beyond what had been considered the habitable globe. As Iceland was at this time a republic, so the community of Icelanders in Greenland modelled their political institutions after those of Iceland. By these events the United States loses the prestige of having been the first republic established in the western hemisphere. The population of Greenland increased as rapidly as its harsh and repellant climate would permit. Indeed no other people than the Northmen, the hardiest of Europeans, could have succeeded in making a settlement on those inhospitable shores. Not only Icelanders, but Norsemen from Norway, emigrated in considerable numbers to Greenland, and a flourishing colony was established, and trade between the colony and Iceland and Norway became permanent. The town of Ericsfiôrd became a prosperous and somewhat populous place. Explorations were made along the coasts and new settlements established. It is not known how far to the north these explorations and settlements extended, but a pillar inscribed with Runic characters in 1135, on one of the Woman's Islands on the east shore of Baffin's Bay, and found there in 1824 by Sir Edward Parry, proves that one of their expeditions went as far up as Upernavik, in latitude $72^{\circ} 50'$, and made a clearance there, if not a settlement. Eric and his companions found no previous human being or native races inhabiting the country, for no mention is made of the Esquimaux, or Skrælings, as the Northmen called them, in those extreme northern regions, in any of the ancient manuscripts until the fourteenth century. The towns or settlements extending from and around and beyond Ericsfiôrd were called Ostre Bygd (or east country or shore) and Westre Bygd (or west country or shore). Modern investigations and discoveries of the ruins of Norse structures have clearly proven that both settlements were on the west coast, the Ostre Bygd being the southern settlement, and the Westre Bygd being the northern settlement.

The Northmen had never failed in any of their undertakings, and the success of the Greenland colony was in keeping with their history. It is certain that at one time there existed and flourished no less than three hundred farms and villages in Greenland, extending from Cape Farewell to Disco. In 1261 Greenland had been claimed as politically, as well as socially and by consanguinity, be-

longing to Norway, and with regret became subject to the mother country. From that remote period to the present time, none of the land-pirating nations of Europe, which have extended their conquests into Africa and Asia as far as India, to say nothing of their American acquisitions, have ever coveted this crystal, icy gem, which still glitters in the crown of Norway. Not only did Greenland wax strong and prosperous as a Norwegian colony, but the Christian religion gained a firm foothold in the country. Churches and monasteries were erected and maintained for centuries, and Greenland became the seat of a Catholic bishopric, and had a succession of seventeen bishops. We propose to defer the consideration of the ecclesiastical history of Greenland and Vinland to a future time, when in a separate article we will trace the progress of this most interesting branch of our subject. For the present we conclude our notice of Greenland proper with a brief reference to the extinction of the colonies, the history of which is buried in mystery and darkness. Crantz, himself a Norwegian, in his "History of Greenland," repels with indignation the thought that so miserable a race as the Esquimaux, whom the Northmen contemptuously called *Skrælings*, could have been "capable of overmatching the Norwegians, a nation of conquerors, invading their populous colonies, barricaded as they were by craggy rocks, and destroying them root and branch, so that not a living vestige of them is now to be found." Nor does he find in the annals of the race any accounts of war. He attributes the principal cause of the extermination of the Greenland colonies to pestilence. A plague, known as the *Black Death*, ravaged some of the fairest portions of Europe, destroying not only man and beast, and all living things, but even the very roots of trees, and shrubs and herbage withered away under its poisonous breath. Commerce between Greenland and Norway, and the constant passage of vessels between the two countries, must have easily brought the infection across the ocean. The severity of the climate and the absence of the finer comforts of wealth and civilization and of good medical treatment, gave easier spread to the plague, which decimated the population and greatly reduced their strength and numbers. The more northern settlements, becoming depleted by disease, were probably abandoned, and the entire colony became finally congregated in the southern, or *Ostre Bygd*. The savages increased in numbers and in territory as the Norwegians were reduced. Finally, the plague left but little for the savages to accomplish. Still there are shreds of history that lead us to the belief that their extinction was not sudden or entire. Remnants of the colony must have survived the *Black Death*, and these probably amalgamated with the natives, and gradually lost all individuality. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at-

tempts were made to discover the lost colonies, and in 1721 the Danish missionary, Hans Egede, succeeded in establishing himself at Godthaab, but his congregations consisted only of Esquimaux. The Northmen were gone.

Soon afterwards the Moravian Mission was founded and continues to the present day; and the settlements have increased. The sites of the colonies of the ancient Northmen have now been thoroughly identified; the ruins of the churches and other structures of the Catholic Northmen of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been found and identified with certainty; and it is now demonstrated beyond a doubt that Igallikofjord or Ericsfjord was the site of the long-lost colony of Eric the Red. Learned societies in Europe and America are making daily progress in elucidating the history, the geography, and the antiquities of the Greenland of the Northmen. The historical societies of New England, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians at Copenhagen, and the Société des Americanistes in France and other countries are among the foremost laborers in this interesting field. The *Antiquitates Americanæ*, by Professor Rafn, published at Copenhagen in the ancient Norse language, in modern Danish, and in Latin, in 1837, gives illustrations of the monuments and ruins now remaining to attest this history, and *fac similes* of the manuscripts that recount its details. Greenland was the base of operations for the Norse explorations and discoveries of unknown shores. We will now proceed to give the results of the latter.

Bjarn Heriulfson was the Norse discoverer of the first land of our continent. A glance at the map of the world will show to the most casual observer how closely together in those northern regions the lands lie. Iceland is not far from Norway; Greenland is not far from Iceland; and from Greenland to Labrador, from Labrador to Nova Scotia, from Nova Scotia to New England, the transit by sea is short and easy. Considering the wonderful maritime genius of the Northmen, it is a matter of surprise that these discoveries were not sooner made. The discovery of Iceland by Naddod was in some respects an accident, for a tempest carried him off his course from the Ferroë islands to Iceland. The discovery of the rocky sea-borders of Greenland by Gunnbjorn was, in some respects, an accident, for he too was carried out to sea by a storm. So the discovery of the American coasts by Bjarn was, in some respects, an accident, for, in search of Greenland, he stumbled on New England. Yet there was method in all these accidents. Discovery, colonization and traffic were the ideas that, after all, guided the ships of the Northmen. They were so accustomed to visit lands and islands, living out at sea and out of the beaten track of navigation, such as Iceland, Shetland, Ferroë, and the Ork-

neys, that Greenland, and the lands to the south, including our own shores, seemed to them but no distant parts of the same system or chain of islands. To them such events were commonplace. But to the philosophical and religious mind of Columbus the same events were a solution of the earth's geography, a continent given to civilization, a new world to Christendom.

Among the companions of Eric in his voyage of discovery from Iceland to Greenland was Heriulf, an old mariner, who had become a large land owner and settler in Iceland. He too, like Eric, made a home in Greenland. His son, Bjarn, continued his commercial voyages, and was trading at some distant mart when his father went to Greenland with Eric. His custom always had been to return from his voyages in time to spend the winter with his father. The ancient chronicles describe this youth as brave, generous, and promising beyond example. His devotion to his father was in keeping with his high and noble character. On returning to Iceland in 986, to spend the winter around the family hearth, he learned for the first time of his father's departure for distant lands to the west in company with Eric. He resolved at once not to unload his vessel, or even tarry for a short time, but to proceed at once over the unknown deep in search of his father, and in order to spend as usual the coming winter with him. No amount of expostulation could deter this young Viking from putting his daring purpose into execution. He had but the vaguest notion of the direction and situation of Greenland. He followed the guidance of the stars. His exploit is recounted in the Saga of Eric the Red, which states that he had good weather the first three days of his voyage. The polar currents must have carried him from the direct course, for he could have reached Greenland in three days. Tempests and thick mists now impeded his progress for several days and nights. When the sun appeared, he saw the outline of an unknown land, looming up like a blue cloud. Approaching and scanning the land, it was found to be covered with forests and furrowed with small hills. "This is not the land we seek," he said to his men, "for we are assured that the mountains of Greenland are high and covered with ice." Then heading to the north, he discovered, after a day and night's navigation, a level country covered with trees. Here his sailors desired to land in order to replenish their supplies of wood and water; but the young adventurer was in search of Greenland and his father. After three days' sailing they approached an island, all barren and intersected with glaciers, and passed it by. And again, after two days and nights of navigation in the open sea, they discovered another land, whose towering cliffs of eternal snow and ice broke in against a lowering sky. Here at once Bjarn recognized "Green-

land's icy mountains." Here they landed, and saw a boat at the shore. It happened that the place was not far from the residence of Heriulf, for it was called Heriulfness; and soon the father and son were embraced in each other's arms.

The circumstances of this remarkable voyage, its western direction from Iceland, its diversion to the southward, the courses of the wind and water currents, and the corresponding distances measured by the time of a sailing vessel, all unite in determining with fair and just accuracy the parts of the American coast that Bjarn saw and along which he sailed. The learned geographers and skilful critics, who have reviewed all these circumstances, have decided that the first land discovered was Nantucket, one degree south of Boston; that the second land discovered was Nova Scotia; and the third land was Newfoundland. There are certainly no other lands on a voyage approaching and reaching Greenland from the south that can be identified as the lands discovered by Bjarn.

Bjarn Heriulfson now abandoned seafaring and resided with his father the remainder of his life, spending most of the time in Greenland, occasionally visiting Iceland and Norway. Some years after his sailing along the American coasts, he visited Norway, and recounted his adventures to some of the most intelligent and influential men of the country. Jarl Eric, who was present, and others, censured his indifference to the importance of his discovery, blamed him for not going ashore and exploring the country. His narratives, however, added to the enthusiasm already created in Norway and Iceland by the discovery and colonization of Greenland.

Now a new element entered into the wonderful forces which formed the startling character of the Northmen. Olaf Trygvason, the king of Norway, became converted to Christianity towards the end of the tenth century. His zeal for the conversion of his subjects knew no bounds. He made vast tours through the country accompanied by Christian missionaries, for the diffusion of the new religion. Military escorts also accompanied this royal missionary, and it is said that the shrines and altars of Odin fared roughly at his hands. So great was the respect of the Northmen for power and strength and force, that the energy and power with which the king supplemented the milder arguments of the missionaries, resulted in the conversion of Norway to Christianity. An expedition to Iceland, accompanied with missionaries, had the same result. Now that Greenland was the object of so much attention, the convert-king desired to bestow also on his Greenland countrymen the blessings of Christianity. Eric, the founder of Greenland, had two sons, who were among the most intelligent and promising of the rising men of the time and country, Leif and Thon-

stein. The latter remained with his father, who was then in Iceland. Leif was on a visit to the court of Olaf, where the Christian influences of the royal household and of the zealous missionaries led to his conversion to the new faith. He was also ambitious of renown, and sought glory in adventure and discovery. Having heard the accounts which Bjarn gave of the new and unknown lands lying to the south of Greenland, and yet remaining unexplored, he coveted the fame of becoming their explorer and colonizer. In this purpose he purchased the ship of Bjarn, enlisted thirty-five sailors for the voyage, and prepared to sail in quest of the southern lands. The king also charged him with the still more glorious mission of introducing Christianity into Greenland, and appointed a priest and several other holy men, "*sacri ordinis*," as the Icelandic Sagas state, to go out to Greenland on the same voyage with Leif. The voyage was made successfully by following the directions of Bjarn, and trusting to his knowledge of the stars. Eric, his father, yielded at first to his entreaty, and consented to accompany the expedition, in order to favor it with his experience and prudence, as well as by the good luck his presence was in the opinion of the sailors thought to bring. Eric was still a pagan, and as it was a part of the belief of the followers of Odin that they enjoyed in Valhalla the wealth they had amassed in this world, he securely hid his treasure, mounted his horse and started to ride to the shore where the ship was anchored. On his way to the ship his horse stumbled and Eric was thrown to the ground, and, though not seriously hurt, he construed the accident as an omen sent from Odin warning him not to embark. But Leif, with a brave soul and Christian faith, rejecting the pagan superstitions in which he had been educated, and which he had now abjured, joyously sailed in his stout ship with his thirty-five sailors and the Christian missionaries sent to evangelize the pagan Greenlanders. This was in the year 1000. His was a veritable voyage of discovery. It was more—it was a mission of Christianity. No wonder that, in the chronicles of the Sagamen and Scalds, Leif has received the title of *The Fortunate*.

His voyage was unlike that of Bjarn; it was from north to south. He first saw a level country, stony, desolate, and encompassed with mountains of ice. He called it *Helluland*, or Stony Land, and in this description and location is recognized by modern critics our own Newfoundland. Thence steering southward he saw the second land discovered by Bjarn, with a low and hillock-shaped coast of white sand, with great forests in the background. This he called *Markland*, or *Woodland*, and in this we recognize the modern Nova Scotia.

Sailing again, and with a favorable wind from the northeast, he

reached in two days an island, "near which," as D'Avezac writes, "extends a peninsula to the east and north, just as Cape Cod is now seen to extend to the northeast behind the island of Nantucket." He passed through the narrow sound separating the main land from the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and describes the coast most accurately. He is now in regions unseen by Bjarn or any other European; the beautiful country entices him onward and southward; he enters Rhode Island bay and ascends Pocasset river. Here he and his companions landed, and, with ceremonies customary with the Scandinavians, took possession of the country. Some of the sailors light a large fire, and others explore the country, marking the trees and rocks with their axes as a guide for returning to the ship. Leif then caused trees to be cut, and large buildings were constructed which were called Leif's huts, *Leifsbudir*. He explores the country by sending each day half of his men inland, with strict injunctions not to separate, and to return each night to sleep at Leifsbudir.

One of the most enthusiastic among his men was a German named Tyrker, originally a captive, but subsequently the instructor and foster-father of Leif. One evening he was missing on the return of the exploring party of the day. Leif was much concerned on his account and reprimanded the others for returning without him. Leif with twelve men went in search of his foster-father, and soon found him. "Why, my foster-father," said Leif, "have you come so late, and why did you leave your companions?" Tyrker, on the contrary, was quite elated with his wanderings and with a discovery he had made. On the impulse of the moment he replied in his native German, which no one could understand, then, speaking in the Norse language, he said, "I have not been very far; I bring you in the meantime something new. I have discovered vines loaded with grapes." Leif, incredulous at such news, said, "Do you speak the truth, my foster father?" Tyrker replied, "I am sure that I speak the truth, because in my country there are vines in abundance."

And so it turned out upon subsequent investigation, and so to this day that region abounds with wild grapes. Leif then joyously called the country *Vinland*, the land of the vine. This romantic and striking circumstance gave great *éclat* to his discovery throughout the northern or Scandinavian parts of Europe. Adam of Bremen was told this circumstance in the next century by the King of Denmark.

The observations made of the country and climate accord with wonderful accuracy in locating Vinland the Good, of the Northmen, in the region near Newport, Rhode Island. The winter was spent at Leifsbudir, and in the spring Leif loaded his ships

with woods of rare beauty, with skins, and grapes, and sailed for Greenland. When he had got within sight of the mountains of Greenland, Leif had the happiness of rescuing from death five Norwegians, among whom was Thorer, first husband of Gudrid, who afterwards became celebrated in the annals of the Northmen in America.

This expedition of Leif was regarded as the most fortunate of all; for he had discovered Vinland the Good, had rescued five of his countrymen from death at sea, and had introduced Christianity into Greenland. The ecclesiastics who accompanied the expedition were the first Christian priests in that early age that visited America. They afterwards became the founders of the church of Greenland, which flourished for several centuries. The remains of its temples are now visited by adventurous tourists and are familiar to the Moravian missionaries of Greenland. Leif Ericson was thus the discoverer of our country.

The fame of Leif's success gave great stimulus to the Norwegian expeditions. Thorvald, the other son of Eric, and brother of Leif, was thrilled with the same ambition. Leif gave him the trusty and stout ship which had already visited the coast of the new lands twice; he also gave him permission to occupy the houses he had erected in Vinland, *Leifsbudir*, and added all his experiences and his wise counsels. Thorvald selected thirty men for the expedition, and sailed westward on the course of Bjarn and Leif in 1002. No difficulty was experienced in finding Vinland, for the route was now familiar, and Thorvald and his companions spent the winter in Leifsbudir, or Vinland the Good, our own Rhode Island. In the spring he caused a reconnaissance to be made of the country to the south. The small islands along the coast were visited, and on one of them they saw a small barn, the only sign of human occupation of the land. An island extending far towards the west was the limit of their southward explorations, and this was probably our own Long Island. In the ensuing summer Thorvald undertook to explore the coast to the northward. A violent storm broke the keel of his ship, and he remained a few days to make repairs. On resuming his course he said to his companions, "Let us raise upon this point of land a keel of a ship and give it the name of *Kialarnes*, or Cape of the Keel," and this was done accordingly. This point of land is now identified by modern critics and geographers as the Cape Cod, the Nauset of the Indians, situated in 42° of latitude. He next proceeded westward and landed near a promontory, which is now believed to be Gurnet Point, or Cape Allerton. So attractive was the surrounding country that Thorvald said on landing, "This country is very beautiful; I would wish to build here my

home." This remark proved to be fatally prophetic of his long and last resting place.

On returning to the ship they perceived three dark spots at the foot of the cliff, and on going to them they turned out to be carabos, or wicker boats, covered with skin, and under each were concealed three men. The Northmen were by education and national tradition adventurers, pirates and murderers, looking upon piracy and murder not as crimes, but as so many claims to distinction and honor in this world and in the Valhalla of the future life. The thought of conciliating the natives, of paving the way to their confidence and friendship, of opening the road to trade and colonization, or of availing themselves of their knowledge of the country and its resources, seemed never to enter into their plans or methods. Their first impulse was to seize and slaughter the natives found concealed under the carabos, an impulse no sooner felt than executed. One only escaped, and he could distinctly hear, above the splashing noise of the Northmen's boats as they returned to the ship, the cries of agony and death from his countrymen, as they were slaughtered and thrown into the deep sea. There were some Christians with the expedition, but probably few; it is hoped none took part in this slaughter; but Thorvald, who, by a sort of nuncupative will, directed his own tomb to be surmounted by the cross, emblem at once of redemption and mercy, did not, and probably could not, stay the red hand of massacre, nor save from knife or wave the unoffending natives. But the demon of carnage held him too as its hostage.

After the slaughter of the eight Esquimaux, or Skrælings, the Northmen explored the country around the promontory and the bay, and thought they saw what seemed like the habitations of men on the distant and elevated bank. Returning to their ship and eating the evening repast, all were speedily buried in slumber. But soon their sleep was disturbed by the din of war, there was no watch kept that night, and from the first to awake came the fearful cry, "Awake, Thorvald! Awake, Northmen! If you wish to save your lives, cut the cables and put to sea immediately!" On seizing their arms and rushing on deck the Northmen saw their ship surrounded by numerous carabos manned with natives, yelling for vengeance on the murderers of the morning, and, after the discharge of a cloud of arrows, the flotilla disappeared as suddenly as it came. The slaughter of the preceding morning was already avenged on the Northmen in the person of their chief. Thorvald was mortally wounded by an arrow, probably a poisoned one, which struck his shield, rebounded and penetrated his body under the arm. He announced to his companions his approaching death, advised his countrymen to depart from the shores which they had made fatal to themselves, and pointing to the

beautiful promontory, which he had so much admired as a place where he would like to build his home, he said, "I have foretold my lot; for I will rest there a long time. Bury me in this spot, and place two crosses on my grave, one at my head and the other at my feet, and in future this shall be called *Krossanes*, or Promontory of Crosses." These were Thorvald's expiring words. The prophecy was soon fulfilled, and the remains of the chieftain, one of the bravest of Vikings, were soon reposing under the two crosses he had directed his companions to erect at his head and feet. Returning to join the remainder of the expedition at Leifsbudir, in Vinland the Good, they recounted the sad end of their exploring expedition to their companions who had remained there. The Northmen spent the following winter, their third, in Vinland. In the next spring, 1005, they prepared to depart for Ericsfiord in Greenland. On this expedition, as well as in the preceding one of Leif, the Northmen must have gathered great quantities of wild grapes in the fall, and have dried them; for in the spring the ship was loaded with grapes. On arriving at Ericsfiord their first duty was to seek Leif, and announce to him the tragic death of his brother.

Within recent years a singular and romantic interest has attached to the death and burial place of Thorvald Ericson. In 1831 the skeleton of a warrior was found buried in the vicinity of Fall River, a *veritable skeleton in armor*. His sword was like those used by the Northmen, the breastplate also corresponded, and the Swedish chemist, Berzelius, analyzed a part of it and found it composed of the same metals used in the North during the tenth century. This relic attracted great attention at the time, and was the subject of much learned discussion among profound scholars, geographers, antiquarians, archæologists and historians. The silent warrior has never yet related his mysterious history. Well might the poet conjure him to tell his tale:

"Speak! Speak! thou fearful guest!"

One of the most beautiful poems of Longfellow, *The Skeleton in Armor*, commemorates the fate of Thorvald in the person of the Fall River warrior, and makes the son of Eric the Red relate his discoveries, claims the erection of the old tower at Newport as a Northman's work, relates his contempt of human life and of the human species, and his glorious entrance into Valhalla:

"Three weeks we westward bore,
And then the storm was o'er,
Cloud-like we saw the shore
Stretching to leeward;
There, for my lady's bower,
Built I the lofty tower
Which to this very hour
Stands looking seaward."

We will give the last two stanzas of this startling poem :

“ Still grew my bosom then,
Still as a stagnant fen,
Hateful to me were men,
The sunlight hateful !
In the vast forest here
Clad in my warlike gear
Fell I upon my spear,
Oh, death was grateful !

“ Thus seamed with many scars,
Bursting these prison bars,
Up to its native stars,
My soul ascended.
There from the flowing bowl
Deep drinks the warrior's soul :
Skaal ! to the Northland, skaal !
Thus the tale ended.”

In the same summer Thorstein Ericson, third son of Eric the Red and brother of Leif and Thorvald, determined to go in search of his brother's remains. He fitted out a vessel, manned with twenty-five selected men, and started on his errand of fraternal piety. He was also accompanied by his wife, Gudrid, a woman remarkable in Norwegian chronicles for her beauty, dignity, prudence and Christian virtues, and also as the first among the Norse women that became a mother on our shores. The personal adventures and remarkable life of this the first of American mothers, ending in her spending an honored and pious widowhood in a convent at Rome, would deeply interest our readers if we had the opportunity of relating them here. This expedition was unsuccessful. The ship was tossed about all summer on the ocean. Finally they reached Lysefjord on the west coast of Greenland, where Thorstein and several of his men died. Gudrid then returned to Ericsfjord, in Greenland, and put herself under the protection of her brother-in-law, Leif, as head of the family.

The next and most remarkable of all the expeditions to Vinland was that which was undertaken by Thorfinn Karlsafne. This hero was descended from three families of kings. He was rich, powerful, capable and brave. He went to Greenland in 1006 and became the guest of Leif, at Brattahlid, in the very house that Eric had built. Eric was dead, and Leif was head of the family. At the Yule feast of the Northmen, now become the Christmas of the converted Greenlanders, Leif was disconsolate at his inability, in that distant and frozen land, to make good cheer ; or, as he expressed it, to provide the necessary “ good things ” for a proper celebration of the great holy-days. Thorfinn,

perceiving this, played successfully the character of Santa Claus, and threw open the richly stocked store-houses of his vessels, and a *Merry Christmas* was celebrated in the stone castle, and indeed by the whole community. Gudrid must have lived in sorrowful retirement up to this time, for it was only during the Christmas festivities that Thorfinn saw her for the first time. They were noble and kindred spirits. The name of *Karlsafne*, which had been bestowed upon Thorfinn, signifies *destined to become great*; and, according to a ghost story related, in the Icelandic Sagas, of Gudrid's first husband, he arose from his bier in the midst of death and predicted a brilliant future for Gudrid. So when Thorfinn asked her hand of Leif, he answered, "Let her follow her destiny." The marriage took place in the winter of 1007, and formed an appropriate sequel to the Yule festivities.

Vinland had now become famous in Greenland story. In the long winter evenings its fabulous riches, its vast domains and forests, its beautiful waters, its spontaneous vineyards, and its magical climate were dwelt upon by Skald and Sagaman. The writer has seen, and will quote below, an ancient Latin poem, of Scandinavian authorship, in which Vinland is described as a mighty empire with three kings. The Esquimaux and their chiefs would scarcely realize that they had been the subject of so grand an epic in the classic language of Virgil and Horace. It is related in the Sagas that Gudrid first advised Thorfinn to lead an expedition to Vinland in his ships. But Thorfinn and Gudrid had more enlightened and enlarged views of the enterprise than any of their precursors. Neither Leif, nor Thorvald, nor Thorstein went to Vinland with any intention of planting a permanent colony there, as is manifested by the fact that none of the adventurers carried their families with them, nor did they carry flocks, or herds, or agricultural implements, or other tokens of a settlement. But Thorfinn Karlsafne made every preparation he could for colonization and conquest. He was accompanied by one hundred and fifty-one men and seven women, and they carried with them cattle and sheep. Had his companions been composed entirely of married men and their families, this expedition would have resulted in the permanent colonization of New England. They arrived in safety at Vinland, after visiting Kialarnes, Martha's Vineyard and other places on the New England coast, all of which are described with a minuteness and accuracy most remarkable under the circumstances.

In their search for Vinland, Thorhall, a rude and superstitious pagan, raised dissension among the colonists, and left the expedition with nine men and took a different course. The Northmen never surrendered their independence or their freedom of action.

Though Thorfinn commanded the expedition, all were free. The manner in which Thorhall announced his discontent is characteristic of the race, and affords also a specimen of their literature after the style of the *improvisatore*, or Norse Skalds. Thorhall, while carrying water to his ship before departing from Thorfinn, raised the pail to his mouth to drink, and thus sang :

"People told me when I came
Hither all would be so fine ;
The Good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine ;
Now the water-pail they send,
To the fountain I must bend,
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine."

When fresh food became scarce, and Thorhall and his companions had wandered or withdrawn, the Christians supplied themselves with food from the flesh of a whale cast on the shore ; but Thorhall, who was a pagan, taunted them with the inefficacy of their Christian prayers for food, for the flesh of the whale had made them all sick, and they were still suffering. Thorhall, claiming to be guided by his patronal deity, Thor, pretended to predict or foresee that on the shore abundance of fish and game could be procured. So obvious a course had never occurred to their bewildered minds, but it was no sooner tried than abundance of food rewarded their search. Thorhall now abandoned the expedition altogether, and, as he hoisted sail, he sang his second strophe :

"Let your trusty band
Haste to Fatherland ;
Let our vessel brave
Plough the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand,
Far from Fatherland."¹

The region or part of Vinland which was the site of Thorfinn's proposed colony was traversed by a river (now Taunton River, according to the conclusions of the learned), and locating himself on the opposite bank from Leifsbudir, he built houses for himself and his people.

The Sagas give clear and intelligent accounts of his explorations of the country, of his traffic with the natives, of the development of the colony, and of their sojourn for three years in the country.

¹ Beamish's Translation.

The most interesting event in the history of this expedition and colony was the birth of a son to Thorfinn Karlsafne and Gudrid. He was born in 1008, near the present Buzzard Point, in the State of Massachusetts, and was the first man of European blood of whose birth within the limits of our country we have any historical record. His name was Snorre Thorfinnson. He made his mark afterwards in Scandinavian annals, and his descendants were distinguished in the Church and in the State, in the republic of letters and of the sciences; and the Scandinavian sculptor, Albert Thorwaldsen, was not the least famous of this illustrious family.

As mentioned in the Sagas, this effort at early colonization on our shores lasted three years. At first the Northmen, guided by the more prudent counsels and example of Thorfinn and Gudrid, established friendly relations with the natives, which might have become lasting and have resulted in a permanent colony but for some apparently trifling accidents that led to a misunderstanding between the Northmen and the Esquimaux. Owing to such misunderstanding hostilities broke out suddenly between them, however, and the result was an abandonment of the country by the Northmen.

The attempt of Thorfinn and Gudrid to colonize Vinland is claimed to have been recorded by the Northmen in Roman and Runic characters upon a rock situated on the right bank of the Taunton River, in Bristol County, Massachusetts. This is the celebrated DIGHTON WRITING ROCK. As interpreted by many learned critics, it is said to record the name of Thorfinn and to give the number of his men; a representation of his vessel, and a picture of Gudrid and her child; and to refer to the act of taking possession of the country. While many learned men are enthusiastic in their support of this interpretation of the remarkable rock with its inscription, others ascribe it to the Indians, and others still to the action of the elements. The inscription was copied by Dr. Danforth in 1680, by Cotton Mather in 1712, by Dr. Greenwood in 1730, by Stephen Sewall in 1768, by James Winthrop in 1788, and by some of the New England Historical Societies, and by others four times in the present century. It has been visited by tourists for centuries, and is so visited still. It was shown to General Washington during his military operations in Rhode Island in the Revolutionary War, who thought it resembled the figures and pictures he had seen painted on the wraps and buffalo robes of the Indians of Virginia. Scandinavian scholars and many of the learned in this country recognize the Dighton Writing Rock as a genuine monument of the Norse colony in Vinland. The learned and enthusiastic Professor Rafn, in his great work, "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," interprets the inscription, in conformity with

the accounts of the Sagas, thus : " Thorfinn, with one hundred and fifty-one Norse seafaring men, took possession of this land." We have seen fac-similes of all the copies taken of the inscription ; while bearing some resemblance to each other they differ widely. Yet in all of them there is enough to give plausibility to the claim of the Scandinavians, and still more to interest and puzzle the curious and the learned.

The Sagas give detailed accounts of the battle which Thorfinn had with the Skrælings, and of the modes of warfare practised by the latter. One feature in the conflict was a panic created among the natives by the appearance of a frightened bull belonging to the Northmen, which escaped from his confinement and plunged through the field with loud and echoing sounds. No less a panic was created on the battlefield by the appearance in front of the fighting Northmen of a frantic woman of gigantic stature, an Amazon of the fiercest type, who rallied her countrymen to the fight and spread dismay among the Skrælings. This was Freydis, an unscrupulous woman, a natural daughter of Eric the Red and sister of Leif and Thorvald. She subsequently took a most unworthy part in the history of Vinland. The Sagas further give an account of Thorfinn's explorations of the country south and north of Vinland ; for, though he saw that he must ultimately return to Greenland and to Norway, he resolved to learn and report as much as possible concerning the country, its geography, its inhabitants, and its products. The winter following the engagement with the natives was spent in Vinland, but dissensions and social disorders, long brewing, now assumed a shape which confirmed his resolution of departing in the spring.

Thorfinn's expedition consisted of three ships when it left Greenland for Vinland. One of these was carried away from the expedition, as we have seen, by Thorhall, the hunter, to whom it must have belonged. The second was commanded by Bjarn Grimolfson. In the spring of 1010 Thorfinn and Bjarn with their respective vessels prepared to sail back to Greenland. An incident connected with Bjarn and his ship deserves to be related as illustrating the Norse character. Bjarn discovered that his vessel had been attacked by the *teredo*, a destructive worm, which had eaten the sides of his ship into honeycomb, so that she was unfit to go to sea. But he had another boat, which had been smeared with sea-oil, and this the worms did not attack. This smaller boat had capacity for carrying only half of the company. At Bjarn's suggestion the Northmen coolly resolved to cast lots to determine who should return on the vessel homeward bound, and who should accept the fate of remaining behind. Bjarn took his chance with the rest. The lots were drawn, and Bjarn was among the fortunate ones.

He and the others, who were to have the good fortune of returning home, descended from the larger ship and entered the smaller one, leaving the other half of their company on the doomed vessel, and were about to sail. Suddenly a young Iclander, who had been persuaded by Bjarn to leave his father's house in Iceland and join the expedition, and who had drawn the lot of perishing with the sinking ship, cried out from the latter, "Dost thou mean, Bjarn, to leave me here?" Bjarn answered, "So it seems; it is impossible to do otherwise; the lots are cast." The youth replied, "Very different was the promise you made to my father, when I went with thee from Iceland, than thus to leave me, for thou saidst to my father we should both share the same fate." Bjarn then honorably and heroically exchanged places with the young Iclander, whom he put upon the homeward bound boat, while he ascended again and took his place on the doomed and worm-eaten vessel. Bjarn and his unfortunate companions perished amidst a sea of waves and worms. The smaller boat returned in safety to Iceland and Norway, when the young Iclander and his companions recounted the heroic act of Bjarn Grimolfson. We rejoice in renewing and repeating this souvenir, which the Icelandic Sagas so graphically and admiringly preserve, of this heroic Viking. May his ill deeds be forgotten in this generous act. To Bjarn we address the words of Lord Byron :

"I know thee for a man of many thoughts,
And deeds of good and ill, extreme in both,
Fatal and fated in thy sufferings."

But Thorfinn and Gudrid, and Snorre, their native American son, children of prophecy and favorites of fortune, returned to Greenland and to Norway in their brave ship, which was loaded with a rich cargo of grapes from Vinland, of valuable wood called Mazur, supposed to be bird's-eye maple, furs, and other products of the country. These articles were sold in Norway at fabulous prices, and Thorfinn realized a fortune. He and his family and companions were treated with extreme honor, and he was recognized as having more than realized the prophecies. But his deeds and his fame would have been complete only on his achieving the permanent colonization of Vinland. His failure to do so left the field open to the glorious achievements of Columbus. He spent his last days in Greenland. After his death and the marriage of Snorre, Gudrid made a pilgrimage to Rome, and spent her last years in one of the many religious houses of the Eternal City. Rome was then, as she has been ever since, alive to geographical discoveries, as affording the channel for conveying the faith to heathen peoples. Rome was represented in the western hemisphere by a succession of seventeen bishops in Greenland, and one

of them, Bishop Eric Upsi, became the apostle of Vinland in the twelfth century, a fact which indicates a permanent settlement of Northmen in Rhode Island. It is quite probable that Gudrid's narratives of Thorfinn's expedition, of the birth of Snorre, and of the native races plunged in paganism, made a deep impression at Rome, and that there were not wanting learned and curious geographers to record her story. It is believed that the traditions of these expeditions of the Northmen to distant lands beyond the ocean reached the eager ears of Columbus, that he not only saw and read accounts of them at Rome, but, on the occasion of his voyage to Iceland in the spring of 1477, heard the legends of Vinland from Norse tongues, and learned them more minutely from the Monastic manuscripts preserved in the ancient convents.

The next expedition to Vinland soon followed after the return of Thorfinn. The leading spirit in this attempt was the notorious Freydis, wife of Thorvard. Her husband was the weakest of Vikings, for he was under the complete control of his unscrupulous and covetous wife. Freydis formed a partnership in a voyage to Vinland with two Icelanders, the brothers Helge and Finboge, who arrived in Greenland with three ships in the summer of 1010. Freydis broke faith with her partners at the very start, quarrelled with them immediately on her arrival in Vinland, plotted and accomplished their assassination, and when no Northman in her husband's crew was willing to kill the five women who were with the party of Helge and Finboge, she seized an axe, and with her own hands butchered them on the spot. She seized all the goods and property of her murdered victims, her late partners, and in the spring of 1011 returned to Greenland. In spite of her threats to murder any one who should divulge her crimes, the murder leaked out, and Freydis justly became the opprobrium of her race and of her sex.

Vinland is mentioned in other Sagas, and in connection with subsequent voyages. As the Greenland colonies continued to maintain themselves and to flourish for four hundred years, and as Vinland was well known to the Greenlanders, it would seem improbable, if not impossible, that so adventurous and sea-roving a people could have discontinued their intercourse with this attractive region. As Leif, Thorvald, and Thorfinn had achieved glory by their expeditions to Vinland, and as the two last had also acquired fortunes in the same adventures, the fame of Vinland must have long afterwards resounded throughout Greenland, Iceland, and Norway. The last direct expedition to Vinland, however, of which we have any record in the Sagas, is that of Bishop Upsi, in 1121, and it is related that this zealous and devoted prelate, though appointed Bishop of Gardar in Greenland, either re-

signed his episcopal office, or, having accepted it, went in search of his flock in Vinland, and devoted himself to the conversion of the natives. It is probable that missionary efforts in Vinland did not cease with Bishop Eric, for we have an account of a new land west of Iceland being discovered by two missionaries who went out from Iceland. Greenland was too well known and too thoroughly colonized to be referred to in this account. Some suppose Newfoundland was the land referred to. And in 1347 mention is made of a voyage from Greenland to Markland. At the time of this latter expedition the plague of the *Black Death* was raging in Norway, and its population was reduced from two millions to three hundred thousand. The plague continued to rage till 1351, and is supposed to have been communicated to Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, by the ships passing between those countries and Norway. The *Black Death* is believed to have resulted in the final extinction of the Greenland and Vinland colonies. If any permanent colony was ever established in Vinland by the Northmen, as some suppose, and cite the old tower at Newport as proof of this fact, or if even occasional intercourse was maintained between Greenland and Vinland, all ended with the extermination of the Norwegian colonies in Greenland. It seems singular that the Northmen should have attached so little importance to the discovery of Vinland; but as they did not perplex their minds over the scientific theories involved, and cared not to explore the earth for the information of the inhabitants thereof, or for the benefit of science or general commerce, questions left for Columbus to study and to solve, the indifference of so rude a people seems not unnatural. It is also remarkable that none of the leading men among the Northmen, even those who had acquired fame and profit as explorers of Vinland, such as Leif, Thorvald, and Thorfinn, should have ever thought of persevering in the efforts commenced in that direction. They seem to have acted upon individual impulse or interest, and upon the acquisition of fame and fortune for themselves, they rested upon their honors and enjoyed their fortunes, though comparatively young men, for the remainder of their lives. Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn Karlsafne, was a warm and generous advocate of Vinland colonization. She, like Isabella of Spain, was the inspiration of the enterprise, and had Thorfinn conquered and colonized Vinland Gudrid would have been the good angel of the country. D'Avezac, Kohl, Rafn, and Gravier are of opinion that Vinland continued to be known and visited by the Greenlanders, Icelanders, and Norwegians generally. Humboldt seems to sympathize in this view, and to attach some historical value to an ancient Ferroeese poem in Latin, in which Vinland is mentioned as a populous land governed by kings.

There is nothing that so arouses the cupidity of man or fires his imagination as the discovery of unknown and distant lands. From early ages the civilized portions of the world have often been electrified by such events, and the literature of such ages teems with the most extravagant accounts of what neither historian nor poet had seen. The epic poems of every people and of every age have been imaginative, creative, as well as historical. Thus the Ophir of Solomon has frequently been found and dimly located down to the age of Columbus and his discoveries, and even to the discovery of the gold regions of our own California. El Dorado was not only revived in the Spanish chronicles and poems of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but even then renowned captains and brave soldiers sought it amid the everglades of Florida and the wastes of Mississippi. Not only were these phantom regions enriched with endless treasures, but were governed by mighty kings and emperors, and embellished with every barbaric grandeur. Such extravagances of poet and chronicler have passed away, but the true historic basis of them all remains, and real modern and business-like republics have now succeeded to the Ophir and El Dorado of past centuries. And so it was with Vinland and the Icelandic and Norse poets and historians of the mother countries. And thus we find that the Sagas and Scalds of the Northmen are filled side by side with the most authentic historical records and the wanderings of poetic imaginations. The world has admired such things in Homer and in Ossian. May we not at least tolerate them in the Sagamen and Scalds of the Northmen? It is with such sentiments that we now proceed to mention the ancient Ferroe poem, in a part of which Vinland is mentioned, with scarcely more exaggeration than the contemporaries of Columbus used in heralding and describing the countries discovered by him.

The manuscript of this interesting poem is preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, the Latin text is printed in Professor Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, and Mr. Joshua Toulmin Smith gives a free but substantially correct translation of it in his *Northmen in New England*, endeavoring to preserve the style, rhythm, and verse employed in the original. The story of the poem is as follows: A certain prince of Sweden had two sons, Holdan the Strong, and Finn the Fair. The former, though the least favored by nature, was to succeed to his father's throne by the right of primogeniture, and the latter, though endowed with rich gifts of mind and person, was without a kingdom or a fortune. He became a redoubtable adventurer, and went forth to seek in marriage the most beautiful princess of the western island. Fair Ingeborg, daughter of a reigning king, was the object of his choice, and she favored his suit. Her father, the king, rejected it with disdain, on

account of the inequality of their royal standings. Finn the Fair resented the king's insults, fatal deeds ensued, and Finn was thrown into prison. The beautiful princess sends a trusty messenger to Sweden to acquaint Holdan the Strong with the sad fate of his brother in prison. Holdan was incensed; he descends from his throne and hastens to the relief of his brother, whom he releases from the dungeon-walls, and slaughters the king himself. The two brothers then repair together to the princess to urge again the suit of Finn. The princess informs them that if Finn will sail to Vinland and overcome the three kings of that noted land she will favorably consider his suit and answer make on the return of the conqueror. The brothers repair to the distant Vinland, and Finn challenges the three kings and their twelve hundred warriors to mortal combat. The challenge is accepted, and Holdan witnesses the contest. Finn slays on the first day hosts of the Vinland warriors. On the second day the remainder of the twelve hundred warriors are killed. Finn then by turns overcomes and slaughters two of the kings, and is about to kill the third king when he is himself poisoned by a dragon flying over his head. Holdan now takes up the fight, and slays the third king. He then returns to Ingeborg, the beautiful island princess, relates to her the exploits and death of Finn before overcoming the third king of Vinland, and his own victory over the surviving king; he then offers himself to her in the place of Finn the Fair. Ingeborg informs him that she can never love another than Finn. He urges his suit. The princess reserves her answer till morning and sleeps one night upon her bosom, but, overpowered with grief, she expires before sunrise. Holdan ended his days in misery.

It would be interesting to modern scholars if we had space to spread this entire poem of one hundred and four verses upon our pages in the original Latin, but we will content ourselves at present with giving in English only the verses which relate to Vinland. The contest lasted two days or more, and has been likened to the achievements related in the "Famous Ballad of Chevy Chase," where

"In one day, fifty knights were slain,
With lords of great renown."

We will now give those verses which, commencing after the narrative of Finn's release from prison, relate to Vinland, in the

ANCIENT BALLAD OF FINN THE FAIR.

"Hail Ingeborg, thou royal maid !
'Both fair and beautiful art thou;
Wilt thou this prince elect,' they said,
'And take him for thy husband now ?'

“ Then Ingeborg doth answer make,—
 ‘ This matter is most hard to do ;
But, if the VINLAND KINGS you’ll take,
 An answer, sure, I’ll give to you.’

“ Then powerful Holdan thus replied,—
 ‘ T’will grief and sorrow bring to all :
For who shall reach the Vinland tide,
 Then perils dire shall sure befall.’

“ Then Finn the Fair, with rapid stride,
 The palace quits, and seeks the shore !
‘ To VINLAND straight my course I’ll guide,
 Though Ingeborg I ne’er see more.’

“ His silken sails he raises then,
 On yards of gold extended wide ;
His sails he never furls again,
 Till VINLAND from the helm he spied.

“ Then Finn, within the garden nigh,
 His costly robe he o’er him threw ;
And, so attired, with bearing high,
 Straight to the palace halls he drew.

“ And, so attired, with bearing high
 Straight to the palace halls he drew :
Five hundred men were standing nigh
 The VINLAND KINGS before his view.

“ Then entered Finn the palace hall
 And stood before them face to face ;
The KINGS sat on their thrones, and all,
 Unmoved and silent, kept their place.

“ It was the morning of the day,
 Scarce yet Aurora’s light appeared,
When there the VINLAND KINGS, they say,
 Twelve hundred armed men prepared.

“ And there the VINLAND KINGS, they say,
 Twelve hundred armed men prepared ;
‘ Gain’st these, brave Finn the Fair, that day
 To try his strength, unaided, dared.

“ And in the midst Finn now is seen,
 Active in fight before them all ;
Loud clang their arms that time, I ween ;
 Now two, now three, before him fall.

“ And in the midst Finn still is seen,
 In strength he far surpasses all :
Loud clang their arms again, I ween ;
 Now five, now six, before him fall.

"For two whole days the fight did last;
 From clashing swords the lightnings played;
 Nor on the earth his footsteps passed,—
 His slaughtered foes his path had made.

"And in the midst Finn still is seen,
 Nor dares, for honor's sake, to flee;
 And now, 'tis said, that there remain
 Of all that host but only three.

"And in the midst Finn still is seen;—
 Full well his deeds are known to fame;—
 And VINLAND KING the first, I ween,
 By his good sword is hewn in twain.

"And in the midst Finn still is borne,
 Nor dares, for honor's sake, to flee;
 The second VINLAND KING that morn
 His sword hath hewn in pieces three.

"Just then a dragon, o'er his head,
 His fatal venom pouring, flew;
 And Finn himself at length lay dead,
 Whom poison, and not arms, subdued.

"When Finn thus Holdan, furious, saw,
 By poison, and not arms, subdued,
 Then VINLAND KING the third, straightway
 With his good sword in twain he hewed."

It would certainly be an interesting field of inquiry to investigate the question whether Columbus had any knowledge of the Norse discoveries in the western hemisphere, and to what extent. There are a number of circumstances strongly tending to show that Columbus knew something of these events. His long and thorough study of the subject in all its aspects must have guided his mind to this information. The absolute certainty he professed to have that he could discover land in the west could not have rested upon theory alone; it must have been based upon information of facts also. He himself states that he based his certainty on the authority of learned writers. Among the learned writers he had access to was the book of Adam of Bremen, published in 1076, "On the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the North of Europe," to which is added a treatise "On the Position of Denmark and Other Regions Beyond Denmark." In this work Adam of Bremen gives an account of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland, and adds: "Besides these there is still another region, which has been studied by many, lying in that ocean (the Atlantic) which is called VINLAND, because vines grow there spontaneously, producing very good wine; corn likewise springs up there without being sown." And he adds to this account of Vinland

these words: "This we know not by fabulous conjecture, but from positive statements of the Danes." His recorded conversation with the Danish king, Svend Estredsor, a nephew of Canute the Great, is the direct source of his information. The visit of Columbus to Iceland in February, 1477, brought him in more immediate contact with the traditions and written accounts in relation to the Norse discoveries in the western continent. He is believed to have conversed with the bishop and other learned men of Iceland, and as his visit there was fifteen years before he discovered America, and only one hundred and thirty years after the last Norse expedition to the lands in the Western Ocean, he must have met Icelanders whose grandfathers lived in the time of that expedition and perhaps were members of it. It is unlikely that Columbus could have been so active in his researches for geographical and nautical information as all his biographers represent, and yet have been in the midst of so much information on those subjects without coming in contact with it. Columbus never divulged to the public the extent of his knowledge of facts pointing to lands in the Western Ocean. At Rome also Columbus must have heard of the Norse expeditions to Greenland and Vinland. Gudrid, wife of Thorfinn, made a pilgrimage to Rome and spent three years there before her death. Her accounts of the wonderful voyages she had made to the unknown western lands must have been recorded in some of the religious houses she visited. It is also argued that, as Pope Paschal II., in the year 1112, appointed Eric Upsi Bishop of Gardar in Greenland, and the bishop visited Vinland as part of his spiritual domain, Columbus, in search of such knowledge, must have found it where it was most accessible. There is also some ground for believing, though the fact is not established, that a map of Vinland was preserved in the Vatican, and that a copy of it was furnished to the Pinzons. Facts such as these must have formed a considerable part of the knowledge acquired by Columbus in his many years of study. When his crew mutinied on the ocean, he showed his confidence in the facts he had acquired, by promising them that if he did not discover land within three days he would abandon the voyage. The land was in sight in half the time he claimed. Would he have risked his all, a new world even, upon a promise which would have been an insane act but for the facts he possessed? Leo XIII. has now opened to historical students the treasures of the Vatican; may we not now hope to solve this interesting question? May we not hope to recover the history of the Church of Greenland and Vinland, and of the seventeen bishops and of the numerous missionaries who first carried the Cross to the West?

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND TOWARDS
THE HOLY SEE.

THE recent interchange of courtesies between the Pope and Queen Victoria has been variously interpreted by Englishmen. Yet there does not seem much room for speculation. "Diplomacy has no charm but mystery;" and here the charm of mystery is wanting. That the hereditary chief of English Catholics, the Duke of Norfolk, should be sent as the Queen's envoy to the Holy See at the time when Ireland's Catholic heart is thrown into the balance of Home Rule, is a move on the part of the Queen's government which explains its own simple intention. That his Holiness should graciously receive the envoy, and should thank Queen Victoria for her present is no more than a paternal act of courtesy such as has been shown to other sovereigns. It is not on the diplomacy of the matter that any speculation need be hazarded. The point which is interesting for Catholics is, *how* have the English Protestants judged a mission which, *prima facie*, suggested an approach to the Holy See; which, at least, bears the look of a willingness on the part of England to "renew diplomatic relations with Rome."

It would be a mistake, to begin with, to suppose that the English attitude is at all "religious," in the old sense of the word. The "No-Popery" cry is not now heard in England; but this is not because England is becoming Catholic. English Protestants have only recently begun to inherit the full fruits of what Carlyle called the Two Revolutions. The first revolution was the "Reformation," the second was the French Revolution. By the first revolution, divine authority was shaken; by the second, feudal authority was dethroned. Let us allude, just for a moment, to this second revolution as auxiliary to the development of the first. Feudal authority is now practically extinct in Europe, though the traditions of class-power still linger. The word "feudal," though it is antique, still conveys to us a right impression of the old imperium of the classes and the aristocracy. That imperium has been displaced by a new democracy. It has not been usurped but displaced. So complete was its displacement, say in 1846, that Pope Pius IX., when he first came to the throne, was spoken of—with a fantastic inaccuracy—as "the idol of European liberalism." This only meant that Pope Pius IX., in the ardent generosity of his nature, sought to unite the best instincts of modern

liberalism with affectionate loyalty to the Church. "The pontiff who was to accomplish the reconciliation of the Church and modern society," as M. Guizot expressed it; "the man who had placed the idea of emancipation and liberty on the highest pinnacle," as M. Victor Hugo preferred to put it, was that glorious pontiff who had his illusions dispelled by the revolution which murdered Count Rossi. Still, the transitory recognition by Pius IX. of a new state of the political and social order—which he earnestly hoped to sanctify by Catholic loyalty, but which he found to his cost to be most disloyal—showed how perfectly evident was the fact that society had changed, and was changing in 1846. The temporal power has now disappeared, and usurpation is crowned in the Quirinal. The new liberalism has been proved to be irreligious, in the sense that it does not care for religion. And it is in this sense that the present English Protestant attitude, in regard to the authority of the Holy See, must be explained as at once conciliatory and disloyal. It is conciliatory, because amity is agreeable, as well as, perhaps, prudent under all the circumstances. It is disloyal, because no care for the Catholic religion is at the bottom of the new departure in diplomacy. In one word, expediency is the motor of the diplomacy, and indifferentism is the motor of the amity.

In a recent number of this REVIEW we noticed a little book which had been written by Rev. John MacLaughlin, of which the title was, "*Indifferentism ; Or, Is One Religion as Good as Another ?*"¹ That little book set forth the truism that the real enemy of Catholic truth is, in these days, not antagonism but indifferentism ; a spirit of "caring for none of these things," which is mistaken for the spirit of liberality. With much power, yet simplicity, the author worked out the argument that the disposition to propose the question—the frame of mind which could propose it—"Is one religion as good as another?" is proof positive that the questioner has not grasped the primary truism that "one faith and one baptism" must go together. Now, the present attitude of English Protestants towards the authority of the Holy See must, in the first instance, be explained by "indifferentism." It is not an indifferentism which is moral, or which is contemptuous, but which is a result of an acquired attitude of the intellect. Couple what was said before in regard to the change in the social order, with this new (religious) indifference to positive truth, and each, in some measure, explains the other; each acts upon the other correlatively. The modern social order is grounded on the principle that the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei* in all things. The modern religious order, if there be such a thing, is therefore in-

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cluded in the social order. In other words, it is assumed that a man's religion, and therefore the religion of "society," is democratic, in the sense of being individual; a man owing obedience to his own conscience alone, in the sense of his interpretation of the Divine will. Here we have the meeting of the revolutions. Liberalism in religion, which began with the "Reformation," and social liberalism, which began in '89, have joined hands, as they were bound to do, in declaring religion to be opinionative, and in divorcing all politics from all religion.

This is the broad statement of the new position, though it does not touch the question of *real* Christian freedom, be it religious, or social, or political. The men who are called, in England, advanced Liberals, are often the most devoted and loyal Catholics; while some of the most rigorous of the Tories are men without any religion at all. The only fact to be insisted on is, that with the majority of English Protestants liberalism means "indifferentism" as to Divine truth quite as much as it means self-rule in politics. The two revolutions have culminated in the production of a population which insists on these two postulates: "Every man ought to have equal voice in framing the laws of his country;" and, "No man ought to be interfered with as to his religion."

Such general remarks were almost necessary in the consideration of the present attitude of England towards the Holy See. The England of to-day and the England of thirty years ago are not the same England at all. Take three broad distinctions: Thirty years ago there was but little Radicalism and no disloyalty; to-day there are fifty newspapers that preach both. Thirty years ago there was a downright horror of the Papal power; to-day there is a mild eulogy of its beneficence. Thirty years ago there was a national insistence on positive truth; to-day there is a pervading skepticism or indifferentism. Add to these distinctions the new birth of the Rationalist school, which now affects to ally the natural sciences with religious search, and we have a new element in the "religious mind" which almost banishes the old contests, or makes it unreasonable to contest earnestly about anything. Once more: The complete decay of the old Evangelical school (to whom be all honor for its warm attachment to the sentiment, if not to many of the doctrines, of Christianity) has removed that traditional fortress of at least earnest Christian feeling which kept all the assaults of skepticism at bay. And, finally, the new begetting of that strange anomaly called Ritualism, the combination of the very extremest of opposites—the claim with the repudiation of divine authority—has made Englishmen rub their eyes with astonishment at the spectacle of a fictitious, little, English, Catholic Church, which, while being the heir of the

wildest Protestantism that ever was known, affects to be Catholic—*minus* obedience. These growths of the last thirty years have so altered the English attitudes in regard to what used to be "Gospel Truth," that we cannot wonder that the English attitude towards the authority of the Holy See has become correspondingly modified.

We must distinguish between the attached and the unattached members of what is still called the National Church of England. The attached members are those who practise the Anglican religion; the unattached are those who only advocate it. Among the unattached we find a warmer approval of the Norfolk Mission than we do among the good old-fashioned Anglicans. The unattached take the line which is expressed by the *Manchester Courier*: "To the great majority of people, to all who have succeeded in ridding themselves of an excess of sectarian spirit, these interchanges of civilities will appear fitting." But the attached Anglicans have "*not* succeeded in ridding themselves of an excess of sectarian spirit"; which is, after all, a mere euphemism for ceasing to be in earnest about what is true or is not in the Church of England. The London papers, as a rule,—*Times*, *Standard*, *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*,—advocate the happy renewal of friendly relations; but this is always on the ground that "so many of the Queen's subjects are Roman Catholics," and that "it is a good thing to help forward the pacific settlement of the Irish question by constitutional means." No allusion is made to the desirableness of drawing the Anglican Church one inch nearer to communion with the "Roman Catholic Church." The ordinary journalists must be classed among the indifferentists, so far as all religion is concerned. When, however, we read the columns of the "Church papers" we find a very different tone or spirit. Strangely, the Ritualists are the most bitter against the Holy See, while affecting to be the most careful of Catholic truth. Thus the *Church Review*, a strong advocate of Ritualism, prefers to warn its Anglican readers against trusting to Roman Pontiffs, some of whom were of such stupenduous ill-repute that "the mention of their names takes one's breath away." This same organ, however, is even more hard on its own sect than it is on the Popes or on the Catholic Church. And it cannot fail to be instructive—in strict reference to our inquiry as to the attitude of England towards the Holy See—to notice how the Ritualists view *their own* Church, their own so-called authorities, their own priesthood. If they have a contempt for what they *have*, yet remain happily and complacently in such barrenness, we cannot wonder that they do not look to the Holy See to give them what they neither admire nor desire. In the same issue in which the *Church Review* warned

its readers against placing any confidence in the Popes, it thus spoke of the life of its own sect from 1600 to 1845 :

"She [the Church of England] became hidebound in pompous 'respectability'; her ministrations became rare, slovenly, and perfunctory; her expositions of doctrine watery and undogmatic; her prevalent demeanor secular and self-seeking; her conduct frequently frivolous and irreligious, not seldom riotous and debauched. And what were some of the results? Churches full of emptiness, while closed against all comers during five-sixths of the solar year; scarcely less full of emptiness at the hebdomadal recitation of Matins and Evensong, with sleep-compelling prelections on the Lord's Day, as by law prescribed; churches be-pewed with wooden compartments, festooned with cobwebs, begrimed with dirt, besmeared with whitewash, bedraped with baize; churches wherein God's altar was the most rickety and meanly-vested table in the parish; wherein for the desecrated font was substituted a paltry hand-basin. . . . It is not surprising that a Church governed with so little wisdom, with such cynical disregard of the best interests of the souls committed to her maternal care; with such mean conceptions of the real dignity of the priestly office, and such exalted notions of the grandeur attaching to worldly pomp and pageantry; that a Church, in short, which was the obsequious vassal of the rich, and the strong, and the despiser and oppressor of the poor and feeble, should have confounded in men's minds and obliterated the distinction between spiritual ranks and offices and between earthly and spiritual things."

After this sweeping condemnation of its own sect—of its whole life and character for about two hundred years—we are informed, and in the same issue, by an Anglican D.D., that "the Church of England, since the Reformation, is simply the old Church of England with its face washed and dried with a very rough towel." Very rough, indeed, if the description we have quoted is to be accepted on Ritualistic authority. But we may reasonably enquire: If the Church of England has been a failure, and the Holy See has been a failure,—two postulates with which the Ritualists head their creed,—to what communion are poor Christians to attach themselves, with any sort of self-respect or Church-respect? The answer is supplied to us by the same journal, and perhaps this passage will give us a sufficient notion of the prevailing spirit of the Ritualists at the present day, of their "attitude" towards the authority of the Holy See :

"The two nations of which the Vatican and its Jesuit ring stand in greatest terror, are Russia and Italy, because in both the Heavenly King of nations, by His liberating and unifying spirit, has stirred up and keeps alive a pure nationality. Russia is, so to speak, the foremost secular representative—the *Advocatus Ecclesiæ* in the ancient ecclesiastical conception, of an antiquity, orthodoxy, and catholicity to which the Tridentine and Vaticanist pseudo-Catholicism cannot pretend."

Thus "the hereditary lie, Czarodoxy," as Gregory XVI. called it, is the real heir, the real ideal of Catholicity; and though there is no chance of English Ritualists ever enjoying that ideal, in the sense of Anglican communion with Czarodoxy, still, it must be a comfort that there *is* an "*advocatus ecclesiæ*" somewhere between Siberia and the Danube.

Such quotations, from a recent number of a Ritualist paper—and in the same month in which it criticised the new relations which have sprung up between England and the Holy See,—may suffice to prove two terrible truths: the one, that English Ritualists despise the Church of England; the other, that they almost hate the Holy See. If we may refer for a moment to the comic side of such an “attitude,”—and it will be a relief to get a smile out of the painful subject,—the “Clerical Advertisements” in Ritualist papers let in a flood of mocking light on the extraordinary frame of mind of “priests” and “deacons.” Our enquiry in this article is, what is the present attitude of Englishmen towards the authority with whom they have opened new relations? And we may indirectly hazard what that attitude may be inferred to be from their conception of *their own* clerical order. If the clergy are of different minds as to their own priesthood, they cannot very well be agreed as to the Catholic priesthood; still less can they be agreed as to the Divine authority of the Holy See, from which all authority flows as from a fountain. Now let us take half-a-dozen clerical advertisements at random from two or three of the Ritualist church organs, and see what such advertisements would intimate in regard to clerical “views” on the Holy See.

“Wanted, a curate in priest’s orders; married, moderate, and with means.” Well, the three characteristics might go together. “Wanted, curate for mission church, musical, mod., or mod. high.” “Mod.” standing for moderate, and “high” meaning ritualistic, “mod. high” would mean a diluted or watered ritualist, or a sort of elastic gentlemanly confessor of what you please. “Would accept a small living in nice neighborhood,” is the self-commendation of one curate; and “married, but without children,” is the bashful apology of another, who seems to hope that his *modus vivendi* may be condoned. “Curacy wanted by a mod. Cath.” As there is probably a good deal more of the “mod.” than of the “Cath.” in this gentleman of too transitional a theology, we should think that a prudent rector would wish the gentleman to strike a balance between the two somewhat contending states of mind. “In exchange, for a few months, pleasant country vicarage, good fishing, pony-chaise, light duty:” this must be tempting to any clergyman of quiet tastes. “Wanted, a title to priest’s orders, good voice, single, private means.” Rector’s daughters will draw the attention of their reverend parents to a curate who may prove to be an acquisition. “Town curacy wanted; views broad.” This advertisement, at least, strikes us as *bona fide*. “Breadth” is the supreme requisite of every honest Anglican mind, which, like the *Church Reviewers*, despises all churches except the orthodox—with which it has no more real communion than with the Wesleyans.

Hopeless as all these "attitudes" must seem to be, on the part of the ritualist rectors and curates, there is, undoubtedly, a minority of English Ritualists who are still asking for the old paths, and who are in earnest. But, if we inquire of the Low-Church party what is *their* attitude or animus, the answer is exactly the same as it ever was. Thus, we find in the *Record* and in the *Rock*—two papers which have been for half a century the guiding organs of the most rabid of the Low-Church party—exactly the same tone, the same spirit, which was theirs, say, in the year 1846. The *Record*, when speaking of the Pope's Jubilee, says: "We are very sure that, whatever may have happened in other quarters, there still remains a large section of the public to whom the reopening of diplomatic relations with Rome will be a source of undisguised pain and dismay; an act calling for the strongest protest against all responsible for it." The *Rock* says: "Emphatically we say, as Protestant Englishmen, that no greater curse could fall upon us than a recognition of the Pope's power." And again: "Our remarks in reference to the flirtations that have been carried on between the Vatican and the British government would be just as applicable had the Pope represented the truest system of religion ever known, instead of being the representative of the most bigoted, superstitiously corrupt form of Christianity." And once more, the *Church Times*, a sort of half-way, or *via media*, organ between Ritualism and pugnacious Low-Churchism, is of opinion—while speaking of the Pope's Jubilee—that "a Pope is still wanted who would drive out the hysterical cults and crazy superstitions which have sapped the moral strength as well as the Catholic orthodoxy of the Latin races."

A glance at the favorite organs of the Nonconformists (and the present writer has been at the pains to read every one of the Dissenting organs which have referred, during the past two months, to the Papal Jubilee) will show exactly the same bitter Protestant spirit. Methodists, Baptists, Independents, all display the "heretical pravity." If we turn to the Scotch journals, it is the same thing. "Our Church is well represented in Italy," says a foreign correspondent of "The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Magazine"; "but Popery, a new form of paganism, reigns there."

It would be unendurably tedious to quote more of the nonsense which deluges all these Protestant papers. The sort of sensation which a Catholic has, after spending one whole day in looking down the columns of Dissenting journalism, is an enfeeblement of the mind, such as he would experience after waking from a nightmare of fantastic illusions, in which imbecility and falsehood had been choking him. Yet it was necessary, when judging of the English "attitude," to gauge the length and breadth of English

journalism. Briefly, this attitude may be said to be suggestive of three evil impulses or leanings: to make the worst, always the worst, of the Catholic Church; to preserve and ever augment religious schisms; to glorify disobedience, under the pretext of always protesting against the corrupt teachings of authority—from which you differ.

A reference to the more recent of the publications—books, pamphlets, essays, sermons—which have been written or edited by Anglicans, brings out the same melancholy truths. An Anglican's idea of the Holy See, when he ventures to express it in print, is always, that it is the negation of that individual enlightenment—which should make every man his own private Holy See. It is rather from his praise of private judgment than from his abuse of the Catholic fountain of dogmatic truth, that we see the attitude of his English Protestant mind. Manifestly a man cannot insist, at one and the same time, on his own right *to judge* Catholic authority, and his own duty *to obey* Catholic authority. The attitude of a so-called Churchman may be expressed, perhaps, in this way: "Catholic authority is binding on the Christian conscience; Roman Catholics say that the Holy See is the final arbiter on faith and morals; and so it *would* be, if it always agreed with *me*; but unfortunately, I cannot educate it to such perfection. I see, of course, that authority to teach is the same thing with authority to know; and I see that authority to know must mean the guidance, infallibly, by the Holy Spirit. The Holy See has always set up this claim. But, as I can prove the Holy See to have been in error, not once only—but a dozen or a score of times—from the very fact that it has differed from *me*, there is an end of the papal claim, and I am reduced to the necessity of referring to my own infallible self. It is a very awkward predicament, I admit; the more so, because I have a hundred brother churchmen—bishops, rectors, and curates—who also differ from *me* in dogmatic truth. But so long as I retain the privilege of being an Anglo-Catholic,—that is, of uniting the theory of obedience with the practice of opinionative self-teaching,—I cannot surrender my liberty into the hands of the Holy See, which does not first consult *me* as to its decretals. I teach my parishioners (being a clergyman) the duty of obedience to the Church; that is, of obedience to my Church—my Church, as interpreted by *me*. Yet this duty of obedience is theoretical, hypothetical, conditional, or relative, in all respects. The obedience is neither implicit nor explicit; it is only a sort of workable abstraction. I cannot command obedience from my flock, because they have as much right to command obedience from me; seeing that I, like them, interpret all Catholic doctrine in the sense most agreeable to my judgment. Even in that very

painful difficulty—my judgment of the Roman Church by the primitive Church, and therefore my judgment of both together—I am obliged to enshrine my own personal infallibility within the limits of my own judgment of that infallibility; an effort which it is obvious every one of my congregation could make as well as myself—or, as Martin Luther. I regret that I was not born a Holy See. But as I was not, the only thing which is left to me is to protest against the arrogance of an authority which might be infallible if it would only listen to *me*, but which is necessarily fallible as it does not do so.”

Thus far we have sketched the tone of the Anglican mind, journalistic, clerical (though not lay) in judging the authority of the Holy See. Let us now glance at two other English phases: what may be called the Governmental and the Social. As to the first, we need only add this remark—for what was said at the beginning was almost enough—the English Government makes no mystery of the *why* of its diplomacy; desiring only to stand well with the Holy See, because the Holy See can direct the counsels of the Irish clergy. There is not one thought given to “conversion” in such diplomacy. If the Holy See were to adopt a course which should be unfavorable to Tory tactics, the “new relations” would be dropped, or would be turned into recriminations which would be unfilial on the part of the Government and of its press. This is all that need be said about the matter. The British Government has no more loyalty to the Holy See than has the Government of the Sultan or the Shah.

“Society” in England takes a different view. Society thinks of the Pope as an interesting figure, historic, mediæval, and even Christian. It usually speaks of him with the respect due to an antique, to a beautifully preserved specimen of a past type. It does not, in these days, grow angry with him. It rather likes his adherence to old ideas. We are so painfully modern or nineteenth-centuryish that it is delightful to retain one absolutely perfect symbol of what centuries of our ancestors used to esteem. Beyond such an archæological veneration, society does not trouble itself to wander. For, be it remembered that three-fourths of English society sits lightly to the reality of the Christian faith. The traditional sentiment of what Protestants account Christianity still hallows the natural sentiment of society; but this traditional sentiment is little more than a tender liking for a gospel of kindness or amiability. There is nothing supernatural in the sentiment, unless it be in the consciousness that what has reference to a future life must necessarily be in such sense supernatural. So that society is not prepared to consider the Holy See in its claim

to infallibly *teach* divine truth, but only in its claim to *represent* a high ideal of authority, order and morality.

This estimate may be called the "man of the world's" estimate. And society consists chiefly of men of the world. During the last forty years—especially the last ten years—society's talk has been chiefly flavored by speculation; not by speculation as to the more true or the less true, but as to the probability that nothing can be known about (religious) truth. The "attitude" of society towards religion is that of the student of occult mysteries, who, finding himself baffled on the threshold of his enquiries,—by the fact that he has to mount above the natural life,—prefers to "give it up" as transcendental, and not to be initiated into so much trouble. What Father MacLaughlin calls "indifferentism," comes to the aid of society as a rescue from such intolerable research. A few years ago, when society accepted Christianity as the normal traditional creed of all Englishmen, it was natural, it was agreeable, to discuss different "forms" of it, and to advocate either this view or that view. In those days the Holy See was an object of intense interest, although of intense aversion, to most Englishmen; because the postulate of society being "Christianity is divine," the right form of it was supremely important. Society has abandoned that postulate, and asks now, "Is *any* religion divine?" So that society's estimate of the Holy See has become an *outside* speculation,—for the men of the world who prefer to meander with modern thought;—not a judgment arrived at from the most interested of all motives, but a grouping of hypotheses for excuse's sake.

"Indifferentism" is the kernel of the whole matter. Forty years ago, in English society, we could scarcely sit in any drawing-room without hearing somebody arguing about religion; the High Church and the Low Church contending for their superiority, or the different disciples of popular clergymen breaking lances. We were in danger of being "button-holed" by every stranger we met on some controversy about doctrine or ritual, while there was sure to be some fanatic in every roomful who would inform us that "the Pope was the man of sin." In these days, when religion is referred to, it is ordinarily on some of the side issues of the natural sciences, or with allusions to Herbert Spencer's arid egotisms, or Professor Huxley's *ex cathedra* negations. It would be a question which it would be difficult to answer: which of the two frames of mind is the better, the earnestness of purely heretical contentions, or the indifferentism of the dry-bones called Modern Thought? Whatever the answer, the truth remains indubitable: that for the *odium theologicum* which used to revile the Holy See, we have now a benign and complaisant sufferance of its "mixed good"; for the

old fear of the Pope, we have respect for him; for the caricatures of his powers, we have speculation as to their benefit; for the execration of his tyranny, we have the admission of his moral influence; for the ridicule of his anachronism, we have the eulogy of his enlightenment. So far, English society has made advances. And we are speaking now only of English society, not of any of the schools or the scientists. The huge mass of more or less educated persons, gentlemen and ladies, who are "in society,"—no matter whether it be in high society, or in respectable society,—is now imbued with a reasonable (natural) estimate of the authority and the beneficence of the Holy See. Religion, as has been said, is not in the question, save in the way of traditional Christian sentiment; yet there is a gain in the dying out of antagonism, though in the void which is created there may be a loss.

To come down to the humbler classes, the working classes: What do they think, say about Leo XIII.? So far as they think at all, their ideas are as lucid as are those of their superiors in education. Their conception of a Pope is that he is an amiable old gentleman, residing in the once-capital of the pagan world, and inheriting and teaching not a few of the superstitions which were common to the "Divine Emperors" of old. As "the Free Church of Scotland's Monthly Magazine" expressed it, in words which we quoted a few pages back, "Popery is the new form of paganism which reigns in Rome." If the educated Scotch Episcopalians can edit and can credit an absurdity of which children ought to be ashamed, we need not be surprised if the clouded fancies of the English masses entertain not dissimilar impressions. Yet there is this difference between the masses and the classes: that the former have no motives in being deluded, no motives of social ease or personal gain. *They* have no benefices to be given up, no circle of rich friends to be alienated, no conventional "cold-shoulder" to be braved, no fortune or position to be lost. So *they* simply cling to their traditions with the easiness of not caring to be disturbed, or with a perhaps unconscious willingness to be enlightened should the opportunity be offered by some friend. It is true that the working classes do not *talk* much of such matters, as the higher classes are in the habit of talking; indeed talking, save on personal or on business matters, is not a habit of the working man. "Conversation," as society understands it, is necessarily not common among the masses; chit-chat, or personalities, or business-exchanges being the normal occupation of the tongue. But though they do not converse, they can understand; nor has the Catholic half the trouble in teaching *them* which he has in battering the fortresses of respectability. There is no throwing up lines of defence, in preparation for Catholic aggression on the part of the

simple, working poor. There is no intellectual pride, or very little of it. For such reasons the "conversion of England," if it may be looked for, must begin rather with the humbler than with the richer classes. Speak to a working Englishman; explain to him the simple principle of pastoral unity, and he grasps it without difficulty, perhaps with pleasure; nor does he wish, *ab initio*, to resist you. His will is commonly childlike or sincere. *He* has no *odium theologicum*. It may be true that the "attitude" of the English masses is not filial, nor even intelligent, towards the Holy See; but this is solely because they know nothing about it; nothing save what such luminous authorities as "the Free Church of Scotland Monthly Magazine" writers, or the editors of the English *Record* or *Rock* may be generously pleased to vouchsafe to them.

There is a "thinking" class in England which is not to be confused with "society," nor with the clergy, nor with the Agnostics, nor with the men of the world. It is a large class, composed of men of all professions, and of every known intelligent avocation. "Men who think," is their generic; "Men who differ," their specific. This large class combine "attitudes" which, to a Catholic, may seem incongruous, but which to hosts of unbelievers seem harmonious. They are sincerely Christian, rationalistic, and quasi-pagan. They would defend (their) Christianity against all comers; yet their mood is to argue everything in the abstract, as though a heresy were a hypothesis, not a falsehood. These men, most amiable, most cultured, take this sort of view of the Holy See: "It has an obvious advantage in point of unity; the only mistake is, that it proceeds on the assumption that to obey is to believe—in a religious sense. A man's belief should be the offspring of enquiry, not the handing over the intellect to governance, but the yielding of the will to conviction. After all, what is faith, intellectually? Faith is the yielding of the will to the balance of probabilities; but that balance must be struck by the conscience—by our own conscience, not by another's. You Catholics say that the Holy See has been appointed the divine arbiter in faith and morals. If so, what you believe in is the Holy See; you do not believe, first, in truths themselves. This seems to me a shifting of responsibility. If faith be a duty, the exercise of that duty must be, not obedience, but sincerity. The intellect is responsible in faith, as the will is responsible in morals; but if you take away the exercise of the intellect, by substituting obedience for examination, you not only take away intellectual faith, but you make the exercise of the intellect to be sinful. In a plain, divine command, such as, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' I apprehend the simple duty of obedience. But when you advise me to accept all faith

on another's dictum, I reply, this is not faith, it is obedience. Your rejoinder, that 'truths which are divine can only be defined by divine authority,' appears to me to miss this important postulate, that we are not intended, as Christians, to *know* all truth, but to *search* for as much truth as we can discover. Search is gone when obedience comes in. Do you tell me, then, that search is not a duty; that the Holy See supersedes the duty of search; that in the one word, obedience—let me call it resignation—you sum up the whole duty of the intellect, dismissing all further responsibility? I see, of course, your meaning, as a Catholic: that faith, which is the fruit of a pure obedience, and which is graced with the reward of a holy life, is better than discussion or dissertation, which keeps the mind in irresolute attitude of believing; yet I cannot apprehend how a Christian is to merit grace by abandoning intellectual solicitude, by relegating responsibility to authority, by simply saying '*you say so, sufficit.*' Your theory of the Holy See is exceedingly beautiful; I will add, it is even essential to unity,—that is, to corporate, visible unity,—yet, it seems to me to be the purchase of a beautiful unity (consistent, I admit, with the Divine Unity in its aspect of one God, one Truth) at the cost of that obligation which appears to me to be paramount—the working out of our Christian belief by our measure of gifts."

If this be a fair statement of the attitude of the "thinking-class," it follows that they have not grasped the elementary truism that faith, in the Catholic, is a divine gift; that the Catholic intellect is taught by the Holy Spirit to apprehend the perfect reasonableness of the Catholic faith, in its integrity, its harmony, its divine beauty, as well as in its details, its "articles." Our "thinking" friends may reply, "You beg the question." Our answer is one of fact, not of theory. Every Catholic, who keeps close to the sacraments, is rewarded with the intellectual apprehension of the fitness, and therefore divineness, of Catholic truths. So that our "thinking" friends are in error in speaking of the "abandonment of the reason"; they should have said, the "consecration of the reason." A Catholic uses his intellect in his faith a thousandfold more than does any Protestant, because he is in perpetual meditation on the divine, intellectual harmonies which sweep, like strains of music, through the Catholic Church, enriching while stilling all thoughts. Thus much had to be said, in reply to one class of Protestants whose intellectual amiability may be conceded.

But now of the antagonistic school of thought. There are many very clever and charming Englishmen, who are amiable towards all things—save the Holy See. In a recent Encyclical to the bishops of Bavaria, Leo XIII. used these words: "It is necessary

that Christian wisdom should shine before the eyes of all, so that the darkness of ignorance, which is the greatest enemy to religion, having been dispelled, the truth may shine forth far and wide and happily reign. Nay, more; it behooves that those manifold errors be refuted and dispelled which, taking their rise either in ignorance or wickedness, or prejudiced opinions, perversely call away the minds of men from Catholic truth, and *engender a certain hatred of it in their dispositions.*" That word *hatred* applies to other persons besides "the ignorant, the wicked, or the prejudiced." It applies to many who have a strange monomania for hating without moral or mental cause. Undeniable is the fact, that many Englishmen grow wrath at the bare mention of the Pope or the Holy See; as though some chord had been touched which vibrated in cruel agony at the remembrance of an unforgivable wrong. Men who are always reasonable on other subjects, grow irrational when they touch upon this one; fling all decorum to the winds; and rave against "that master-curse of mankind," as though *they* had been ruined or poisoned by it. It would be out of place to attempt to diagnose this complaint in an article which treats only of popular aspects. It suffices to say that such hatred of what is good—and this without having suffered any wrong—looks very much like a suspicion that what is hated ought to be loved, were it not for the inconvenience of such conviction.

This exceptional school of haters may seem old-fashioned. Still there are many specimens which survive. They may, for the most part, be called "historic haters," because they always carry you to history. Nor can half-educated persons, or persons of strong prejudice, be much censured for most firmly believing what they have been always told, and have always *read*, to be true. The historic school of haters has, however, become smaller since the introduction of "The Catholic Revival." Such a vast number of books have been lately published which have disillusioned the English mind about "Popery"; which have taught them not only the truth about Catholic history, but the highly equivocal origin of all Protestantism; that it is pretty generally understood, as to the charge of "papal tyranny" (to quote the words of a Baptist periodical), that "Protestants live too much in glass houses to throw stones at the persecuting Roman Church; it has been six of one and half a dozen of the other; only, Protestants have had less excuse for their tyranny, because they have made a boast of their freedom." This, at least, shows a spirit of fairness. Such a writer as Dr. F. G. Lee, a ritualist clergyman, has wonderfully opened the eyes of all Anglicans to the true story of the Protestant Reformation, and the true story of the Marian persecutions; while the slanders of Dr. Littledale have been as severely taken to pieces by Anglican

as by Catholic writers. The University Presses, the best London publishers, the most popular of the magazines and reviews, have published, and constantly publish, the true version of the historic episodes which have furnished Protestants for two centuries with "grounds of hate." So that the historic haters are almost reft of their reason-why. And so, too, of the doctrinal haters—the haters of Roman doctrines—their reason-why has been taken away from them by *themselves*—by their own appropriation of Catholic doctrines. On one point alone are many Anglicans still haters—on the sovereign authority of the Holy See.

Now this surviving hatred—let us call it repugnance,—in even the most advanced of English ritualists, lets out the secret that it is not *doctrine* which alarms the ritualist, but the assertion of a priestly prerogative. To speak plainly, the hostility to the Holy See—that is, the hostility to obeying it—does not proceed from considerations as to doctrine, but from repugnance to submission to authority. A ritualist pleases himself as to doctrine, quite as much as does a low-churchman or a dissenter; the only difference being that a ritualist takes a wider sphere for the exercise of his private judicial mind; including the early Church, as well as the living Church, the Councils, as well as the two Testaments. The ritualist, therefore, "hates" the Holy See (we do not, of course, use the word in a moral sense), because the Holy See would take from him the right of judging everybody; the right of sitting in his private pontifical chair,—or, if this be too strong, of sitting as at least assessor in the final court of appeal as to all truth; the right of determining his own obedience or disobedience to any or all bishops throughout Christendom. The attitude, therefore, of the ritualist towards the Holy See—unlike any of the other attitudes we have sketched—is the attitude of a man who insists on the authority, "the Catholic authority," of his own doctrines; but who will not refer his doctrines to living authority. "My doctrines are infallible," is his argument, "because I pick them up from my own readings of such authorities as I am minded to approve and to accept; the Holy See would take away from me that election; therefore, I reject the Holy See." It was necessary, in concluding, to allude once more to this last development of the many attitudes of the English mind towards the Holy See, because it is the last development, the last possible development, of Protestant would-be-Catholic theology. To have reached the point where, in judging the Holy See, it was necessary (1) to admit the existence of Catholic authority; (2) to admit the duty of Catholic obedience; (3) to affect an authority without obedience; (4) to affect an obedience without authority; and this, before proceeding to build up a house of sand, to be known as the Anglo-Catholic Church, was to have

reached a point where the confusion of the human soul had tumbled into "chaos come again." Nothing so unintellectual had been invented. The baldest Protestantism was a triumph of reason compared to it. Euclid would have given it up, not with a "which is absurd," but as a proposition of which each step denied the other. Yet, such is the attitude of the English ritualist: assuming authority in order to be able to pass judgment, and passing judgment in order to be able to assume authority.

To sum up, very briefly, what has been said: We began with the remark that the social, popular changes in the direction of Democracy *versus* Feudalism, had prepared the English mind to take a democratic estimate of all principles, religious and civil. Hence came "indifferentism," not necessarily from moral sloth, but from an acquired mental approval of the theory that "the Unknowable should be approached with a philosophic reserve." Liberalism, to be wholesale, was made to include the sitting lightly, not only to others' opinions, but to one's own. (2) This led to a certain easiness of loyalty, equally in grooves, religious and political; so that, when the old school of Evangelicalism paled its forces before enquiry, and the new ritualism made authority to appear ridiculous, Englishmen took up with the attitude of a general forbearance from all anathema, and a general polite respect for sincere convictions—"Popery" included. (3) The next point was to show that the new ritualist party—the most learned and the most active of Protestant sects—was quite as bitter against the Holy See as that old-fashioned "low" party, which made Popery-hating the staple of its theology; while, at the same time, the ritualist party had a profound contempt for its own sect, historically, doctrinally, and disciplinarily. (4) The various dissenting bodies were shown to be in accord with the ritualists in their repugnance to the authority of the Holy See. (5) All recent Anglican literature has made for the primary postulate that private judgment takes precedence of *all* authority; because the attitude of every Churchman is, "I judge all churches, that is, interpret their orthodoxy for myself; judging the Roman church by the primitive church, and interpreting the primitive church by my own intelligence; and subjecting the Holy See to the terrible scrutiny of my judicial mind as to its authority, its decrees, its mistakes." (6) Society, as distinct from the "clerical mind," was next shown to be respectful to the Holy See, from the archaic or antiquarian point of view; declining to let the Holy See *teach* the truth, but permitting it to *represent* Christian authority. A polite indifferentism has taken the place of the old *odium*; the Holy See has become interesting, not repugnant; earnestness in regard to controversy is now old-fashioned, and the new void is filled with

speculation. (7) The humbler classes, having no motive for antagonism, are better disposed to receive instruction in Catholic truth; wanting only the opportunities which fall to the lot of society to receive what society rejects. (8) The "thinking" class was next referred to, as living always in the clouds; admiring the picturesqueness of the Holy See, but, intellectually, objecting to its authority; and this, too, on the ground that to believe is *not* to obey, but to work out our faith in all sincerity. It was answered that this fallacy—most popular with the highly educated—proceeded from not knowing the actual fact that the intellect of the Catholic, kept fortified by the Sacraments, is more active in the apprehension of divine truths than is the non-Catholic intellect in questioning them. (9) The antagonistic school of thought, the "Pope-haters," was mentioned as exceptional yet eager; while (10) the historic school, or men who always appealed to history, was shown to be weakened by recent literature. Some of the ablest scouters of prejudice being Anglicans,—in the domain of proving "history" to have told lies,—all Protestants may now know, both that the Holy See has *not* been criminal, and that most of the "Reforming" heroes *were* so. (11) Yet the Holy See, though now exonerated from criminal acts, does not receive Protestant filial homage, because in the one offence of being preserved from teaching error, it necessarily obliges all men to believe in it. This last demand, being repugnant to modern thought, is (antecedently) impossible to be admitted. Right or wrong, it is absolutely fatal to speculation; and speculation is the pride of free Englishmen. (12) Finally, the ritualists were again referred to, as the last possible development of Protestant thinking; men who advocate Catholic authority, yet deny it; who insist on obedience, yet refuse it; who even pray for Catholic union, yet will not hasten it; who believe in three churches, each anathematizing the other, yet fantastically called branches of one church; and who turn away from the Holy See because it is the *only* Christian authority which either claims to teach One Truth or to revere it. Thus the ritualists are shown to be the worst enemies of the Holy See, because they prove its divine authority by their disobedience, while recommending obedience as a Catholic duty. Their "Branch Theory," two branches without a root, or a root with three branches of different trees, recalls the words of St. Optatus (which are quoted by Father MacLaughlin as a motto to his admirable book on "Indifferentism"): "Vivendum est quis in radice cum toto orbe manserit, quis foras exierit . . . In radice manemus, et in toto orbe terrarum cum omnibus sumus."

THE CHURCH AND HISTORICAL SCIENCE.

A GREAT change has come over non-Catholic literature of late years. Its tone towards the Church and things Catholic has lost much of its bigotry and bitterness. The race of the Knoxes and Foxes is extinct, with the exception of a few interesting survivals. Even the oracles of Exeter Hall and of the Knights of the Dark Lantern, have moderated their abuse. It is hard to recognize the Scarlet Woman of Babylon and the bloodthirsty sons of Belial denounced by the Pope-devouring saints of Puritan England in the Romanism and Romanists of their descendants or successors. The clarion and drum ecclesiastic of those warlike "reformers" have been cast aside; their wild war-whoop and maddened shriek have given way to gentler strains; with many writers it has become fashionable to avow even a certain admiration of Rome and her Popes. And yet, through these novel and comparatively agreeable strains, we recognize not unfrequently the old *leit-motif*; we are rudely reminded that the sun of truth will have to shine full many a day before it can scatter the last clouds of inveterate prejudice. Very refreshing to the Catholic reader during the past eight or nine years has been the outspoken and hearty recognition of the great qualities of the present Holy Father, of his prudence; his wisdom, his learning, his practical insight, nay, of his single-mindedness, his spotless character, his deep interest in all the arts and sciences, his true and sincere solicitude for the welfare of religion and society. We remember, especially, with what warm commendation the non-Catholic press welcomed the Brief of Leo XIII., opening the Vatican Archives to scholars for the purpose of historical researches. With approval, and almost with enthusiasm many of them dwelt in terms of warm praise upon his words: "The first law of history is to dread uttering falsehood; the next, not to fear stating the truth; the last, that the historian's writing should be open to no suspicion of partiality or of animosity." And yet the old *leit-motif* was not wanting in these comments. Leo's noble aims and merits were ungrudgingly acknowledged, but Leo, it was said, is an exception among Popes; his action is at variance with the traditions of the Church; the step he took is noble and fearless. But the very word *fearless* suggests that the Church has something to fear from historical truth boldly made known, though the Pope himself asserts—that "history, the guide of life and the light of truth, is one of those arms most fit to defend the Church." No doubt most of the comments we refer to were made in good faith;

and many a reader, for that matter many a Catholic reader, unconsciously accepted the truth of these assertions and inuendoes, especially as they came from sources apparently so unbiased. The more wary, perhaps, had their doubts, and asked: Is Pope Leo really the first Pope that furthers the study of history? Has the Church really done nothing to cherish and promote this noble science? It may not be useless to study these questions, to review the field of historical labor, and to inquire what the Church and her sons have done for historical science. To exclude all suspicion of partiality, our witnesses for the most part will be non-Catholic.

Sharp, incisive criticism and unwearied research are characteristic of the modern school of history. The historical student of to-day shrinks from no toil to reach the "sources," the original authorities for the period he treats of. He next investigates every statement with almost microscopic minuteness, compares it with other statements, determines the character and reliability of the testimony, weighs the pros and cons, and finally draws his conclusions. If we are to believe popular writers, these are modern methods; before Niebuhr, we are given to understand, historical criticism was unknown, before Pertz and Von Ranke men did not travel from country to country to ransack archives and libraries, before Pertz's *Monumenta*, no one printed or published the records of the past. Now what are the facts?

By historical criticism is meant the probing of historical testimony; its acceptance, if found to be true, no matter how contrary to the historian's sympathies; its rejection, if false, no matter how strongly it favored his views and theories. To probe historical testimony is to inquire whether documents are genuine or spurious, whether the witnesses are partial or unprejudiced, whether the facts harmonize with or contradict other ascertained facts. In modern historical work, which is based so largely on the study of documents, public and private, state and ecclesiastical, much depends on the character of these documents, or diplomas, as they were called. When they were subjected to close examination it was very soon found that they were not by any means all genuine. In the past, interested parties had no more scruples to resort to forgery than is the case at present, and detection was far less likely then than now. "In order to establish principles for distinguishing the genuine from the forged, treatises were written on the whole subject of diplomas. With a view to establish the credit of those preserved in the original, the Benedictine Dom Mabillon, in the year 1681, produced his masterly work *De Re Diplomatica*—Papebroch the Jesuit having already, in the year 1675, written his *Propylæum antiquarium circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis*, in the *Acta*

Sanctorum, April, vol. II. In the following century appeared the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* by Dom Toustain (who, however, died before the completion of the work) and Dom Tassin, Benedictines of St. Maur, 6 vols., 4to, 1750-65, treating of the whole subject of diplomas and accordingly entering at length into a minute investigation of the peculiarities and characteristics of writing proper to different ages and countries."¹ "The bibliography of Latin palæography in its different branches is very extensive, but there are comparatively few books which deal with it as a whole. The most complete work is due to the Benedictines, who in 1750-65 produced the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, which examines the remains of Latin writing in the most exhaustive manner. The fault of the work lies in its diffuseness and in the superabundance of subdivisions, which tend to confuse the reader. The extensive use, however, which the authors made of the French libraries, renders their work most valuable for reference. As their title shows, they did not confine themselves to the study of manuscript volumes, but dealt with that other branch of palæography, the study of documents, in which they had been preceded by Mabillon in his *De Re Diplomatica*."² In these monumental works the Benedictine Monks, therefore, not only laid the foundation of the critical study of Latin historical documents, but almost brought it to perfection. They classified the writing of different periods and countries, thus establishing external tests of the genuineness of manuscripts, and founding the science of Latin palæography. By minute study and careful analysis they also established and set down many internal criteria, such as the wording of titles, the value of geographical terms at different times, and contemporary chronology, which are in some ways even more certain and more serviceable than the external tests. These are dealt with in the science of diplomatics. But the Benedictines were not satisfied with these achievements. What Mabillon and Tassin did for Latin documents and palæography, that the great Montfaucon did for Greek. "The first book," says E. M. Thompson, "which dealt with the subject in an exhaustive manner, was the *Palæographia Græca* of the learned Benedictine Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, published in 1708. So thoroughly well was the work done, that down to our time no other scholar attempted to improve upon it, and Montfaucon remained the undisputed authority in this branch of learning."³ "The *Palæographia Græca*," says V. Gardthausen, the first

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Diplomatics."

² E. Maunde Thompson in the Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Palæography," vol. 18, p. 165.

³ E. M. Thompson in the Encyclopædia Britannica. art. "Palæography," vol. 18, p. 165.

scholar who has attempted to improve upon Montfaucon, "is and will remain one of the most remarkable achievements by which a new science was not only founded, but, as it seemed, also perfected. It is the more remarkable, as Montfaucon had no one to precede him, but created everything from nothing. Even though a few of his statements and illustrations do not satisfy the demands we make to-day of similar works as regards precision, Montfaucon certainly followed the correct method in his work."¹

One of the most useful and reliable ways of checking historical documents, is to compare their statements with ascertained facts, contemporary, prior, and subsequent. If a document claiming a certain date, speaks of events later than that date, clearly the document is misdated, and there is good reason to doubt its genuineness. It may likewise awaken suspicion, if it represents the past as contemporary, or sometimes if it is silent concerning closely related contemporary facts of importance. These considerations indicate sufficiently how important for purposes of historical criticism is a sound, detailed, and systematic chronology. The father of chronology was Joseph Scaliger, a Protestant, who in 1583 published his work *De Emendatione Temporum*. He soon found not only a critic but a fellow worker in the learned Jesuit Petavius, whose book on chronology appeared in 1627 and remained an authority for a long time. But in 1750 was published "the first edition in one volume, 4to., of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which in its third edition (1818-31) appeared in 38 volumes, 8vo., a colossal monument of the learning and labors of various members of the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur."² Even to-day historians can ill dispense with this aid to historical criticism.

Thus did Jesuits and Benedictines vie with each other in providing tools for the critical historians. But long before Papebroch and Mabillon, long before Tassin, Petau, and Dom Clement, the principal compiler of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, Catholic scholars had given proof that they possessed both the keenness, the learning, and the impartial love of truth which distinguish the true critic. Perhaps no better proof of this can be given than the story of two of the most famous documents of the Middle Ages, the *Donatio Constantini* and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. On the first many mediæval writers based the temporal power of the Popes, whilst the second was used to fortify many other Papal rights. But scarcely had the Renaissance set in, scarcely had the study of history been reawakened, when Catholic historians, churchmen too, nay bishops and cardinals, began to doubt the genuineness of these two important documents, and finally condemned them as spurious.

¹ V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palæographie*, p. 5-6.

² W. L. R. Cates in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. Chronology, vol. v., p. 719.

It is well known that Laurentius Valla condemned the *Donatio Constantini* in unmeasured terms; but Valla was a humanist, and a humanist not of the Christian type. "Doubts of the genuineness of this document," says Prof. L. Pastor, "had been expressed years before Valla by the learned Nicolaus de Cusa in his *Catholic Concordance*. Independently of Valla and Cusa, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, showed, after careful examination of the historical testimony, the impossibility of upholding this document so long looked upon as genuine. In 1443 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., urged Frederick III. to bring the question of the Donation of Constantine before a council." As to the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, the Popes have often been accused of having had them compiled and partly forged to back up some of their pretensions. It is now established that this collection was made in the Frankish Empire between the years 852-7. The then reigning Pope, Nicolas I., did not so much as know of its existence until 864. Subsequently for several centuries this forgery was looked upon as genuine; but even during the "dark" ages, long before Luther, Petrus Comestor, in the twelfth century, doubted its authenticity. In 1324 Marsilius of Padua pronounced it a forgery, and in the fifteenth century its genuineness was not admitted by Gobelinus Persona, Heinrich Kalteisen, Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, and John of Turrecremata.² These are crucial facts. Two documents, supposed to support strongly certain Papal claims, one a forgery which imposed upon the Jesuit Turrianus even in 1573, were rejected by the critics of the Middle Ages, most of them priests and bishops, before the schism of Luther, and, therefore, solely in the interest of truth.

We pass to post-Reformation times. One of the greatest historical works ever undertaken was the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Flemish Jesuits, the so-called Bollandists. Of their merits in other respects we shall speak hereafter. "Such certainty in historical criticism did they acquire in the progress of their work," says Wattenbach, "and so fearlessly did they proceed, that they were soon attacked on many sides, and the Spanish Inquisition even prohibited the work. An attempt was made to induce the Pope to prohibit it, but it proved futile."³ "Their majestic tomes," says Prof. G. T. Stokes,⁴ "stand as everlasting protests on behalf of real and learned inquiry, of accurate, painstaking, and often most *critical* research into the sources whence history, if worth anything, must be drawn. Of their honesty, which is the essential

¹ Prof. L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, i., p. 16 and note.

² Hergenroether, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii., p. 16, notes.

³ W. Wattenbach, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im M. A.*, 2d. ed., p. 7.

⁴ Stokes—*The Bollandists*, *Contemporary Review*, 1883, p. 69, ff.

condition of all true criticism, canon Stokes uses the following language: "This much any fair mind will allow: the Society of Jesus, since the days of Pascal and the Provincial Letters, has been regarded as a synonym of dishonesty and fraud. From any such charge the student of the *Acta Sanctorum* must regard the Bollandists as free. In them we often behold a credulity which would not have found place among men who knew by experience more of the world of life and action, but, on the other hand, we find in them thorough loyalty to historical truth; they deal in no suppression of evidence: they give every side of the question. They write like men who feel, as Bollandus their founder did, that under no circumstances is it right to lie. They never hesitate to avow their own convictions and predilections; they draw their own conclusions and put their own gloss upon fact and document; but yet they give the documents as they found them."¹ On the same plane as the great Jesuit work Wattenbach places the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, in 9 vols., folio, by the French Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, Dom d'Achéry, Mabillon, Germain, and Ruinart, as well as Dom Bouquet's voluminous *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Wattenbach, moreover, speaks in the highest terms of the works of Ughelli on the ecclesiastical history of Italy (*Italia Sacra*), and of the 21 vols., folio, of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. If we come down to later times, every student of English history respects the discriminating judgment and keen critical insight of Dr. Lingard, which have been praised, perhaps, even more warmly by non-Catholics than by Catholics.

That Catholic historians should thus be eulogized by the learned for their critical honesty and critically correct judgment and sound critical principles, will surprise no one well acquainted with the principles taught young men in Catholic institutions of learning. The canons of historical criticism laid down in almost every elementary work on philosophy used in Catholic colleges and seminaries are essentially the same as those followed by the most approved historians. In treating of the value of human testimony, and therefore of historical documents, Catholic philosophers unanimously teach that to carry conviction, the witnesses to any fact should be ocular,—therefore, in the case of past events, contemporary—disinterested, truthful, intelligent, self-consistent in their testimony, and, if possible, many. Apply these rules to historic documents, deduce their logical consequences, and we have the very canons of modern historical criticism. On one point only do they differ from the canons of some modern historians. When

¹ Stokes, l. c., p. 8.

the fact in question is miraculous, rationalist historians reject it as impossible; the Catholic writer examines his witnesses, as if he were dealing with an ordinary event. If the fact falls under the senses, if it has been witnessed by many, intelligent, truthful, disinterested witnesses, competent to distinguish reality from illusion, he sees no reason why he should reject such testimony. He has no *a priori* prejudices for or against it. Of course, orthodox Protestant historians who believe in Biblical miracles, must take the same view.

The multiplication and publication of ancient documents is not an invention of the eighteenth or nineteenth century; it began even before the "Reformation." "Several of our best historical authorities," says Wattenbach, "just as many of the classics, are preserved in copies made in the fifteenth century, and these manuscript copies were soon followed by printed reproductions. As early as this period, before the year 1474, and probably at Augsburg, was printed the *Historia Frederici I.*, which is only a part of the *Ursperg Chronicle*."

"Above all, the Emperor Maximilian I. not only encouraged in every way the investigation of German history, but took an active part in the work himself. Everywhere documents and chronicles were searched for at his bidding, and every discovery found its reward." "Commissioned by him, Ladislaus Suntheim, of Ravensburg, travelled in southwestern Germany, from 1498 to 1505, to gather the materials for a genealogical history of the House of Hapsburg and other German princely families." "In 1501 Conrad Celtis performed a real service for the mediæval history of Germany, by publishing the works of the nun Roswitha, found by him in the convent of St. Emmerand; at the same time he discovered the famous Tabula Peutingeriana, the remarkable Roman road-map of the third century, preserved with later additions in a copy of the thirteenth century, now in the court library at Vienna." Conrad Peutinger, the learned patrician of Augsburg, to whom Celtis willed this curious document and after whom it is named, "in 1496 discovered the Ursperg Chronicle, which he had printed for the first time in 1515; at the same time appeared editions prepared by him of *Jordanis de Rebus Ceticis*, and the History of the Lombards by *Paulus Diaconus*; these works were well edited, whilst the edition of Paulus published at Paris in 1514 by Gulielmus Parvus and that of Luidprand were very defective." "In the year 1515 Maximilian's learned physician and archivary, Spiesshammer, who called himself *Cuspinian*, together with the imperial historiographer Stabius, published at Strassburg, an excellent edition of Otto of Freising, with his continuator Ragewin. As

¹ Wattenbach, Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen, p. 2.

early as 1508 Gervasius Soupher of the Breisgau had published at the same place the *Gesta Henrici IV.*" "In 1521 there appeared at Cologne the works of Einhard (the biographer of Charlemagne) edited by Count Hermann of Nuenar, and at Mainz the Chronicle of Regino edited by Sebastian von Rotenhau."

But in the work of advancing the cause of history the Pope was not behind the Catholic Emperor. "Historical documents," says Prof. Pastor, "were copied by order of Nicholas V. The Vatican Library still contains many of them. For instance, I found in Cod. Vati., 4167, the acts of the Council held at Rome under Martin V., copied by order of the Pope by Piero de Godi, in 1453." The same great humanist Pope, and some of the contemporary Italian princes, were equally if not more active in furthering other branches of historical science. "The knowledge of Greek history, until then derived only from *Compendia*, was promoted at the same time as the knowledge of the Greek historians. Thucydides, Herodotus, Diodorus, Polybius, Xenophon, Plutarch, Arrian, Appian, Strabo, and others, were translated either entire or in part about the middle of the (fifteenth) century."

These works were the works of men born and bred in the Catholic Church; for they appeared, some before Luther's birth, all before he burnt the Papal bull at Wittenberg. But a few years had passed since the invention of printing, and already Catholics brought up in Catholic traditions, the product of the Catholic Middle Ages that were just passing away, devoted their means and their talents to hunt up and publish the historic records of their ancestors and antiquity. The aim and motive of the editors were wholly unconnected with religious controversy. They were inspired by patriotism, the love of literature, the desire to make known the past glories of the German empire, and the wish to promote historical knowledge. Immediately after the birth of Protestantism, "its champions," says Wattenbach, "took up these endeavors with especial zeal," but "they found among these writings arms against the papal claims,"¹ in other words, they regarded them as means of theological controversy. When Ulrich von Hutten in 1520 published the attack of Waltram of Naumburg on Gregory VII., he intended not so much to further the cause of historical science as to assail the Church and the Papacy. This was the beginning of a period when historical studies were no longer cultivated for their own sake but as means of religious controversy. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Magde-

¹ Wattenbach, l. c., pp. 3 and 4.

² Pastor, *Gesch. der Paepste*, I., p. 413.

³ Pastor, l. c., I., p. 410.

⁴ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 4.

burg Centuriators, Flacius Illyricus, Wigand, and others, impelled by this spirit, published their *Church History* in thirteen folio volumes, a gigantic controversial pamphlet in behalf of Protestantism. Still it contained considerable historic manuscript material "which is valuable even to-day." To this work Cardinal Cæsar Baronius opposed his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, "which derive great value from the documents drawn from the Vatican archives and other sources."¹ But whilst this controversial use of history to some extent advanced historical research, it did but little service to historical truthfulness, impartiality, honesty, not to speak of intelligent criticism. Historians who write to support a doctrinal thesis, too often cannot see the truth, even if it stares them in the face. Luckily, Catholicity, being essentially a positive doctrine, and not built up in a spirit of negation, resorts to controversy only as a matter of necessity and a means of defence. Hence even whilst the religious battle was raging with the greatest fury, Catholic learning and piety turned again to the positive side of historical research. Among the earliest printed works had been legends and lives of the saints; and now in the midst of the sixteenth century the Carthusian Surius (died 1579), taking up the work which had in reality never been given up, published a collection, *Vitæ Probatorum Sanctorum*, "which first brought to light much useful historical matter; and though the Latin style is somewhat too elaborate, this hardly touches the subject matter."² Still all "monkish" legends were in those days denounced as fables, and in truth criticism had not at that time in many cases separated fact from fiction. So the Jesuit, Heribert Rosweyde, determined—not to uphold fiction and fact alike, not to furnish food for piety at the expense of truth, but—to sift critically all the enormous mass of material bearing on the lives of the saints, mercilessly to sacrifice the false, and thus to save the truth. He, having edited the *Martyrologium Romanum*, his brother Jesuit, John Bolland, was induced to undertake the *Acta Sanctorum*, the lives of all the saints, ancient and modern, arranged according to the Catholic calendar. The first volume appeared in 1653, and Bolland himself published five further volumes; then Daniel Papebroch and Godfrey Henschen took up the undertaking, and their work was especially successful. They were followed by other Flemish Jesuits, who formed a company called the Bollandists, that continued the work until the suppression of the order. During the present century, after its re-establishment, the Belgian Jesuits considered it a matter of honor to continue and complete the vast task begun by their brethren of old, and the whole work published to the present time numbers sixty-four folio volumes. Such was

¹ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 6.

² Wattenbach, l. c., p. 7.

the first great work of historic research published by Catholic scholars. But the lives of the saints, it may be said, comprise but a small and a very one-sided part of human history. So it would seem, at first sight. The Bollandist work shows that, treated in a large spirit, the lives of the saints include a great part of the history of the world since the establishment of Christianity, and especially during the middle ages. "I regard the *Acta Sanctorum*," says Prof. G. T. Stokes,¹ "as specially valuable for mediæval history, *secular* as well as ecclesiastical, simply because the authors, having had unrivalled opportunities of obtaining and copying documents, printed their authorities as they found them, and thus preserved for us a mine of historical material which otherwise would have perished in the French Revolution and its subsequent wars. Yet it is strange how little the mine has been worked. We must suppose, indeed, that it was due to the want of the helps enumerated above [alphabetic tables of contents, registers of names, etc.], that neither of our own great historians who have dealt with the middle ages, Gibbon and Hallam, has, as far as we have been able to discover, ever consulted them."

To prove how valuable a mine of secular and ecclesiastical history are these same *Acta Sanctorum*, Canon Stokes cites the titles of some of the critical treatises contained in the part of the work published before 1750. There we find dissertations on "the Byzantine historian Theophanes," on "Ancient Catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs," on certain mediæval "Itineraries in Palestine," on the "Patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem," on the "Bishops of Milan to the year 1261," on the "Mediæval Kings of Majorca," and no less than three treatises on the "Chronology of the Early Merovingian and other French Kings." In his essay on "The Introduction of the Arabic Numerals in Europe," Papebroch maintains, on the authority of a Greek manuscript in the Vatican Library written by an Eastern monk, Maximus Planudes, about 1270, that while the Arabs took their notation from the Brahmins of India about 200 A. D., they only introduced it into Eastern Europe so late as the thirteenth century."² He thus anticipated some of the results of the most modern research on this interesting theme. In the essay on the "Antiquity of the Carmelite Order," Papebroch rejected the claims of the Carmelites, "who traced back their origin to Elijah, the Tishbite. This piece of skepticism brought down a storm upon his devoted head, which raged for years and involved Popes, nay, even princes and courts in the quarrel."³

¹ "The Bollandists." G. F. Stokes, in *Contemporary Review* for 1883, I., p. 69, ff.

² Stokes, l. c., p. 78.

³ Stokes, l. c., p. 80.

⁴ Stokes, l. c., p. 83.

All this lore was not gathered without much toil and much expense. The Bollandists ransacked not only the libraries in the monasteries of their own country, but travelled throughout Europe to collect new facts and documents. In 1659, for instance, they went to Rome. "The Bollandists" [Papebroch and Henschen], says Stokes, "proceeded up the Rhine and through South Germany, making a very thorough examination of the libraries, to all of which free access was given: the very Protestant town of Nuremberg being most forward to honor the literary travellers, while the President of the Lutheran Consistory aided them even with his purse. . . . At Venice they found the first rich store of Greek manuscripts and thence also they despatched by sea to Bollandus the first fruits of their toil. From Venice they made a thorough examination of the libraries of Northeastern Italy at Vicenza, Verona, Padua, Bologna, whence they turned aside to visit Ravenna."¹ The journey so described seems to be the counterpart of some made by our modern historical explorers, a Boehmer for instance, a Mommsen, or a Ranke. It is well to recall the researches of the older historians, that they, too, may receive some of the praise so justly lavished on our modern scholars.

We have dwelt at some length on the gigantic work of the Bollandists, but not because they were the only laborers in the field of history; it was gratifying to lay before our readers a picture of their devoted zeal for historical truth and learning, drawn by a generous admirer, a dignitary of the Church of England, a picture, too, which faithfully portrays the spirit and the labors of so many others that followed in their footsteps.

"Alongside of the Jesuits," says Wattenbach, "the French Benedictines, after their order had taken a new and exceedingly vigorous start in the Congregation of St. Maur, undertook a similar work. The study of the history of their order soon became one of the chief aims of the congregation, and for many years its librarian, Dom Luc d'Achéry, aided by the entire community, gathered for this purpose invaluable materials. To help him work up this material, Dom Jean Mabillon was deputed in 1664, and he in turn was assisted by Germain and Ruinart. Between 1668 and 1701 they published the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, in nine large folios, that reach to the year 1100 and are of the utmost importance for history."² But the Benedictines by no means restricted themselves to the history of their order, and the elucidation of general history, which this work included. In 1676 Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV., had conceived the plan of making and publishing a systematic collection of documents illus-

¹ Stokes, l. c., p.

² Wattenbach, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, p. 8.

trating the whole history of France. This work was to replace the incomplete collection, in five folio volumes, made by Duchesne (1636-49). "Colbert's plan, however, was not carried out until later, when the monks of St. Maur undertook this task also. After these industrious and learned monks had rendered the most extraordinary services to the history of their order and the Church, and in various collections had made accessible unlimited historical material, they began in 1738 to publish the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, by Dom Bouquet and his successors, a collection the publication of which has been taken up again quite recently and which at present consists of twenty-one folio volumes."¹

In Italy the great number of states into which the country was split up, as well as their changing fortunes, made the historian's work doubly difficult. But Italy was the home of the Popes, and included Rome, the capital of Catholic Christianity. "The history of the Roman Church, written by Cardinal Baronius, embraced the whole Christian world, and in it every nation found the most important information regarding its own past from the treasures of the Vatican archives. Many original documents, relating to the history of Italy, Ughelli first brought to light in his great work, *Italia Sacra*, which was improved and enlarged by Coleti.² At the same time flourished Ludovico Antonio Muratori, who, with the most comprehensive learning, never-resting industry and untiring activity, laid the foundations of Italian history, on which modern historians continue to build to the present day. His *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, in twenty-one folio volumes, 1723 to 1757, are the first comprehensive systematic collection of the documentary history of any country, and to this day the only one which has reached completion."³

Whilst in Flanders, France, and Italy, Catholic monks and Catholic priests, unaided by the State, relying on their own means and their own toil, were scouring the continent for historical material and placing it at the disposition of the scholars of the world, Germany presented a far less inspiring spectacle. "True," says Wattenbach, "their example (*i. e.*, that of the Bollandists and Maurines) roused to imitation, but all attempts failed, partly because of the indolence of the monasteries that were sunk in wealth and luxury, partly because of the jealousy of the princes who thought it dangerous to allow their clergy to come in contact with their brethren of other States. This was the experience of the brothers Pez at Melk, who endeavored to infuse new life into the

¹ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 9.

² Ughelli's "*Italia Sacra*" comprised nine volumes, and was published 1644-62, whilst Coleti extended it to ten volumes in 1717-1721.

³ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 9.

old Benedictine order; but they failed in founding a congregation, which might have united the forces at hand and used them systematically for a common purpose, as in France." Still the brothers Pez, German Benedictines, unaided and unencouraged, did their own duty manfully, and between 1721 and 1745 published nine volumes of historical documents illustrating the history of Austria and other parts of the German Empire. But before the appearance of these volumes efforts had been made to form a society of the learned to further learning in the Empire, and especially historical learning. This plan was conceived by John Christian von Boineburg, the councillor of the Catholic Elector Bishop of Mainz, the friend of the great Leibnitz. The latter, great in philosophy, great in mathematics, great in science, was equally great in the field of history. He not only gathered immense quantities of material for German history, but earnestly endeavored to instil into others his own devotion and enthusiasm. He was himself a Protestant, but among the foremost of his assistants was Ekkard, a convert and afterwards councillor to the Bishop of Augsburg. Ekkard was not only an enthusiastic collector, but "no one pointed out with more intelligence and keenness the lack of discrimination and systematic choice that characterized the older collections, even that of Leibnitz. Unfortunately his own work, the *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi* (1723), was liable to the same charges."

Up to this time, outside of Leibnitz's work, nothing had been done by Protestants that could be at all compared with the great collections undertaken and in part so creditably carried out by Catholics. The latter had been leaders, not laggards, in the cause of historical progress. "It was the existence and rich endowments of the great monasteries," says Canon Stokes, "which explains the publication of such immense works as those of the Bollandists, Mabillon, and Tillemont, quite surpassing any now issued, even by the wealthiest publishers among ourselves, and only approached, and that at a distance, by Pertz's 'Monumenta' in Germany."³ Surely this is glory enough, but it is not all. When Protestant Germany at last felt called to take part in the movement, of which to-day she is the leader, "the example of Muratori in Italy and the Maurine Benedictines in France invited to imitation, but every wish and every attempt was foiled, as were the first beginnings just mentioned (those of Leibnitz and his scholars) by German divisions, by the impossibility to secure the co-operation of many, by the lack of sufficient means." It was only after the great Napoleonic wars, when a new national spirit arose among

¹ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 9-10,

² Wattenbach, l. c., p. 13.

³ Stokes, l. c., p. 73.

the Germans, that the efforts of Arndt and Grimm, and especially of Von Stein, after many disappointments were crowned with success. Not till 1819 was it possible to found the Society for the Study of Old German History. It is not the purpose of this paper to write the annals of the struggles and disappointments which tried the souls of its pioneers. One incident, however, related by Wattenbach, so strongly illustrates the attitude of the Papacy to this and all undertakings for the promotion of historical studies that we must record it. G. H. Pertz was the man who carried out Stein's plans; by his self-sacrifice, his learning, and his judgment he showed what a man of intelligence and vigor could do, and effectually laid the foundation of all its subsequent success. His first journey, in 1820, led him to Rome; while elsewhere in Italy he met with not a few disappointments, "he secured from the Papal Regesta alone 1800 unprinted letters."¹

The French Revolution and the movements consequent thereon have swept away hundreds of monasteries from the face of Europe. Jesuits and Benedictines have been robbed of the wealth they so worthily used in the cause of historic and other learning. Their means have shrunk, but not their love of knowledge, their zeal to promote it. In the nineteenth century De Backer and his brethren in Belgium have continued the work of Bolland and Papebroch. Elsewhere the plundered monks cannot vie with the Mabillons, the Ruinarts, and the Bouquets. Still, even in England, where revived Catholicity is yet a young and tender plant, the monk and the priest have already done their share to lay more firmly and more broadly the foundations of English history. The Jesuit Foley has published eight thick volumes of Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. The value and excellence of his work have been recognized by the most competent English authorities; in the opinion of the *Athenæum* it has laid forever the spectre Jesuit that for centuries was a bugbear to the English nation. To another Jesuit, Father Morris, we owe a collection of three volumes on the "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, told by themselves," which has thrown much light on the history of Catholic England during the days of the penal laws. Quite recently a Benedictine, Dom Gasquet, has published a work on the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., which has revealed the unparalleled wickedness of that measure of Henry's agents and their methods. In Germany scarcely a year passes without bringing us documents and monographs on the doings and sufferings of Benedictines, Franciscans, Cistercians and other orders, both before and since the "Reformation"; in France, where the monks of St. Maur have done so much for early French history. As to history in general,

¹ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 16.

earnest toilers do not neglect what they have left to be done. The name of Cardinal Pitra reminds us of the debt history owes to his toil and learning. Montalembert's "Monks of the West" is not only a work distinguished by eloquence and a brilliant style, it is the fruit of much honest and laborious research. His "St. Elizabeth" and the works of Ozanam and Rio are studies of mediæval history worthy of all praise. For years back the pages of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and the *Correspondant* have published historical monographs, distinguished alike for industry, learning, and keen criticism, and shedding floods of light on the most abstruse and difficult historical questions. The records of the National Society of French Antiquaries register papers after papers presented by French priests. In Spain, among the most distinguished archæologists is the Jesuit Padre Fita. In Hungary, whose bishops retain much of the great income with which Catholic princes, nobles, and burghers had endowed the Church, not a little of these revenues is devoted to publishing documents throwing light on the history of the nation. In our own country what name is more respected among historical scholars than that of Dr. J. Gilmary Shea? Relying chiefly on his own enthusiasm and indomitable energy, he has hunted up documents and scarce printed works illustrating the early history of our country and the glorious work of the Catholic missionaries; he has published, or republished, and translated them, until his published works amount almost to a library. And now he crowns his noble career by his monumental "History of the Church in the United States." In Italy itself, distracted as Rome was by Carbonari agitation and revolutionary movements manifold in kind and origin, hindered in her action and cramped in her revenues, long before the accession of Leo XIII. the purse of Gregory and of Pius was always open to encourage the noble work of the two De Rossis and their predecessors. Salaried and aided by the Popes, the two Theiners delved into that mine of history, the Vatican archives, and no one will charge them with being Papal Janissaries; many have taxed them with being hardly fair to the Catholic Church. And now comes the thirteenth Leo; with characteristic energy and enlightenment he not only opens the Vatican archives to all genuine students, he calls on the deepest and most active Catholic historical scholars, a Hergenroether, a Pitra, a Balan, a Denifle, to explore their wealth, to discover their treasures, to publish the results honestly and impartially. Truly Leo is a genuine lover of historical science, but this love of history is not peculiar to him; he has inherited it from the Church of the past, from the Church of Baronius, of Bolland and Papebroch, of Mabillon, Ruinart and Dom Bouquet, of Muratori and De Rossi.

THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP—DOES IT
SPRING FROM THE NATURAL OR THE
HUMAN LAW?

UNDER the above title we propose to fairly and squarely put before our readers the two prevailing opinions in Catholic schools as to the right of individual ownership.

The first maintains that the origin of that right must be sought in a formal or presumed agreement among the nations of the earth. It was generally held by those authors who wrote during that period which embraces the latter part of the Middle Ages, down to the first half of the eighteenth century.

The second opinion insists that the right of individual property is derived from the natural law. This, with hardly any exception, is the opinion of all modern Catholic writers on the subject.

Before entering upon a detailed explanation of each of the two systems, we deem it necessary to say a few words by way of introduction, in order to render the problem easier and more intelligible to our readers.

In the first place, it is to be observed that whatever may be the opinion held by the authors of either system as to the origin of individual proprietorship, they all agree that the fact which brings into existence such a right is *human activity*, which either apprehends a certain object and appropriates it; or exercises itself upon a certain object to produce a change in its form. The first is called Occupancy, the second, strictly speaking, Labor.

Again, the objects which may be appropriated may be either substantially permanent, whatever be the use to which they may be put and whatever change of form they may be made to undergo; or they may be perishable by use. It is agreed by the writers of both contending opinions, with few exceptions, that the right of individual property in things perishable by use is derived from the natural law. "As all things," says Cardinal Gerdil, "which the earth produces, fruits, vegetables, roots, plants, domestic as well as wild animals, are so fitted to the necessities, use and advantage of human life, that reason cannot fail to see that they were not made by accident, but, as the philosophers themselves acknowledged, designedly given to mankind by a most beneficent God; and, on the other hand, as God has gifted man with intelligence and free will and other faculties in order that he might dispose of all things, and appropriate them to his own use, it follows that by an *institution of nature and in force of the natural law*

man may make use of all exterior things for food and raiment, and the preservation and enjoyment of life; and thus to have a real dominion over these things." (Gerdil, *Theol. Moralis*, Cap. 4, Prop. 2.)

But how with regard to those goods which are permanent, and which human personality by its activity may occupy not only to apply to his own profit those fruits which they spontaneously yield, but also in order to exert its own activity upon them, to increase and to multiply their productiveness and their value?

Here the divergence of the two opinions begins. The first maintains that both the right to occupy and to appropriate permanent goods, such as the earth and the fruit it naturally produces, and the right to own what is produced by human activity exerting itself upon those goods, are derived from a *human positive compact creating and sanctioning such a right*. For the sake of brevity and clearness we will call the upholders of such opinions Compactists.

The second opinion holds that both rights, the one which comes from the part of occupancy, and that which comes from human labor, spring necessarily from the natural law. We will designate the defenders of this second opinion by the name of Naturalists.

But as it is evident that human activity cannot exert itself upon nothing, and that all possible exercise of men's powers presupposes the occupancy and appropriation of a permanent object, prominent among which must be reckoned the earth, it follows that the question about the right of individual proprietorship finally and in the last analysis must be reduced to the right originating in the occupancy of the earth.

The problem, being thus narrowed down to land, may be put as follows: Does the right of private ownership in land originally springing from occupancy arise from the natural law or from the purely positive law of a human agreement?

At the commencement of man's history the earth was unoccupied and common to any one who might chance to be cast upon it. Gradually and insensibly we find the same earth cut up into parcels of different sizes, and appropriated by certain individuals, families, or nations.

Now it may be asked by what law was the earth divided and appropriated by individuals, families, or nations? Was this partition made and the appropriation effected by a right inherent in man's nature and wants, or was it done and effected by a mutual agreement among the nations, and therefore by a purely human positive law, perhaps reasonable, but none the less arbitrary? Here we may as well define what is meant by natural law, and what is understood by merely positive human law.

The natural law is that which results from the necessary intrinsic and essential relations of things. For instance, we desire to ascertain what is the law governing the free action of man in respect to his God. We have recourse to the essential and necessary relation of things, and we ask, what are the essential intrinsic relations of man with regard to God? And by studying the terms of the relation, their respective natures, the bond which unites them together, we find that man stands to God in the relation of a creature to his Creator, and therefore in the relation of absolute dependence upon Him in everything, his nature, his existence, the preservation of his existence, etc.; and we conclude that the law which should necessarily govern man's free action as to his Creator is to theoretically and practically acknowledge this relation of dependence with all the powers and faculties of his nature. The natural law, therefore, is that which emanates and is derived from the intrinsic and essential relations of things; and a right originating in the natural law is a moral faculty to do, or to have, certain things resulting from the necessary and essential relations of things.

The purely and simply human positive law is a rule of action, by no means resulting from the necessary relations of things, but made and enacted purely by the will of man; and a right springing from such a law is a faculty to do or to have certain things, deriving its existence and force simply from the will and authority of man.

The differences between the two rules of action referred to are too obvious to need much elucidation. The things commanded or forbidden by the natural law are called good or bad because they are so of their own nature; whereas the things commanded or forbidden by the positive law are called good or bad, not because they are such indeed considering their nature, but because they are commanded or forbidden.

The second difference is that the natural law obliges all at all times and in all places. The merely positive human law binds only those for whom it is made, in the place and time specified.

The third difference is that the natural law, the relations of things remaining the same and unaltered, is immutable; whereas the positive law can always be changed.

From the differences we have pointed out it is apparent that the natural law and the merely positive human law differ in almost everything in their source—the former originating in the essential relations of things, the other in the arbitrary will of man; in the extent of their obligation—the one binding all in time and space; the other obliging some in a certain locality and for a time; in the nature of the obligation—the one being necessary and immutable;

the other changeable at will. There is only one point of contact between them, but it is a point of the highest importance. It is this: that a merely positive human law, to be a law, and to have an obligatory force, must have the sanction of the natural law.

This may be understood in a twofold sense, in a positive as well as in a negative sense. A human law is said to have the sanction of the natural law in a positive sense when it is really and directly conformable and agreeable to the natural law. A human law is said to be sanctioned by the natural law in a negative sense if, when considered in all its circumstances, its source, its nature, its comprehension, its permanence, its effects, it does not conflict with the natural law. The positive sanction of the natural law is not at all necessary to the human positive law; because a thing commanded by a human law may be altogether outside the province of the natural and necessary relations of things, and nature may be absolutely unconcerned about it; for instance, that such and such a tax, ordered by the government, should be paid on such a day, at such a time and place. But the sanction in the second sense is absolutely necessary to a human positive law; the moment such a law conflicts and is in opposition with the natural law, that moment it ceases to be a law and loses all binding force; for no law is possible, no matter by what positive authority it may be enacted, if it contravenes the precept of the natural law and therefore runs counter to the essential and necessary relations of things.

Between the natural law and the merely positive human law is to be ranked what is called the *jus gentium*, of which we must give an idea to complete our preliminary remarks.

All authors agree that the *jus gentium* is something between the natural law and the merely positive human law. "Having explained," says Suarez, "the natural law, it is but proper that we should, at the end of the book, treat of the *jus gentium*, inasmuch as it partakes of the nature of law; not only for its affinity with the natural *jus*, which is so great as to have caused many writers to identify it with the natural *jus*, but also by the manner in which it differs from it; it is nearest to it and almost medium between the natural and the human *jus*." (Suarez, *De Legibus*, I., b. 2, ch. 17.)

There are several opinions as to the nature of the *jus gentium*, but the principal may be reduced to two. The first maintains that it is a conclusion of the natural law, necessarily resulting from the essential relations of things, a conclusion drawn by the human intellect, at all times and in all places, the moment it reflects on the natural law. "Sentiunt (aliqui theologi) *jus gentium* habere intrinsicam necessitatem in suis præceptis, solumque differri a naturali, quia *jus naturale* sine discursu innotescit, *jus autem*

gentium per plures illationes et difficiliores colligitur." (Suarez, ib., par. 8.)

Others opine that the *jus gentium* is not the same as the natural *jus*, or implied in it as a consequence is included in its premises; but, properly and strictly speaking, it is nothing more than a real positive human law, since its enactments do not emanate from the necessary relations of things, but are introduced by the consent and pleasure of men in view of their fitness and utility.

"*Jus gentium* non est idem cum jure naturali proprie et stricte sumpto, nec sub illo continetur, sed sub positivo.

"Probatur. Jus naturale est absolute et ex natura rei necessarium, independenter a concursu hominum; jus positivum, contra; atqui *jus gentium* non est absolute et ex natura rei necessarium, sed secundum utilitatem et congruentiam ex hominum beneplacito et consensu introductum." (Billuart, De Just. et de Jure, D. III., 1 Art., 3).

According to the advocates of the opinion just enunciated, the differences between the natural law and the *jus gentium* are very important.

The first is that the affirmative precepts of the *jus gentium* do not imply and suppose a real necessity of the thing demanded, as in the case of those of the natural law which are deduced from the nature of the thing, by an evident conclusion from natural principles.

"*Jus gentium* non infert necessitatem rei præceptæ ex sola rei natura per evidentem illationem ex principiis naturalibus, quia quidquid hujus modi est, est naturalè." (Suarez, ib.)

The second difference is that the negative precepts of the *jus gentium* do not prohibit a thing because evil in itself and of its own nature, but the prohibition causes it to be considered bad.

"Simili modo præcepta negativa juris gentium non prohibent aliquid quia per se malum; nam hoc est etiam mere naturale, unde non prohibet mala quia mala sunt, sed prohibendo facit esse mala." (Suarez, ib.)

The third difference is that the *jus gentium* cannot be considered immutable and unchangeable, in the same manner as the natural *jus*; because immutability has its origin and source in the necessity of the thing; and that which is not equally as necessary as the things commanded or forbidden by the *jus gentium*, cannot claim the same immutability.

"*Jus gentium* non potest esse tam immutabile sicut naturale; quia immutabilitas ex necessitate oritur; ergo quod non est æque necessarium non potest esse æque immutabile." (Suarez, ib.)

Fourth difference: Strictly speaking, therefore, the *jus gentium* must be considered a simply and merely human law.

"Unde tandem concludi videtur *jus gentium* simpliciter esse humanum et positivum." (Suarez, ib.)

From the statements just made we must conclude that the *jus gentium* is changeable inasmuch as it depends upon the consent of men, and this corollary must be understood not only of the affirmative precepts of the same, but also of the negative. The reason is simply that that which is commanded or prohibited by the *jus gentium* is not at all intrinsically necessary, but only expedient, convenient, more agreeable, and therefore its precepts, either negative or positive, draw their binding force, not from any imperative natural necessity, but from human authority and consent, and as such may be changed by the same authority. (Suarez, ib.)

Having premised these few notions on the different kinds of *jus*, and to which we must necessarily refer in our discussion, we proceed to state the opinion of those theologians and writers whom we have denominated Compactists.

We will exhibit their theory under a number of statements.

First.—They all agree in teaching that the partition of the earth and the appropriation of its several portions by the different nations, families, or individuals are sanctioned by the natural law, at least in a negative sense, inasmuch as they do not conflict in any way, nor are in opposition, with the natural law.

"Communitas rerum tribuitur juri naturali, non quod jus naturale illam præcipiat; sed quia non jubet distinctionem possessionum et permittit communitatem rerum; adeoque proprietas seu possessionum distinctio non est contra jus naturæ, sed juri naturali ut quid magis conveniens superadditur." (Bill., De Jure, Diss. 4, Art. 1.)

There is only one doctor, to our knowledge, who opposes this common opinion of the Compactists, that is, Duns Scotus, who, as Suarez remarks, holds that the natural law prefers the communion of goods, but allows the division and partition in case of necessity. (Suarez, De Opere Sex Dierum, Lib. 5, Ch. 7, parag. 17.)

Second Statement.—All Compactists are agreed that, on the supposition of man having preserved his innocence, and transmitted it to his posterity, the community of goods and possessions would have prevailed, because in that happy condition and high state of harmony and good fellowship there would have been no need of any division. (Bill., ib.)

Third Statement.—They are unanimous in holding that in the present state of fallen nature the division of goods and possessions is not only lawful, but most expedient and beneficial. (Bill., ib. See also Laymann, De Jure et Just., Lib. 2, Tract 1, Ch. 5.)

Fourth Statement.—That, limiting ourselves to what is really necessary, such division was not demanded by the natural law,

since the natural *jus* is absolutely indifferent as to either mode of holding the earth; nor was it prescribed by any positive divine law, as we have no evidence of such law having been proclaimed, either in Holy Writ or in Tradition; that therefore such partition was authorized by the *jus gentium*, inasmuch as men, taking into account the corruption of nature, and the grave evils occasionally resulting from the community of possessions, by an explicit or tacit consent, introduced the division of goods. (Billuart, *ib.*)

Fifth Statement.—All Compactists concur in considering the *jus gentium*, and therefore the consent, formal or tacit, of mankind as the source and the origin, not only of the right to privately own those permanent objects which may be obtained by occupancy, such as the earth and other durable things; but also of those goods or values which may be created by human activity, so that if a man before the division agreed upon by mankind had worked the earth and multiplied its fruits, if he had used the staple material spontaneously yielded by the earth, and worked it into something of much greater value for the use or pleasures of life than it had before, that something would not have been his own, it could not have been his individual property, but the community's, and every one could have taken and used it without scruple. Billuart, with others, freely admits the consequence. "You will say, suppose Abel by his skill and industry had painted a beautiful image, would it not have been a theft in any one who should have deprived him of it? I answer that before the division the taking of that image would no more have been a theft than the taking away part of the harvest in a field." (Bill., *De Jure et Just.*, Diss. 4, Art. 1.)

Sixth Statement.—Likewise all these Compactists concur in saying that that which gives force and validity to any title in individual proprietorship comes from the consent of men, as understood and modified by the civil laws of each particular commonwealth. (Gerdil, *loc. cit.*)

Seventh Statement.—Finally, all Compactists agree in holding that the property of private individuals is subject to the authority and laws of the commonwealth, so that the right of such individuals is absolute in regard to other individuals, but not so in relation to the authority of the Commonwealth, which possesses the *altum dominium* over all private ownership, so as to be entitled, should the common good require it, to take it away from its owners without any compensation whatever. (Gerdil, *loc. cit.*, also Billuart, Diss. 4, Art. 3, Parag. 11.)

The reason which is alleged in support of this *dominium* of the commonwealth over all private ownership, a *dominium* called *altum*, and which entitles the state, for the common good, to alienate private ownership, or to take it altogether for the common

good, without any compensation, is that the very same power which gave the property to private owners can take it away from them. (Billuart, *loc. cit.*, also Contenson.)

Such is the complete theory of those writers whom, for the sake of clearness and brevity, we have styled Compactists. Among them may be mentioned Duns Scotus, Suarez, Molina, the Salmanticenses, Lessius, Sanchez, Bannez, Cunniliati, Contenson, Gerdil, Laymann, Schmalzgrueber, Reiffenstuel, and all those schoolmen and theologians who maintain that the *jus gentium* is a purely positive human law introduced by the consent of mankind, either actually expressed or presumed to have been given in some other way.

Before proceeding to state the theory of those writers whom we have called Naturalists, we will set forth the objections which modern Catholic writers have raised against the opinion just explained. And to put them in a clear light, we recapitulate the theory of the Compactists. We find everywhere, and at all times, men holding objects not consumable by use, and especially the earth, as individual property, to the exclusion of all others. Did the natural law authorize them to divide these objects and to appropriate them as their own? The answer of the Compactist is: The law of nature is perfectly and absolutely neutral as to either mode of holding such objects, either in common or in private. Private ownership, found to prevail everywhere and at all times, is the effect of a new *jus*, purely and merely human and positive, created by the consent of mankind.

This is the substance of the theory. But, in the first place, modern authors beg to know where is the historical foundation for such supposed consent of mankind to establish a new *jus* as an accessory to the natural law? When and where, and under what circumstances, was it given or taken for granted? Was it given contemporaneously by all the peoples of the earth, or did it take its rise from among one particular nation, and from it gradually spread among all the rest of the human family? And if the latter, what lucky nation can lay a claim to such a momentous discovery and invention?

Then again, if we suppose a real *bona fide* consent expressly given by mankind, we know that such an event never happened, according to all historical documents within our reach. "If," says Rosmini, "an explicit consent, given by all men in the first formation of civil society, is made to intervene to account for individual proprietorship, such a thing is not only a vain hypothesis, but a downright chimera. To be sure, we do not deny that men, not on one, but on many occasions, have divided lands among themselves, either by means of private contract or by laws almost agrarian in

their nature; but such enactments only regulated, and did not create, individual property.”—(*Filosofia del Diritto*, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, Ch. 2, Art. 2.)

But suppose we turn to a tacit and presumed consent of mankind, what proof is there to warrant such supposition? The only plausible argument that could be urged in favor of such supposition is the fact that, as a rule, individual property is found generally and invariably at all times and among all nations. Now such a fact must be accounted for, and what reason more simple and natural could be alleged than that men almost spontaneously and instinctively consented to have it so? The argument would be good if there were no other hypothesis possible, the only case where a hypothesis can have any real logical value. But in our case there is the hypothesis of the Naturalists, who hold that individual proprietorship is the necessary outcome of the natural relations of things; there is the supposition of the Socialists and Communists, who say that it was a usurpation. The fact, therefore, of individual proprietorship cannot be accounted for by the hypothesis of a tacit consent of mankind.

In the second place, modern authors would beg to know whether, at the time when the division of the earth was made and private ownership introduced, mankind was divided into nations organized under some kind of civil government, or was as yet in a rudimental primitive state and condition without any kind of organization?

If we suppose that mankind at this epoch of its history was already divided into several nations, each one distinct from the others, organized under a certain form of government, then, we would ask, how is it possible to conceive a nation and a civil government without presupposing the right of individual proprietorship? The very fact of a nation, strictly so called, distinct from all other nations, implies a certain territory occupied and exclusively claimed by a certain race of men. For what other idea do we form of a nation?

The fact of individual proprietorship must necessarily precede the formation of distinct nationalities, and could not, therefore, be supposed to originate in the consent, expressed or presumed, of civilized nations. On the other hand, if we assume mankind to have given their consent before the division and distinction of races and of communities, the supposition is flatly contradicted by history; since the oldest historical record in our possession, the *Genesis* of Moses, represents the first two sons of Adam as being the possessors of individual property, and the early patriarchs owners of extensive tracts of land and of all other kinds of property. The only refuge left to the Compactists, who insist on this tacit or formal consent of mankind to account for the very first individual

calling a thing really his own, is the hypothesis of Rousseau as to the primitive state of man, that is, to have recourse to a remote early period of man's existence located beyond all historical record, when, like a perfect savage, he roamed about free and uncontrolled, without language, without shelter, without any social instincts, and perfectly happy in such a state, as most agreeable to his nature, until some one established individual proprietorship, and found others simple enough to agree to it, at which time civil society was really created. "He who denies the origin of private ownership" from the civil laws, says the *Civiltà Cattolica*, "supposes that the primitive or natural life of men, as its upholders are pleased to call it, was unsociable and savage, *pecudum more*, and that from such a state they must have passed to civil society. But such opinion naturally supposes the other opinion of the positive community of goods in the savage life. Moreover, against such opinion is found history, which exhibits the Patriarchs as private owners possessed of extensive domains, and as such recognized, though they did not live in any civil commonwealth, but only in a domestic state. Tradition, also handed down to us in the different codes of laws, teaches that private property was among all nations invariably held as a sacred right, and as an institution already existing, protected indeed, as it is to-day, by the laws, but not created by them."—(Civ. Catt., Series 8, vol. 9, pag. 436.)

Moreover, modern Catholic authors inquire of the Compactists if it be reasonable to suppose a consent of all mankind in establishing and sanctioning private ownership on such terms as are alleged by them. Is it within the limits of reasonable belief to maintain that mankind agreed to the division of the earth and other permanent goods, and to their exclusive appropriation by individuals on terms of such remarkable disparity, that some few should have large domains, others very small tracts, and the vast majority none at all? If individual ownership of such goods were not derived from a natural law, from an intrinsic justice of its own, but its lawfulness and morality depended on the arbitrary consent of men, is it not more agreeable to common sense to suppose that these would not have given their consent except upon better terms for themselves; that is, on condition that such goods should be evenly and equally divided among all? Is it not an absurd thing to imagine that the poor should be willing and pleased that the rich man should have and retain his vast domains, filled with all kinds of other permanent goods, whilst they would not have enough ground under their feet on which to build a modest hut to shelter them? It is evident, then, that men would not willingly and deliberately give such consent to establish a new *jus* on the terms proposed by the Compactists.

Nor does it improve the matter to put forward the hypothesis of a tacit and implied consent. For, in order reasonably to take for granted that a man has tacitly and validly consented to a law or custom which must needs be created, strengthened and made valid by that same consent, it is absolutely necessary that he should, at least substantially, be fully aware of the whole import and extent of that law or custom, and also that he should be at liberty to give or to refuse that consent, and whilst thus free from any kind of compulsion, should cheerfully and of his own accord accede to that law or custom.

Now, will the Compactists affirm that the majority of mankind have sufficiently reflected upon the comprehensiveness and extent of the law of individual property, that they have formed and passed an internal judgment and verdict as to its utility and advantage? Is it not true, on the contrary, that men have merely taken things as they found them, and, without any reflection or consideration, have adapted themselves to the condition of things in which they were born and brought up? How, then, in the name of logic, can they be supposed to have given an intelligent and free consent to an institution which purports to have been created and supported and maintained by such assumed agreement?—(Rosmini, *Fil. del Diritto*, *loc. cit.*)

But conceding this consent, formal or tacit, on the conditions alleged by our friends the Compactists, we may inquire further into the reasons and motives which induced mankind to consent to such a division and appropriation, and ask on what ground both were allowed to be introduced? Not certainly on the ground that they were imperatively demanded by the intrinsic nature of things, as in such case they would take their rise in the natural law; for what is imperatively demanded by the necessary relations of things springs from the nature and essence of things, results from the natural law, and is obligatory and binding independently of the consent of any one.

This is freely admitted by the Compactists, who teach that the division of goods and private ownership commend themselves very strongly to human reason, as a better, easier and safer mode of deriving from those goods all possible advantage on behalf of the individual and of society; but they insist that both would never have been introduced, nor commanded respect, nor be obligatory, without the consent of mankind. Modern authors, therefore, conclude from this that, if private ownership was introduced, it was simply because men were willing to yield their own rights, if any, for the sake of deriving those advantages supposed to accrue to all from individual ownership.

But did such right exist? Had those who entered upon this compact any such claim?

Certainly not, on the principle of the Compactists. Their principle is that the natural law neither countenances the possession of permanent goods in common nor in private; that it keeps an absolutely negative, unarmed neutrality between them. Now it is asked by our modern authors what possible right, in the face of such principle, could any individual of the human race claim in the earth or in any other permanent object? The answer must be that in force of the natural law (and at the period we are alluding to there was no other law to go by), any individual of the human race, every person constituting the human family, could claim no other right in these permanent goods than such a temporary precarious tenancy and use of them as would be consistent with that perfect indifference of nature's law proclaimed by the principle. A logical consequence of this is that men in consenting that the earth and other goods should be divided and private ownership of them introduced, were giving away a right which they never had or could have, and went beyond all reasonable powers. If by the natural law they had no other right to the earth or other permanent goods than the mere temporary occupancy and use thereof, and that not absolutely and exclusively, but for as much and as long as their present wants required, it is evident that they could yield no more than what they had, and that a *jus gentium* establishing individual proprietorship in those objects is as vain and futile as the right of those who are presumed to have set it up. The trite axiom, *Nemo dat quod non habet*, applies, to the very letter, to this case. In agreeing expressly or by implication to sacrifice their own individual right, the contracting parties consented to make over what they did not possess, and stepped beyond the limit of their authority.

But suppose they did go beyond their power and created the right of individual proprietorship by the *jus gentium*, would such a *jus* exhibit that essential condition to every human law, the sanction of the natural law? On the fundamental principle of the Compactists such a *jus* would have no sanction of the natural law, nay, it would be in positive conflict with it.

This fundamental principle is, as we have so often remarked, that the natural *jus* in the matter of holding the earth and all other permanent goods is absolutely and perfectly neutral; it neither sanctions the possession of such goods in common nor the appropriation of them by individuals. It has no preference for either. This, of course, must be understood in the limits of strict natural necessity; in other words, suppose it is asked which of the two means is simply and absolutely necessary to man's life and welfare, considering him either individually or collectively, in the family or in society, the holding of permanent goods in

common, or their division and apportionment to distinct individuals to be held and administered as exclusively their own?

The natural law proclaims loudly—neither the one nor the other is simply necessary. *Divisio rerum facta est non jure naturæ; quia jus naturæ neque eam præcipit, neque ad eam inclinat ut quid simpliciter necessarium.* (Bill., *loc. cit.*). But it should be added that our friends the Compactists have no choice in this matter; they must hold on to the supreme indifference of the natural law on pain of having the whole of their theory scattered to the four winds of heaven. Let them give up this fundamental principle of the indifference of the natural *jus*, and the whole system falls to the ground. Suppose they should say the natural law *demand*s the communion of goods; then it would follow that individual proprietorship is in flat contradiction with the natural law, and therefore unjust and immoral. On the other hand, imagine them asserting that individual ownership is imperatively *prescribed* by the natural law, then it would follow as a necessary inference that private property takes its rise in the natural law, and not in the consent of any human will. Whichever way they turn, by the logical necessity of their system the Compactists must necessarily maintain, as the foundation principle of their system, that the natural law, so far as prescribing any necessary means is concerned, neither commands the division of goods nor is inclined towards it, but is simply neutral.

But if such a principle is a necessity of their system, we ask by what right, by what natural justice or equity is this indifference of the natural law practically abolished to introduce a partisanship of the most odious kind, that of dividing the earth and allotting the different portions thereof to certain individuals to the exclusion of others for all future time? What has become of the neutrality of the natural law? In other words, either this boasted neutrality and indifference of the natural law is true and real and a *bona fide* neutrality, or it is not. If it is not, the Compactists must give up their theory; if it *is*, then what right have any number of men or the whole human family together to abolish this neutrality, to do away with this indifference by setting up arbitrarily and without necessity a *jus* which can only be defended on the assumption that there is no such theory as nature's indifference in this matter? For whatever the Compactist may assert to the contrary, this boasted indifference and neutrality is absurd, as it would render the possession of permanent goods impossible, either by the community or by individuals. If these goods were in common, one might ask, by what right do you hold these goods when nature neither demands nor countenances such manner of possession? If, on the other hand, they were held in private by distinct individuals, one might inquire

by what reason or title do you hold in private as your own these goods, when nature neither prescribes nor leans towards any such means of possession? The principle, therefore, is absurd, and whilst theoretically admitting it as a dire necessity of their theory, the Compactists practically deny it. For it is evident that they unconsciously assume the very opposite principle, whilst they are insisting on this indifference of the law of nature as to either means of possessing permanent goods; the real principle underlying their theory being that mankind collectively understood really and positively owned those goods in common according to the natural law; and that is the very reason why in that supposed convention, real or imaginary, they considered themselves authorized to agree to divide them and to set up individual proprietorship.

Without that assumption they could do nothing, because on the principle of indifference they positively and really had no right by the natural law either to own those goods in common or to possess them in private. Therefore they could not, according to the same law, enact any *jus* introducing either the one or the other.

But mankind, say the Compactists, did not introduce the holding of these goods in private as necessary; they did not enact a peremptory and imperative law; they introduced it simply as a means which commended itself to their common sense as the best to improve the resources of the earth, to enhance its value, and to draw from every individual all the good he can produce, and also as the most expedient means to avoid litigations, quarrels and difficulties of every kind. Strange contradiction of the Compactists! To maintain that the right of private ownership originates in a supposed consent of mankind, and not in the natural law, first they must start with admitting the absurd principle that the natural law is negatively indifferent as to either mode of possessing; then, being pushed into a corner by their adversaries, that, even admitting such a principle, men had no right to abolish it practically, because when they set up private ownership in those goods they practically did away with the neutrality of the natural law; and at this stage of the proceedings, to get over the difficulty they assert another strange theory, that the consent of mankind did not command or prescribe private ownership, but simply introduced it as a more advisable means. What is the logical consequence of this? That such a *jus* so introduced, as simply more expedient and advisable, is by no manner of means obligatory and imperative, that it has no binding moral force whatever, and that no one is morally bound to respect or maintain the institution it created. And it is what Socialists and Communists have said and proclaimed loudly for the last two centuries. As individual proprietorship, they say, originates in human authority, in a *jus* supposed to have been created by a real or im-

aginary consent of mankind, in contravention of the indifference of the natural law; as that *jus* did not even proclaim private ownership as a simply necessary means, but as something more expedient and more admirable, we insist that no one is bound to pay any attention to it, to respect it; we affirm that the whole thing is a usurpation, a violation of the rights of all, a fraud and a theft. *La propriété, c'est le vol.*

This naturally introduces the other remark which modern writers make against the theory of the Compactists, which is to the effect that stealing in that system is no longer an act really and intrinsically evil, as the Church has always believed, but simply an action evil because forbidden. According to their theory, to own anything in private, to the exclusion of all other men, does not originate in the natural, intrinsic, essential relations of things, but simply in human authority. I own a piece of ground. On what authority do I own it? On the authority of the natural law? On the strength of the essential relations of things? Certainly the contrary; otherwise the right of individual proprietorship would be derived from the natural law; I own it, therefore, on the authority of the *jus gentium*, which all Compactists admit to be purely and simply human law. If any one, therefore, by fraud or violence takes that piece of ground from me, he violates a human law, breaks a human enactment, goes counter to human authority, but does not contravene the natural essential relations of things. To steal, therefore, in the system of the Compactists, cannot be but a violation of a human law, a thing bad, to be sure, because prohibited by a human law, but not bad *in se*, of its nature, because conflicting with the essential relations of things; so much so that if the prohibition were removed or were to cease, it would no longer be evil, but either an indifferent or a praiseworthy action, according to circumstances.

Billuart is aware of the consequence resulting from his principles, and endeavors to get over it, with what success we leave our readers to determine. He proposes the objection, and it is of the simplest nature. "He who steals contravenes the natural *jus*. Therefore, he who owns anything does so by virtue of the same *jus*. Qui furatur peccat contra *jus naturæ*; ergo alter possidet jure naturæ." (De Modis Acquirendi Dom. Diss. 4.) The author very summarily dispatches the whole difficulty by denying the consequence of his *entimema*, and insisting that from the fact that stealing is contrary to the natural law, it does not follow that the right to own private property must spring from the same law. We have already proved that *it does*. Comprehending under the word stealing all kind of injury done to a man's property, we may define it to be the taking or the keeping away from a man, against his

own reasonable will, by occult means or open violence, that which belongs to him.

Now, by what right does a man call an object his own? By the natural right? Certainly not, according to our opponents. In consequence of certain natural relations which may have arisen, owing to a certain fact, between man's personality and the object? For instance, suppose a man paints a beautiful image on a piece of wood, the example given by Tournely; owing to that fact a natural and essential relation has arisen between him and that object, should he by force of that relation of cause and effect, of activity and of its term, *own* that picture? Certainly not, reply the Compactists; before the division of the earth and of all permanent objects, and the setting up of private ownership by the *jus gentium*, that painter would not *own* that picture or call it his own property, in spite of his activity and labor, so that any one could have taken it from him as any other product of the earth. Then whoever owns anything does so, exclusively speaking, on the strength of a human law. Therefore, if I deprive him of it I break and violate a purely human law, but do not contravene any intrinsic relation of things; my natural liberty to do or to omit that action is restrained and limited, not by the nature of things, but by a pure human command; should that cease, no reason founded on the essence of things could any longer limit my natural freedom.

Billuart contends that though the title to private ownership comes from the *jus gentium*, a mere human law, yet stealing is a violation of the natural law, because the natural law forbids the taking away from another what belongs to him, no matter what jus or right or title has secured it to him. "Quia jus naturæ prohibet rem auferre alteri quovis jure illam possideat."—(Bill., ib.) By a slight inadvertence the good Billuart fails to see that he is begging the question, the very question under discussion, and which modern authors are testing. Is it contrary to the law of nature to take away from a man that which he owns solely and exclusively on the strength of a human law?

That is the question. Billuart and the Compactists answer in the affirmative. Modern authors answer in the negative, and prove their negative answer as follows: Then and then only would stealing be contrary to the law of nature if it violated some natural intrinsic relation between the object stolen and its owner; because, as the law of nature is that rule of action which results from the essential relations of things, only the contravention of these relations can be a violation of natural law. But it is admitted by the Compactists that no natural essential relation binds the owner with the object he possesses, not even when the object derives its value in the greatest part from the owner's activity and

labor. Therefore stealing cannot be a violation of the law of nature.

The example brought forward by Billuart is a sorry quibble unworthy of the gravity of a theologian of his stamp. "A man possesses his wife through human choice, yet adultery is contrary to the law of nature."—(Billuart, *ib.*)

The answer is too obvious not to present itself to the minds of our readers. Marriage, as many other things, is one of those natural contracts, the essential nature and conditions of which are established by the law of nature and cannot be altered by any human power. All that the contracting parties are at liberty to do in the matter is to make choice of the persons or acts which realize the contract and cause its existence. This done, the contracting parties must submit to the inevitable conditions flowing from the essence of the thing. The man, then, who chooses a wife, and the woman who agrees to take him, cause the contract of marriage to exist in concrete, and in this particular instance; but their choice and consent do not affect or establish the essential laws of marriage already determined by nature. Therefore, anyone offending against them breaks the natural law, even if both parties should consent to the violation. But the case is different as to the present question. It is admitted and strenuously contended by the Compactists that nature and the natural *jus* do not give existence and origin to the right of individual proprietorship; that such a right springs simply and solely from human law, that without this human law it would not exist, that if such a law ceased the right itself would cease, and that that which was unlawful during the continuance of the human law forbidding it would be lawful and right the moment the law discontinued to be in force. Therefore to violate such a right can be nothing more than a violation of a human law.

Gerdil and Carriere agree with Billuart, but have no better reason to allege in favor of their opinion. Lessius makes a better attempt. He argues that the right to own property comes from a human law, yet stealing must be held as a violation of the natural law, "because the natural law forbids the taking anything from a man against his inclination, whatever may be the *jus* by which he may have come by the thing."—(Lessius, *De Jure et Jus.*, Sectio Prima, Disp. 3.)

Lessius, then, has recourse to the resentment which one feels when deprived of his own. And we admit that the reason appears to have greater plausibility; but it is only an appearance, since it is *false* that the natural law forbids the taking anything from a man when he objects to it, and when the thing is done against his consent expressed or supposed, and when we may easily suppose

that he will resent it. The law of nature forbids the taking something from a man against his *reasonable* inclination, and not against *his* inclination; it proscribes the doing anything which man may resent, but that resentment must be juridical resentment, that is, a resentment founded on reason and right. Why, if you take from a thief what he has just stolen, he will object to ~~it~~ by every means in his power and resent the action. Does it follow that it is against the natural law to deprive him of it? Certainly not, because his resentment is not juridical or reasonable.

What makes a man a proprietor? A human law. What protects and guarantees him in his property? A human law. Therefore he must be satisfied with that and claim no more.

Should he have recourse to the natural law, the violator might say, I know very well what I am doing; how can I be breaking the law of nature when what you claim as your own comes to you on the strength of a human law?

But I feel bad about it. It is not right, it is cruel and unnatural for you thus to tamper with my feelings. Neither is it right for you, would the law-breaker answer, to tamper with mine. The law of nature made all things neither for you nor for me in particular, but for all. What you own has come to you through an arbitrary human law. If I take something, is it not enough for you that I am breaking a positive law and am ready to abide the consequences of my violation, without your dragging in the law of nature, which has nothing at all to do with your being a proprietor.

But suppose the *jus gentium* to have created private ownership and the contemporary generations perfectly satisfied with the arrangement because the new *jus* was founded on their own consent expressed or implied, would such an arrangement have any binding force on future generations?

Certainly the contrary, on the principles of the Compactists. The thing did not originate in the natural *jus*; it was not strictly necessary, but was commended only as expedient and beneficial; it was founded on a compact of the generations who freely entered upon it. How, then, can future generations be morally bound to respect and to abide by it? This mutual agreement, says Signorello, could bind none except those who freely entered upon it; those who came after them could not surely be held by it except it were founded on the natural law. (Philos. Moralis, Par. 2, Ch. 2, Art. 4.)

"I would like to inquire," says Liberatore, "by what reason this compact could take the force of *jus* and oblige all future generations who never gave their vote for it." (Jus Naturæ, Par. 1, Ch. 4.)

A recent writer has attempted an answer to this argument by saying that the essential character of man's nature, which rendered

the division necessary, especially after the Fall, not being changed, but remaining the same, must weigh equally with future generations as it did with those who established individual property. Besides, the blessing and law of the increase of population render their distribution more and more indispensable as generations succeed generations.

This assuredly is a sorry defence of the pretended compact, and not at all calculated to recommend it to future generations. What does the defence amount to? To this, that, especially after the Fall, the division was rendered necessary by the essential character of man's nature, and that future generations should hold it sacred and inviolate because the essential character of their nature, not being changed, demands the same division; the necessity of which is made more indispensable and imperative in proportion as generations follow each other and become more and more numerous by reason of the law of increase.

We would beg of the common sense of our readers to decide whether this kind of reasoning, instead of demonstrating the necessity of any pretended compact causing individual proprietorship, does not, on the contrary, put in the best possible light the truth that such a right flows from the law of nature. What is necessary to the essential character of man's nature, what is indispensable to it, what becomes more and more exacting and imperative every day as generations of men succeed each other, is assuredly natural and not arbitrary, and must be derived from a law of man's nature and not from an imaginary compact which never existed, and which, considering that dire necessity, men would not have been at liberty to withhold, if ever called upon to offer an opinion.

Finally, the last reason against the Compact theory urged by modern writers is its liability to be changed or abolished on the same authority which established it. The right of changing or abolishing altogether that arrangement which set up private ownership entered upon either by means of a formal or tacit agreement must be conceded to every generation of man, and to the same generation as often as they deem it just or expedient to exercise it. For if one generation could convene and establish by a common consent individual proprietorship in permanent objects, why could not another generation come together and sweep away at one stroke all private ownership? Surely the early generations had no more power than the present one now has; therefore the latter can overthrow by an explicit or implied consent what the former set up by the same means. Billuart, the theologian, so much quoted and so much relied upon by the recent defenders of this theory, freely and cheerfully admits the consequence. In his "*De Jure*," Diss. I, art. 3, he says: "The natural *jus* is absolutely

and of its own nature necessary, independently of any human consent; the *jus gentium* is not absolutely and of its own nature necessary, but has been introduced by the good will and consent of men in view of its usefulness and expediency. This is proven by the example of those things which are admitted to originate in the *jus gentium*, such as the division of land, private ownership, etc. These and all such things are not absolutely and of their own nature necessary to human life, but have been introduced simply as useful and convenient by the will of men, so that they can be abrogated by the same will.

The power, therefore, of abrogating the division of land and of individual ownership *must* be conceded to all generations of men, present as well as past. And who can fail to perceive the fearful and pernicious tendency of such a theory? Who can fail to see the tremendous weapon which is put in the hands of Socialists and Communists by saying to them, "You can at your pleasure, if you see fit and the majority consent to it, overthrow the whole social fabric and set up another on purely socialistic and communistic principles most agreeable to yourselves?"

They (the Compactists), says the *Civiltà Cattolica*, have concluded that the division of possessions was a positive institution, having its foundation in a primitive contract, in the civil law, or in the will of the State. If they thought to have strengthened private ownership by such means, they were sadly mistaken. The Socialists have made better use of such opinion for their own cause. And, indeed, on all such theories every right of property must always be precarious. Do you suppose it is based on a contract? Why, the contract can be rescinded. You maintain that it is founded on laws; the laws may be repealed at the pleasure of the legislators. Do you hold it to depend upon the will of the state? That will can vary at pleasure. Therefore, in consequence of the possibility of change, all sorts of property are shaken, vacillate, and remain uncertain for to-morrow. (Series 8, Vol. 9, page 437.)

The same writer quoted above argues against this conclusion by saying that what has been arbitrarily gotten up cannot always be pulled down without injustice. We can only reply by saying that the writer, in giving such an answer, evidently shows that he has not considered fully the import of his theory, nor worked it out to its remote consequences. Because, on the theory of the Compactists, which he so valiantly defends,—and it requires no common skill to make such an absurd opinion plausible,—the word injustice has no sense as applied between those who set up the *jus gentium* with regard to property and those who benefit by it. How stands the theory? That the title to all kinds of individual proprietorship, the property which comes from the occupancy of permanent ob-

jects, as well as that which is the result of human industry, labor, and exertion of every kind, is founded on, and receives its value from, the consent of mankind, which formally or tacitly agreed to create such a right and title. This is the very substance of the opinion of the Compactists. Then what is the inevitable consequence of such a principle? That those who established and set up the right may pull it down; that those who gave value and force to the title may take it away from it. And could any one complain of wrong and injustice? No; because the title to any kind of property has no justice or injustice of its own inherent in nature, resulting from the necessary relation of things, but derives all its force and value and significance from the *jus gentium*. The *jus gentium* made it, and the *jus gentium* can unmake it; and nobody is wronged, no natural relation is contravened, no essential connection is broken. Therefore, if mankind to-day were to agree to abolish individual proprietorship and to substitute Communism in any one of its forms, no intrinsic wrong would be done to any one. Private owners might feel chagrined at it, the thing might be done under circumstances which might make it a sin to do so, but never a wrong and an injustice, and the change would have to stand.

Those who understand the theory of the Compact, and have worked it out to its remotest consequences, do not shrink from admitting them. We will cite Molina, assuredly one of the best and most strenuous defenders of the theory, and held in such high esteem by the writer himself of the article we are commenting on.

In his great work, "De Just. et de Jure," Vol. I., Tract. 1, Disp. 5, asking the question whether the *jus gentium* is subject to dispensation or abrogation, and answering in general in the affirmative for the reason of its having been introduced by the human will, he comes to discuss in particular the *jus gentium* with regard to the division of goods, and says: "With regard to the division of goods, if it were totally abolished, so many evils would result from it that it would undoubtedly be a mortal sin entirely to abolish it. But if it were done, I have no doubt that the thing would hold. The reason is that, as the human will was the sufficient cause of the division of goods, so must the human will be the sufficient cause for abolishing it."

Our readers will remark that Molina, with deliberation and with complete calculation of the terrible consequences and evils which a total abolition of all private property would entail, calls such an abrogation a mortal sin, but not an injustice, a wrong, and discards all idea of reparation or restitution, as he maintains that, if the thing were done, he has no doubt but it would hold.

However, with regard to the evils and disorders which would result from the abolition of private ownership, and which the afore-

said writer endeavors to make capital of to show that it would not be proper for mankind to annul the institution, we would beg to observe that society, and society alone, must be the sole judge of the expediency of the measure and of the amount of good expected from it, even making full allowance for the inevitable evils which must necessarily accompany a change of such vast proportions, and the uprooting of an institution which has sent forth its roots far and wide for so many generations.

In the second place, the evil, to be sure, would fall mostly on those who have experienced the fruit and the result of the first compact, that is, on all property owners who have enjoyed their wealth by the good will of society, and they may well put up with some suffering and privations at the hands of their own benefactor.

Thirdly, Socialists and Communists contend that no evil or disorder can compare with the terrible and unutterable woes, misery and wretchedness which have been entailed on mankind by the pernicious and iniquitous compact setting up individual proprietorship and maintaining it against all efforts to the contrary—a compact so infamous, so contrary to the laws of nature and humanity as to allow a few to nestle in the lap of luxury and comfort whilst the great majority of mankind are shivering with cold and hunger and dying of want. What possible reason can prevent these Socialists and Communists, should they ever be in the majority in any nation, from rooting out such a pernicious institution so as to give to their system a thorough and sufficient experiment?

We conclude the argument of modern Catholic authors against the theory of the compact. The alleged compact must be looked upon as a pure and unmitigated fancy and figment of the imagination, because—

1st. A formal convention of mankind, establishing by common agreement the division of the land and of all other permanent objects, and setting up the right of individual proprietorship, according to all known history, never took place.

2d. Because to account for such a convention unknown to history, it must fall back on a primitive state of man preceding all historical records, when he roamed about like a wild and untamed animal.

3d. Because, for want of historical proof testifying to the fact of any such real convention having taken place, it must suppose a tacit and presumed consent of mankind in the institution of private property on terms and conditions such as would never have been acceded to by the worst idiots.

4th. Because, on the supposition of such a convention, formal or tacit, in setting up the right of private ownership, the contracting parties would have gone beyond their right and their powers.

5th. Because such an agreement would have been in conflict with the natural law as a practical abrogation of the principle that the law of nature neither sanctions the right of holding property in common, nor the right of possessing it in private; and to abolish the former, to set up exclusively the latter, would contravene such law of nature.

6th. Because this presumed agreement, being the sole source and fountain from which the right of individual property is derived, would render stealing an indifferent action, evil if forbidden by human law, good if allowed.

7th. Because such an agreement would have no binding force or authority on the generation that never voted for it.

8th. Finally, because, as the early generation by a common agreement established private ownership, every succeeding generation must be allowed the power and authority to change, to modify, to abrogate, or to annul such agreement, and hence all property is shaken to the very foundation, all confidence gone, and the best possible weapons put in the hands of the enemies of property and social order.

Having explained and rejected the opinion of the Compactists, we come now to unfold and discuss the second opinion.

This has been held, as a rule, by all those writers who came after the French Revolution, and who had their attention forcibly called to the question of the origin of the right of property by the errors of Socialism and Communism. These, whom we have called Naturalists for the sake of brevity, maintain that the right of individual proprietorship originates in the natural law, and springs from the inherent essential, necessary relations of things.

The theory of the natural source of the right of property has been held by the best and the highest among the *élite* of Catholic writers. Besides St. Thomas¹ we may mention Cardinal De Lugo, who is *facile princeps* among moral theologians. "The natural *jus*," he says, "may be taken in two senses: as that which is common to man and to inferior animals; and in this sense the division of goods and dominions does not spring from the natural *jus*. In the second sense it is taken to mean a law binding independently of all positive commands which may be added to it. In this sense the division of goods and dominions, taking the latter in a generic signification, appertains to the natural *jus*. When, therefore, it is said that the division of goods and dominions was introduced by the *jus gentium*, this must be understood of the division generically considered, and not of this or that particular mode of

¹ See our pamphlet: The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the right of Property and of its Use.

acquiring dominion; and then the *jus gentium* spoken of is that which is distinct from the natural *jus* in the first sense, inasmuch as this is common to men and brutes, but not from the natural law understood in the second sense. Nay, Justinian expressly says that the *jus gentium* is that which theologians call the natural *jus*, that is, that which is independent of all precept added to nature's confines." (De Lugo, De Just. et de Jure, Disp. 6, Sectio Prima, Palmé Edition.)

The next in order are Cardinal Francis Toletus and Cardinal Gaietanus.

"The division of things," says the former, "was made by a human *jus*. But observe that the human *jus* is two-fold: the first is the *jus gentium*, which by reasoning and inference is derived from the natural law; the other is the positive, which is established by the human will. This division, therefore, was made by both laws; in general, indeed, by the *jus gentium* as to its imperativeness, that is, the *jus gentium* teaches that the division should be made. In particular, however, that this should belong to this one and that to another was done by the human will. And thus the aforesaid doctors¹ explain, and also Gaietanus, though they call the *jus gentium* itself natural because it is derived from the natural law." (Toletus, in Summa, 2a 2æ, Quest. 6, Art. 2.)

The next is Soto, who maintains that natural *jus* and the *jus gentium* are the same thing; and that the only difference between them is that the natural *jus* is that which is perceived by the human mind without reasoning or discourse, whereas the *jus gentium* is that which is elicited by the human reason from natural principles without any human convention and without long consideration. (Soto, De Just. et de Jure, Ques. 5, Art. 4.)

To these must be added the great Bellarmine and all those schoolmen and theologians who hold the doctrine that the *jus gentium* is a consequence of the natural law.

"*Jus gentium* est quasi conclusio deducta ex jure naturæ per humanum discursum." (De Controv. de Laicis, Ch. 6.) And in the work "De Bonis Operibus in Particulari," the same Bellarmine, Lib. 3, ch. 10, in refuting the opinion of those who contended that the evangelical law does not permit private property, concludes: "Who can believe that the evangelical law, which is most perfect and which does not destroy but adorns nature, would take away the advantages which accrue from the division of things, and entail all those inconveniencies and absurdities which arise from Communism and confusion?"

Bergier, in his "Droit des Gens," says: "C'est ce qu' une nation

¹ Gabriel Medina and others.

peut exiger d' une autre en vertu de la loi naturelle." (Dictionnaire Theologique, art. Droit des Gens.)

Tournely holds the same opinion. " Individual proprietorship of goods, and consequently the division thereof, must be attributed to the natural law." (De Just. et de Jure, Pars Secunda, Art. 4.)

Coming down to recent times, we venture to say that all Catholic writers in every department of science, theologians, canonists, philosophers, publicists, historians, orators, agree in holding the right of private ownership to have originated in the natural law. Among them we will mention, as representative, Dr. Brownson, who says explicitly: " The state does not create the right to property. The right to hold property is prior to civil society, and is one of those rights called the natural rights of man." (Works, Vol. 12, page 361.) And, highest of all, we have the testimony of Leo XIII., who distinctly affirms that the Church commands the right of property *originating in the nature of things* to be maintained safe and inviolate to all.

The authors we have referred to, in spite of a few accidental differences as to the details of their theory, unanimously agree in maintaining that the right of individual proprietorship in land or all permanent objects originates in the natural law; and, as Portalis expresses it, it is in the very constitution of our being,¹ and, as Troplong puts it, it is so inseparable from human nature that it is impossible to conceive man living and preserving his life without this inborn consubstantial right.²

As we have done with the theory of the Compactists, we will lay down the salient points of the system of our modern writers.

First Principle.—The earth was created for the good of all, and to be owned by mankind in common, in a negative, but not in a positive sense.

What is meant by a thing being possessed by a collective number of men in common, in a negative, but not in a positive, sense, they explain as follows: A thing is said to be owned in common by a body of men in a positive sense when it is possessed by them exclusively in their collective capacity, and in no sense whatever in their individual capacity, so that, though owned by all collectively, none of them, individually considered, can lay any claim to it, and much less appropriate it. For instance, a public building, say a town hall, is owned in common by the people in a positive sense, because they really and truly own it

¹ Le principe de ce droit est à nous; il n'est pas le résultat d'une convention humaine ou d'une loi positive. Il est dans la constitution même de notre être, et dans nos différentes relations avec les objets qui nous environnent. *Exposé des motifs.*

² De la Propriété. Ch. III, page 16.

in common as a body ; but no individual of that body, considered as such, can appropriate or lay a claim to it as his own.

A thing is said to be common to a collective body of men in a negative sense, because when actually unoccupied or unappropriated, every individual of the multitude has a right to appropriate it wholly or in part, and none can be excluded from such right ; but when once appropriated it ceases to be common and becomes individual property. Briefly, a thing is held positively in common by a body of men when they really and exclusively own it as a body in their collective capacity. It is said to be held in common in a negative sense when they as a body really and truly do not hold it except in the sense that whilst the thing remains unoccupied by any of them, each one has a right to make it his own, to the exclusion of everybody else during the occupation ; should the thing be given up by that individual, the right of all would revive until a new occupation occurred. (Costa Rossetti, loc. cit. ; Signorello, loc. cit.) It is in this latter sense that modern writers contend the earth to be common to mankind ; that is to say, that really and truly men in their collective capacity do not possess the earth except in the sense that whilst unoccupied and unappropriated any individual of the race has the right to make part of it his own ; but once occupied and appropriated, it becomes the property of the individual who occupied it, to the exclusion, during the occupation, of every one else. Should the occupation cease, the right of all the others revives until a new occupation takes place.

The import and significance of this principle of modern authors is in this, that it clears the ground, and removes all obstacles which might be raised against individual property.

Second Principle.—Man has an inborn, inherent right, arising from his very essence and from the constitution of his nature and faculties, to make some external permanent object his own.

Third Principle.—Such right has its root and origin in man's natural and imperative necessity to maintain and to develop his physical, intellectual, moral and social life ; a necessity which impels him to exercise his free authority, to unite to himself external permanent objects to be part and parcel of himself, and, as it were, the extension and radiation of his personality.

Fourth Principle.—That the natural, primitive, juridical means to unite land or any permanent object to one's self is that peculiar exercise of man's free activity called occupancy or appropriation.

Fifth Principle.—That such an act, to be juridically valid and in conformity with the natural law, must be invested with the following conditions :

1st. The permanent good to be occupied must be absolutely *res nullius*, entirely free from any claim of previous occupancy, yet having reasonable value.

2d. That the person occupying it should by an act of his intellect and will select and set apart that object exclusively for himself, and actually consider it as such.

3d. That he should by his personal activity impress upon that object an external sign indicative of the occupancy and appropriation.

4th. That, supposing the occupancy to regard land, the extent of land one can occupy must necessarily be measured and limited by his natural wants, not understood in the sense of strict and absolute physical necessity, but in a liberal sense, taking into consideration man's intellectual, moral and social wants and other circumstances.

That these conditions are reasonable and derived from the intrinsic nature of things, is manifest upon the slightest consideration. Suppose a number of sailors after a long voyage spy an unknown island. Glad of the chance to stretch their limbs, they land and find it entirely unoccupied; after passing a few hours, they join their ship. Does that temporary physical occupancy of that island give them any right to it? Certainly not. To acquire such a right, they should in intention have set apart that island for themselves and resolved to take it forever.

But how would new-comers know of such intention and determination, since the acts of the mind and of the will are invisible and cannot be known except by their external results? If these sailors, therefore, intended to occupy that island juridically, to acquire the right to own it, and to cause that right to be respected by others, they should have impressed upon that land some durable sign of occupation.

Writers, indeed, are not agreed as to what such a sign ought to be. But the better and greater part are of opinion that it should be some act of human activity impressed upon the land itself, no matter how slight or incipient in its nature, provided it would serve the purpose of pointing out a human occupancy. This results from the very nature of the thing. If the sign of occupancy were easily effaced or removed, the right which would follow from it would be precarious; the moment other men would perceive no sign of previous occupancy, they would have a right to conclude that the land was unoccupied and free from all lien or claim. On the other hand, if a long, laborious exercise of human activity were required, the right could never be juridically acquired; because, whilst the first comers would be working it up to the required condition, others might come in greater force and with

greater activity, and accomplish the task much sooner, and thus acquire the right, to the exclusion of the first comers.

Finally, the last condition set upon occupancy by the natural law is manifest. A man has a right to make a parcel of ground his own by occupancy. On what plea? To satisfy his reasonable wants, physical, intellectual, moral and social. Then by the law of nature he can occupy as much land as, by the aid of his own personal exertions, will reasonably satisfy those wants. If he occupies more, he does so without any reason or ground, and cannot, therefore, acquire any right upon it. The consequence cannot be wider than its premises, nor the effect greater than its cause. If man's natural wants, understood in the sense we have explained, are the reason and the ground for the right of occupancy, the moment these wants are reasonably satisfied the wants cease, and, therefore, the right.

From these conditions modern authors conclude that the right of human activity to appropriate land is necessarily limited; whereas the right of human activity to production and its results can be and is unlimited.

Sixth Principle.—The right of individual property in land originates and takes its rise in the natural *jus*, and the primitive division of the earth was but an exercise of that right.

Seventh Principle.—Civil authority, whilst acknowledging theoretically and practically the right of private property in land or as a result of man's labor and exertion, can regulate its exercise by just and equitable laws, in view of the common good of the social body, but always maintaining the right of private ownership safe and inviolable.

Eighth Principle.—That which is called the right of *eminent domain*, vested in the State, is not the right of property or a real *dominium*, strictly speaking, on the property of all the members of the State, but only a right of prescribing what is wanted for the general good, to levy taxes on the property of individuals, to inflict fines and penalties, to make assessments, and to appropriate for the general good and use whatever private property may be necessary, provided it gives the private owners a proper and suitable compensation. (Gousset, Theolog. Moralis, Tom. I, n. 674. See Bishop Chatard's learned discourse on this subject.)

These last two principles are of very great importance in the system of our modern authors.

The Compactist theory attributes to the State and civil authority the right of having created individual proprietorship, and the right of eminent domain in the sense that the State is the true, the supreme and universal proprietor of all the goods and possessions of its citizens; two rights which, if real, would bring about the

worst and most colossal despotism, and abolish from the face of the earth all personal independence and freedom in the citizens, to turn them into the most abject slaves.

The naturalist theory, on the other hand, resting on the last two principles above explained, whilst rejecting those two pretended rights from the State, attributes to it enough power and authority to prevent most and the greatest of the abuses which might originate in the right of individual ownership in land or otherwise. It is urged, for instance, against the natural origin of the right of property arising from occupancy, that it may be abused and that the land-grabbers might usurp too much to the exclusion of others. Whilst admitting the natural right of occupancy, and with the best purpose to maintain it, the civil authority may regulate the amount to be occupied, the conditions under which it may be occupied, and so forth, and thus remove the difficulty.

Again, one might come to possess too much land by other titles than that of occupancy. The civil authority, whilst recognizing these titles and the right resulting from them, may define and limit the amount to be owned by each individual.

Moreover, speculators may acquire land by just titles, and may conspire together to hold them, in an unimproved condition, to enhance the price of the same to satisfy their own covetousness. The civil authorities, again, whilst maintaining their just rights, may make laws regulating the period of time during which it will allow land to remain waste and unimproved, etc. It is in this sense that the old theologians, such as Cardinal Tolet and others, say that the *jus gentium*, that is, the natural law, necessarily prescribes the division of land, and that the positive law distributes it.

If it be asked, whence do all these rights come to the State? we answer, that they flow, as a necessary consequence, from the nature of the social condition to which man naturally tends, and in which he must live and attain his end.

Having given a sufficiently complete idea of the theory of the Naturalists, we come to put forward the proofs they allege in favor of their system. And among these we will choose only those arguments which are supplied by the theory and admissions of the Compactists themselves.

We premise that in speaking of the earth we intend to include all kinds of permanent goods and objects. Now the principal argument upon which the whole Compact theory rests may be put as follows:

It is evident that man, the family, society, must be supplied with all the means necessary for the maintenance, growth and development of their lives; it is also manifest that these means must originally and radically be drawn from the earth, which, therefore,

must be tilled and worked to its utmost capacity. But if the land were held in common, all that would be drawn from the earth could hardly supply those necessities so much and so imperatively needed, owing to the fact that, his nature being fallen and corrupted, man is prone to indulge in the love of self and to neglect others, he is a slave to envy, covetousness, ambition, and self-indulgence, prone to seek his own ease and comfort, and to avoid all exertion and labor. The *better*, therefore, to provide for wants so exacting, so various, and so pressing, and to avoid other grave evils, men, either by an engagement expressly entered into, or by a tacit consent, introduced the partition of and individual proprietorship in land. (Bill., loc. cit.)

All other Compactists agree with Billuart. We will cite among others the Salmanticenses: "That the division of the earth, supposing man's condition, was necessary, is evident from the fact that after the fall, man bursting with pride and cupidity, made torpid by indolence and neglect, every one would have sought all things for himself; every one would have desired to domineer and have power over others; everyone to be master, and none servants or laborers; hence daily disputes, quarrels and strife without number. And as none would attend to or take care of that which is common, but would turn all his anxiety upon what is his own, the fields would remain untilled, all giving way to indolence and sloth. That the fields might be worked, that all might lead a life of tranquillity and peace, it was most expedient to distribute something to each one, in order that every one might know what was his own, and thus would not cease to work, but eat his bread by the sweat of his brow." (De Jure et Just., Ch. 2. Punctus Primus.)

Upon this fundamental argument of the Compactists modern authors remark, 1st, that it is built on a false and gratuitous supposition; 2d, that if it proves anything, if it has any logical force, it demonstrates the absolute necessity of attributing the origin of the right of property to the natural law.

And, first, the argument is built on a false supposition. It takes for granted that if man had persevered in the state of original justice, he could have had all things in common with his fellow-men, because in such a state he would have been absolutely unselfish, and not have loved himself in preference to others; he would have sought nothing for himself, but have been most anxious for the good and welfare of others; in one word, would have been a model Communist.

Now, suppose we grant all these virtues, does it follow that men in that state would have possessed everything in common, and that individual ownership would not have been introduced? Certainly not. To warrant such a conclusion the Compactists would

have to prove two things: 1st. That in that state God intended men to possess everything in common. Now, they can never prove this intention of the Creator; first, because there is no positive revealed indication of such intention; and secondly, because the real and actual differences among men, as to qualities of mind and body, on which private ownership is radically founded, point to a different conclusion, and indicate that the Creator meant the very opposite. Even Billuart concedes that, supposing men to have remained in original justice, most probably private ownership would have been established in view of the social wants of men. (Bill., *De Just.*, Diss. 4, Art. 1.)

The first supposition failing, the second also vanishes. It assumes as conceded that, in the original state of justice and according to the intention of the Creator, man would have felt more love for others than for himself, and would have cared much more for the common good than for his own private interests. Now, by the very fact that a man is a personality distinct from another, a personality whom God Himself respects and treats with all possible regard and consideration, and even with reverence, as the Scripture has it, he must have for himself and his personality a legitimate and proper regard, a reasonable care for the preservation and progress of his physical, intellectual and moral life; in one word, a paramount consideration for the welfare of his personality and of those who are connected or whom he joins by his voluntary and free acts with the weal or woe of his individuality. It is not necessary to add that all this is man's bounden duty. To say that in the original state man would not have been *sui amans, alieni negligens, cupiditati et ambitioni serviens*, is to talk the sheerest nonsense. An irregular and inordinate love of himself, an illegitimate desire for the goods of this earth, a restless and unbounded ambition, might not have been found in that happy state, on the supposition of man's perseverance in original justice and righteousness. We say, "on the supposition," because, as it is clear, man could have fallen at any moment, and his temporary perseverance in original justice was no guarantee that he would have continued in it forever. Given human liberty and the state of trial and probation, man could have fallen at any time as Adam did, as far as we can conjecture, soon after his creation. If man, therefore, had remained in the state of original justice, he would not have yielded to an unruly love of himself and of all belonging to him, he would not have nourished in his bosom covetousness, envy, ambition, and lust after domination and supremacy; but he would certainly have yielded to the natural, sacred love of himself, his personality, his physical, intellectual, moral and social welfare, and that of all depending upon and connected with him, in preference to any

single individual or community. "Every one," says Aristotle, "loves himself much more than he loves others; hence we must not condemn all kinds of love of self, but only the immoderate love of self." (Polit., Lib. 2, Ch. 3, Art. 1.)

If love for one's personality, therefore, if a legitimate desire for one's interests and those of one's family, be the motive which prompted mankind to introduce private ownership, such motive would have existed and prevailed just as well in the primitive state as in the present; and individual proprietorship would have been the necessary consequence. Suarez, who is a great advocate of the Compact, freely admits the result. It is to be remarked that men in that state might have tilled the earth, and perhaps sowed a part of it. The necessary consequence would be, that after one had cultivated a certain portion of the earth it would have been *unjust* in another to have deprived him of the use and *almost of the possession* of it, because natural reason and order demand this. (De Opere Sex Dierum, 15, Ch. 7, n. 18.)

The division of the earth and private ownership, therefore, would have been necessary either in the state of original justice or in that of fallen nature. But what is necessary to man in any state must spring from the aspirations, cravings, and wants of his being and faculties. Therefore, private ownership is a natural right and not an arbitrary or gotten-up law of man's will and pleasure.

This remark introduces us to the other part of our demonstration, which is the very essence and marrow of the question, to wit, that if the reasons alleged by the Compactists in favor of the *jus gentium* have any value, they prove the natural origin of the right of property.

Modern authors reason as follows: Either individual proprietorship is a necessity imperatively demanded by man's nature to satisfy all the wants he feels in his capacity as individual, as family, and as social being, or it is not at all demanded, but is only an expedient and a better and easier means, a more convenient way to procure man's welfare in all those respects. If the former be admitted, then it is owned that individual proprietorship originates in the natural law; because what is imperatively necessary to man's nature is natural and not artificial or arbitrary, according to Billuart's criterion. If individual proprietorship is claimed not as at all necessary, but as a better expedient, a greater convenience, an easier way of managing and supplying the wants and aspirations and cravings of men and of society, then it follows that, absolutely speaking, man's wants, those of the family and of the body civil, can be provided for, the social order and welfare maintained, and all social progress and advancement obtained in the state of Communism.

The upholders of the Compact freely acknowledge this consequence. "I maintain," says Billuart, "that even supposing the corruption of nature, the division of goods was not at all simply and absolutely necessary for the social life and administration of possessions; because, absolutely speaking, all these things could be attained, though with greater difficulty, under the community principle; but the division is much more suitable to these ends." (Bill., Diss. 4, Art. 1.)

The evident consequence of such principles is that neither the possession of goods in common nor the holding of them in private is necessary to the existence, life, and progress of man, of the family, of society; that man, the family, society, could get along under either form of holding possessions; only, under the communistic form, with a little more difficulty. Should men prefer to get along more peaceably and more expeditiously, they had better cling to the compact made for them by their ancestors.

Modern authors, in the first place, beg to know from their opponents whether, according to reason and common sense, a means acknowledged to be the best, the speediest, the easiest, and the most convenient to the attainment of a certain end, is not the proper legitimate natural means as compared with another which may attain the same object, but only with much greater difficulty.

In the second place, they most emphatically deny what Compactists take for granted and, without the least suspicion to the contrary, look upon as something well proved and put beyond the possibility of a doubt, that man's wants can be satisfied, and that all that he requires for his physical, intellectual, moral, and social existence, development and progress, can be obtained nearly as well by Communism as by private ownership.

This arbitrary, gratuitous assumption is absolutely contradicted. How do the Compact defenders prove such an assertion? What! all the means which man requires for the maintenance and preservation of his individual life in all orders, physical, intellectual, and moral; all the means which he requires to create and establish domestic society, to provide for all its wants and necessities, to defray all expenses needed to educate and train the family; all that is demanded for the establishment and preservation of order in the State; for the maintenance of tranquillity and peace among citizens, for the avoiding of strife and quarrels, for the prevention of endless disputes and litigations, and for the settling of them according to law and order; all that is imperatively required for the guidance of the State toward a continual development, progress, and civilization, by the amelioration of the conditions of all classes, by the promotion of all legitimate, bold, and successful enterprises, —all these grand objects can be procured, all this multitude of the

most necessary as well as beneficial results can be obtained nearly as easily by Communism as by the partition of the earth and all permanent goods and their distribution among individuals? Are the upholders of such a stupendous assertion prepared to substantiate it? For if they do not and cannot, they must yield up their theory as absolutely groundless.

In plain English, the Compactists maintain that mankind can get along nearly as well under a communistic form of possession and government as under a government having for its basis private ownership. They must maintain that, or their theory vanishes as a bubble. Why did it require a convention and a compact to divide the land and to establish private ownership? Because the right of private ownership is not proclaimed as necessary by the natural law, men being well able, strictly speaking, to have all their wants supplied by a system of Communism.

Neither Communism nor private property is at all a necessary and indisputable means. Either of them will do. One is nearly as good as the other. Let, then, Compactists prove that assertion before urging their imaginary and mythical compact and convention, and if they cannot prove it let them forego their absurd system.

Modern writers, on the other hand, having established that Communism in every possible and imaginable form is contrary to all the ends for which the material world and the earth were made, having proven that the wants of men cannot be supplied by such a system, having demonstrated that it could not exist for a moment without trampling under foot the most legitimate inborn, sacred rights of human personality, conclude that private ownership is a sheer necessity, an imperative, exclusive sole means of satisfying man's wants and of respecting his rights, and that, therefore, the right of individual proprietorship is an inborn, inherent right, resulting from the very essence and nature of human personality.

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

ON the 1st of March of the present year there was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops then assembled in conference at Lambeth Palace, an address from the "Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom," to which the attention of Catholics may well be invited.

The address begins by stating that "the object of the Association is to induce Christians of all confessions to join in prayer for the restoration of unity, but it does not bind its members to any special theory as to the mode of such restoration." It then renders thanks for the gracious manner in which a similar memorial was received by the Lambeth Conference in 1878, approval having been given to the annual observance of a special day of prayer for the unity of Christendom, and it attributes to these intercessions the constantly increasing desire for that unity which, it says, has been manifested on all sides during the ten years that have since elapsed. After instancing various evidences of this in Europe, in America, and even in the far East, the petitioners continue:

"The manifest advances thus apparent on all sides call for more earnest prayer, lest by precipitate action or by any false step the great work to which God is evidently calling His people may be hindered."

Three principles, which seem to be fundamental with the Association, are then laid down:

"In the midst of our divisions we must never forget that the truths we hold in common are more numerous, and of greater importance, than the points on which we differ; and that there can be no complete and final reunion of Christendom which does not embrace all who are fighting in the name of Christ against Atheism, Infidelity and Sin; but, on the other hand, that mutual tolerance is not unity, and must not be confounded with it;" which last principle might profitably be pondered by our Evangelical Alliance and Church Congresses.

After adducing, as reasons for encouraging reunion in every possible way, the increase of Atheism and Rationalism and the persistence of Heathenism and Mohammedanism, it alleges a reason of telling significance for all who have read the Comedy of Convocation, or have meditated on the facts it treats of:

"The danger of fresh heresies arising from attempts to obviate the apparent collisions between science and religion, *without the guidance of a competent spiritual authority.*"

Apparently without suspecting that there was a sting here, under which their lordships would be apt to wince, the petitioners go on to pray that, in their lordships' deliberations:

"The great principles of the undivided Church may be given the prominence that is due to them, and that nothing may be done that would involve any uncanonical interference with the Ecclesiastical authorities existing by Divine appointment."

And, as if still unconscious how unpalatable such advice must be to prelates hopelessly committed to nationalism and hopelessly fettered by Erastianism, they go on:

"We would further venture to suggest that, in regulating missions to the heathen, antagonistic missions may be discouraged, so as to lessen, as far as may be, the presentation of a divided Christendom; that the independence of national churches within due limits may be upheld; and that, in whatever is done, the necessity of obtaining the judgment of a true and legitimate General Council, as soon as it can be had, may ever be borne in mind."

The memorial concludes by praying that God's Holy Spirit "may lead us to look to the removal of misunderstandings, and to rejoice in our points of agreement, until we accept, in all its fulness, the 'One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.'"

It is not difficult to imagine the effect of this memorial on the Lambeth Conference. With profound respect they are petitioned to pray, and to ask the prayers of their flocks, that Almighty God would undo that work of separation so determinedly accomplished by their predecessors, and so strenuously maintained by them for centuries, that He would deign to obliterate all that is distinctively characteristic of their position as Bishops of the Church of England. With affectionate and unsuspecting candor they are requested to reprobate that reprobation of Rome which, says Newman, "was the palmary, the most effective argument of the Reformers, . . . and is the received teaching of Anglican bishops and divines from Latimer down to Dr. Wordsworth." With ingenuous simplicity they are exhorted to ignore that supremacy of the State over "Ecclesiastical authorities existing by Divine appointment," whose observance is their primary obligation as officials of the Church by law established. From keen-witted Frenchmen or Italians, such a petition would be a piece of the broadest sarcasm; but, coming from a source whence humor would be unimaginable, it has to be taken as seriously and reverently meant. Consistency demands that it should receive the same courtesy as in 1878. So the secretary is, as a matter of course, instructed to return an answer of paternal kindness, the intrusive incident is passed over, and the Conference moves on in its staid old-time groove.

But the incident is not forgotten by them all. There are men

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among them in whose minds those thoughts have been fermenting ever since their university days. Those yearnings are an emanation of one of the most glorious epochs of Oxford, and their spirit lingers there still, and tells upon every honest and earnest young student of Divinity. That memorial from "The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom" conjures up memories of great-minded and God-loving men who have carried those very thoughts and aspirations to what, they well know, is their only logical conclusion, and have taken to their heart the pearl of great price, cost what it might. These memories are unwelcome spectres to men situated as they are, and it is not pleasant to have them recalled by the petition of these devotees.

Then, too, the present situation of things is so very uncertain. Disestablishment is in the air, and it is sure to alight before long. Shall they, therefore, bravely go forth to meet the inevitable, cast off the shackles of Erastianism, and rise to the level of what they think they are—Bishops of the Church of Jesus Christ? Or shall they rather act more cautiously than ever and seek to delay the blow which is so rudely to set them free? Surely men are to be pitied who are placed in so embarrassing a dilemma and do not find in themselves the spirit of heroes and martyrs to duty.

While the Anglican clergy must naturally, to a great extent, feel their sympathies and their action restrained by the considerations which hamper their bishops, it cannot be reasonably expected that these aspirations after the reunion of Christendom will find large acceptance, even among the laity of the Church of England. They may not be withheld by the temptation which is obvious in the case of the clergy, but hereditary prejudice sways them with tremendous power. We have little, if any, more reason to hope now than Newman had in 1871, "that ecclesiastical courts, university authorities, mobs and vestries, will ever lose their keen scent for detecting popery, and their intense satisfaction in persecuting it."

In the fraction of the English people, and of the adherents of Episcopalianism everywhere, who profess High-Church views, the association in question indicates a craving and a conviction drawing them towards the Catholic Church, but halting short of what that drawing implies and demands. It presents the touchingly sad spectacle of a large number of good and pious souls in whom the Spirit of God is resisted by the clinging of human traditions and attachments, who are united in praying for what is logically impossible on the terms which, consciously or unconsciously, the great bulk of them implicitly propose to Almighty God. We must hope that the Father of Mercies will regard the spirit of the prayer rather than its mistaken conditions, and that He will lead, if not the Church of England, yet many of these yearning souls,

into the unity for which they crave. Some, especially among the leaders, "though," in the words of Newman, "they see or suspect their own tendency to be towards Rome, may put this suspicion aside and remain where they are, in the confidence that, if they are but patient, they shall ultimately succeed in bringing over their whole communion to their own views." Many, not given to thinking deeply or logically, will keep on contentedly in a system which soothes them with its spiritual views, its liturgical observances, and its religious æstheticism. Not a few, logical by nature, will, as the same enlightened observer testifies, "be thrown by a reaction into rationalism. When the opening heart and eager intellect find themselves led on by their teachers, as if by the hand, to the See of St. Peter, and then all of a sudden, without good reason assigned, are stopped in their course, bid stand still in some half position, on the middle of a steep, or in the depth of a forest, the natural reflection which such a command excites is, 'This is a mockery; I have come here for nothing; if I do not go on, I must go back.'"

But it is well to bear in mind that this is a problem whose solution does not depend only on human wits and wills. It is one in which the will of God is greatly concerned, and that surely must count for much in the final issue. While we write, the lessons of Holy Week are ringing in our ears and in our hearts. Holy Thursday brings to our minds the prayer of Our Lord at the Last Supper: "That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they also be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." On Good Friday, the prayer of Our Lord echoes back from the heart of His Spouse. "Let us pray," she exclaims to her children, "for all who are in heresy and schism, that our God and Lord may deliver them from all errors, and may deign to recall them to our Holy Mother, the Catholic and Apostolic Church." And then she implores Him "who saveth all and wisheth none to be lost," that He would mercifully bring them back to the unity of His truth. On Holy Saturday again, inspired by the prophecies of her universal motherhood, comforted by the assurance of the tender mercy that is ever mingled with God's justice, and encouraged to boundless hope by that wonderful vision of the dry bones that strewed the plain raised up again to life and strength, she implores the God of infinite power and light eternal to be mindful of the mystical unity which He has promised to His Church, and of all that is needful for the salvation of the human race, "that the whole world may behold the things that have been cast down lifted up, and the things that are worn out renewed, and all things brought back again to unity in Him from whom they have received their origin?"

Thus the prayer of these poor erring souls is only a feeble echo

of the prayer of Our Lord and of His Spouse. Who can doubt that such a united supplication will, in God's time and way, lead to abundant and blessed results? The flood-tide which at one time seemed to follow in the wake of the splendid minds that headed the homeward movement has ebbed, indeed, and no expectation can reasonably be entertained of any great corporate return to the Church in either England or America. In all such calculations there probably was too much dependence on mere human ability and influence; and human plans and ways are often far from God's. But God's plan is sure to move on in God's way. That plan is salvation through unity in Christ; and when wandering souls are thus craving for salvation and unity, and the craving is becoming so wide-spread and so organized, one need not be an optimist to hope that the Divine plan will be largely realized even in our day. When the response to the Divine call was first heard, it was noticeable how much there was in it of clinging to erroneous ideas, of obstinacy in mistaken ways, how much of human pride and self-assertion. But time and reflection and the mercy of God are evidently fast eliminating those pernicious elements, which stood up resisting the grace that was asked for; and now it is reasonable to hope that the reaching out for unity, which thus far has been mostly groping in the dark, will more and more be enlightened from on high and attain its object.

Trusting, then, that the mercy of God will be with these poor strayed children of the Church, helping them back to reunion with the Body of Christ, it behooves us Catholics to consider what must be our dispositions towards those who by right should be our fellow-members in that unity. We cannot ignore the movement as not concerning us. If we have the charity of Christ and the spirit of His Holy Church in us, it must concern us deeply; the yearning in our hearts must be at least as strong as it is in those who know the blessings of unity only from the misfortune of having lost it. Still less may we entertain any hostility or aversion towards them, on account of wrongs done to the Church by them or their forefathers. Of the evil things said or done against us by most of them we can assuredly say with our Lord: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Least of all may we allow race antipathies to bias us against them. That would be to fall most shamefully into the same evil for which we rightly blame them, of allowing considerations of nationality to decide in questions of religion. It would be to prove false to our faith in the Church's catholicity, and to go directly counter to the spirit of the Heart of Our Lord. Between us and those who are painfully groping towards the blessing of Christian unity there must never be any "waving of the bloody shirt."

Clearly, then, it is our duty to help on the movement, at least ..

by the co-operation of our prayers. The supplication for peace and unity, which is the first of the three prayers before Communion in the Canon of the Mass, should become habitual with us. The cry that goes up from the Heart of Our Lord and of His Church in Holy Week should be re-echoed by every Christian soul all through the year. Surely we ought not to allow ourselves to be surpassed in this sacred duty by the poor children of error, nor desist from the prayer because we hear it on their lips. God's Providence makes much to depend on our prayers, and especially has Our Lord declared this in regard to the gathering in of the harvest of souls. It will not do for us to run risk of thwarting His merciful designs by failure to do our part. Daily prayer for the reunion of Christendom ought to be a serious duty with every Christian.

But while praying that God may lead back our erring brethren, it is well for us to consider in what guise they will see us standing to receive them. It would hardly be consistent to ask them back and to meet them with volleys of musketry. The circumstances of the times have so long compelled Catholics to maintain the attitude of controversialists that it is no wonder they should instinctively assume it when facing Protestants; yet daily experience shows that controversy does very little good to either Catholics or Protestants. The "*odium theologicum*" is an impulse which seems to be as common as it is powerful; yet all agree that it is unlovely and repulsive. Earnest souls are naturally prone to indignant and combative zeal, like that of the Sons of Thunder or of Peter smiting with his sword in the garden; yet we know that on both these occasions it was severely reprimanded by Our Lord himself. Provocation there has been indeed, and plenty, and signally so in this very movement for Christian reunion. We have not forgotten that Dr. Pusey's "Irenicon" was so violent and abusive that he was well reproached with having "discharged his olive-branch as if from a catapult"; and we know that some of the most insidious and insincere misrepresentations that have ever been leveled against the Catholic Church have emanated from persons standing high in the very Association whose memorial we are now considering. But while blaming them for such egregious inconsistency we must not ourselves be inconsistent. Our olive-branch must be extended in the charity that "is patient, is kind, . . . is not provoked to anger, . . . beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

There is all the less reason for us now to meet them as controversialists, seeing that the very logic and forward impulse of the movement is fast dislodging its advocates from the false premises to which its first leaders clung so tenaciously. This we see virtually, if not explicitly, acknowledged in their successive utterances.

We remember how strenuously they at first insisted that Christian unity consisted in union with Christ the Head. But so plainly have they been shown that union with the Head implies the unity of the Body, and that union with the one Head is impracticable without membership in His one Body, that scarcely any one speaks now of Pusey's "Christian bodies" as a substitute for the Body of Christ. So plainly has it been demonstrated that this position was identical with that of the Donatists, which St. Augustine demolished fourteen centuries ago, that no one can now seriously think of maintaining it. In their effort, then, to vindicate to themselves a share in the unity of the Body, they still cherish the grain of comfort that they seem to find in the Branch theory. But even this they now put forward with a lack of enthusiasm which shows how their confidence in it has weakened. He who made the most desperate fight of all for the *Via Media*, before he was compelled in conscience to surrender it, has written :

"The 'Branch Theory,' that is, that the Roman, Greek and Anglican communions make up the one visible, indivisible Church of God which the Apostles founded, to which the promise of perseverance was made, is a view which is as paradoxical, when regarded as a fact, as it is heterodox when regarded as a doctrine."

And this he and others have proved with arguments so unanswerable, and the practical absurdity of the notion is so palpable, that further refutation of it by Catholics would be a work of supererogation, and they who still seek shelter behind it seem more than half conscious that it is untenable and ridiculous. Instead, therefore, of yielding to the natural inclination to give the *coup de grace* to a vanquished adversary, it is better to imitate Him who "breaketh not the bruised reed, nor quencheth the smoking flax," and to hold towards them, not the weapons of controversy, but the arms of the Good Shepherd.

Instead of wasting energy in a bootless warfare on ramparts that are crumbling of themselves, it will be far more profitable, as well as nobler and pleasanter, to win them from their false position by the beauty and power of truth. Our object must be, not to silence and confound, but to persuade and attract. The magnet can attract only what is kindred to it, and we can best attract them to the fulness of truth through the truth which they already hold in common with us. It is no want of loyalty to the fulness of the truth to acknowledge and honor any portion of it wherever it may be found. Truth is the light of God, and we should love and welcome any twinkling ray of it that has penetrated or lingered among those who have wandered from its full radiance. The heart of a true Catholic, enamored of the treasure which, through the mercy of God, he possesses, must rejoice at any particle of it, wherever found; and the more he compassionates the spiritual poverty of

those not privileged like himself, the more must he thank God for any, even the least, part of the heavenly gift which His Fatherly compassion still preserves among them. Satan indeed seeks to abuse the lingering blessing, by persuading them that it is all they need ; but we are not therefore to denounce it, but, on the contrary, by their appreciation of what they have, to win them to the fulness which they ought to possess and of which they have been robbed.

And this is assuredly the policy of practical good sense, as well as of truth and charity. No man is apt to come to meet you in agreement, if you begin by asserting that there is no common standing-ground between you. To tell him that he is simply an outside barbarian, is to tell him to give up all hope of understanding your language or accepting your position. That argument is naturally the most telling whose premises are found in the convictions of your opponent. The memorialists were not far astray when they wrote: "The truths we hold in common are more numerous, and of greater importance, than the points on which we differ." When this yearning for reunion with the Church first began to manifest itself, and carping critics, as is their wont, assailed it with sneers, insinuations, and cheap logic, Cardinal Wiseman, with the nobleness of heart which always characterized him, publicly recommended that the basis of negotiations for reconciliation should be the points of agreement between the doctrines held by Anglicans and the teachings of the Council of Trent. And he adduced the exactly similar advice given by Bossuet, when consulted by the Pope concerning the best way of treating with the followers of the Augsburg Confession. This does not in the slightest degree imply a minimizing of Catholic truth or duty, but only the rendering of all possible justice to the convictions of those we have to deal with, which is simply fair play. This we ought, in simple justice, to do even with an avowed enemy ; how much more with those who long to be our friends and brethren. It might be more heroic in them to begin with an absolute and sweeping act of self-condemnation. But heroism is not to be calculated on, and still less to be exacted. Nay, it would be an extreme that would not be commendable ; for what constitutes their Protestantism, their error, forms but a small part of the sum of their religious convictions, and the wheat is wheat though the tares are tares. We are in danger of stretching to unjustifiable lengths the dictum: *bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu*.

The genuine spirit of the Good Shepherd and of His Church will never incline us to deal harshly or hardly with those who are longing to return to the fold. It makes us rejoice at their desire ; it impels us to smooth the way for their return ; it makes allowance for mental habits resulting from the misfortune of their exile and which no mere act of volition can at once eradicate ; in matters

not of faith or obligation, it has no procrustean bed to which every variety of individual or national temperament must adapt itself; it is quite willing to wait, in all patience and gentleness, for time and grace and Catholic influences to unmake the inclinations or disinclinations which time and hereditary training have naturally formed. Nay, it is willing to hear patiently the charges they make against us, and to bear charitably and humbly their being scandalized at us in some things. The Church does not need, and does not wish, that we should claim to ourselves impeccability, or resent the complaints of those who find things among us that ill befit the household of God. The integrity of the Spouse of Christ is guaranteed by her Lord; but her children, in high or low degree, may often be a grief both to Him and to her. Few are the epochs, if any, when there is not need of the reforming zeal of a St. Philip Neri, of a St. Charles Borromeo, or of the Council of Trent. Wherever there exists among Catholics a spirit of worldliness in the upper classes, a want of sobriety, of law-abidingness, of honesty or truth or chastity in the lower classes, a lack of spirituality in the manners or lives of ecclesiastics, an absence of charity and fraternal union in general, there is no wonder that our separated brethren complain of scandals and hindrances; and then it is our duty, instead of indulging in silly indignation or still more silly and injudicious self-vindication, to honestly and sorrowfully deplore the evils and zealously strive to correct them. "For the time is that judgment should begin at the house of God." That our invitation to the erring may be efficacious, we must offer them all the truth they profess, and a great deal more besides, and all the moral virtue, too, that they profess and a great deal more besides.

There is one other requisite for the efficacy of our invitation, which is no less evident than these others, but the mention of which may to some appear not quite disinterested in us, considering the special task which the Providence of God has lately imposed upon us. Still, as a matter of simple duty to the great cause of Christian unity, we will ignore this personal consideration, and state this point as frankly as the rest. If we are bound by the very nature of the Church's vocation to offer them all the truth they have and more, and all the moral virtue they have and more, we are also bound by the nature of the world and the age in which the Church has to live and work to offer them all the intellectual aids, all the educational advantages they have, and more besides. Thus far we must humbly acknowledge we have been, in English-speaking countries, unable to do this. We can offer them elementary schools and intermediate colleges that will compare with those they can find outside the Church; but we have had no university to offer them. We have nothing to compare with Oxford and Cambridge in England, with Harvard and Yale in America. It is a terrible disad-

vantage which we cannot deny or ignore. We can give very good explanations of the fact, and amply prove that what is the result of spoliation and penal laws is in no way to the Church's discredit. But the fact remains; and while it is no discredit, it is unquestionably a great disadvantage. Nay more, while it would be easy to show that it is no discredit that we should have been deprived of it in the past, it would be quite a different matter to attempt to prove that it would be no discredit to continue without it in the future. Thanks be to God, we are no longer under the yoke of coercion and penal laws, and we have in our country to a large extent shaken off their consequences. The responsibility for the fact becomes, therefore, henceforth our own. And it is one that we cannot afford to assume. The demand and the need for higher education are universal, are and always have been a concomitant of a developed civilization. The Church has always and everywhere met the need by establishing and fostering universities, in which the various sciences, like the orbs in the firmament, are held in their places by the central sun of Divine truth. She must, in order to meet the needs which pre-eminently exist in the age and the country we live in, do the same in America. The desire to supply the need is shown in the various Catholic institutions which already bear the name of university, but which are frank to acknowledge that they are far from the ideal which the name implies, that it is the expression of an aspiration and a wish rather than of a reality. Its full realization is now undertaken by the Hierarchy of the country, and the glorious Leo XIII. spurs them on to its accomplishment with all the earnestness of his soul. His great mind and heart have done much towards preparing for an epoch of universal reconciliation and harmony; and believing that our cosmopolitan country is to be its chief home, he longs to have before the eyes and in the very heart of our people an embodiment of Catholic truth in all its fulness, in all its beauty and power, in all its far-reaching relationship and adaptability to all humanity and to all knowledge. That is why he has so blessed and urged the establishment of the Catholic University of America, and so approved of its being situated at the very capital of our country. It will remove a serious disadvantage under which the Church here labors, in an age which measures things by the standard of intellectual pre-eminence. It will give to our Catholic people what they have a perfect right to demand, a system of Christian education fully equal to what those outside the Church possess. It will be for many turning towards the fold the removal of a difficulty and a stumbling-block. It will be to all an exemplification of the Catholicity and unity of truth, which must naturally give powerful aid to the yearning for unity and Catholicity. It is a work that

calls for the active co-operation of every one in whose heart that yearning finds an echo.

May the mercy of God restore peace and unity among Christians. May it be our happiness to behold the realization of our Saviour's prayer, and our privilege to contribute in some degree to its fulfilment. May we, who possess the fulness of truth and grace as our birthright, prove ourselves worthy of the treasure, and be magnanimous in offering it to those who have been too long deprived of it. May it be our united endeavor to "make the crooked ways straight and the rough ways plain, that all flesh may see the salvation of God."

GOLD FIELDS AND OTHER UNWORKED TREASURES OF IRELAND.

THE superiority of an abstract sentiment over a material reason as a sustaining power for a long and arduous struggle, is apparent in the case of Ireland. "To be free" has ever been the dream and the national cry, not "To be wealthy," though the promise of native riches and prosperity which Ireland holds out might well have appealed to the cupidity of her people.

But the time has come when Ireland's material resources demand consideration. When they are fully known, the outer world, judging in its nineteenth century way, will cease to wonder why Irishmen have kept up a national fight, without compromise, for seven hundred and twenty years, when the whole new world, in both hemispheres, tempted them to fresh and teeming lands. The truth will be made clear that Ireland, so long the poorest and most unhappy country, can easily become the richest nation of its size on the earth.

Ireland's geographical position is in itself an assurance of prosperity. She is set down in the high stream of the world's commerce. Her westernmost position in Europe will make her the place of entrance and departure for even English ships passing to and from the Atlantic. Sailing vessels leaving the western ports of Ireland (that are numerous, extensive and safe) often reach America before ships sailing from English ports on the same day

have beaten out of the dangerous and fatal English channel. No matter what wind is blowing, vessels from the west coast of Ireland obtain an offing at once. When the Irish shall have cut the ship canal through their country from Galway to Dublin, so long proposed, but defeated by English selfishness, it will save three or four days' sailing and two days' steaming, for English vessels to and from Liverpool and Milford Haven (which is to be the great English port of the future).

This consideration led Benjamin Franklin, writing to Sir Edward Newenham in Ireland, in 1779, to say: "I admire the spirit with which I see the Irish are at length determined to claim some share of that freedom of commerce which is the right of all mankind; but which they have been so long deprived of by the abominable selfishness of their fellow-subjects. To enjoy all the advantages of the climate, soil, and situation in which God and nature have placed us, is as clear a right as that of breathing, and can never be justly taken from men but as a punishment for some atrocious crime."

The unchanging elements of national prosperity, together with native government, are, first,—intelligence and aptitude in the people, which Ireland possesses abundantly; secondly,—geographical position; thirdly,—fertility of soil; fourthly,—mildness of climate. All these Ireland has in a specially favorable degree. Then follow the possession of extensive minerals, particularly iron, coal, clay and stone; intersecting rivers, with copious water-power; rich fisheries, sea and river; and abundance of fertilizing substances.

Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia ("Vindiciæ Hibernicæ," 1819), said, after thorough study of the subject: "There is probably not a country in the world, which, for its extent, is *one-half so abundantly supplied with the most precious minerals and fossils, as Ireland.*"

The following summary of Ireland's mineral treasures is from official surveys and reports (corrected to the latest issue), the figures prefixed to the minerals denoting the number of counties (there are thirty-two counties in Ireland) in which they have been discovered:

2. Amethysts.	2. Garnites (decayed	4. Pebbles.
6. Antimony.	granite used in	2. Petrifications.
15. Coal.	porcelain).	1. Porphyry (great ex-
7. Cobalt.	11. Granite.	tent).
17. Copper.	1. Gypsum.	4. Glass-sand.
1. Chalcedony.	19. Iron.	3. Silver.
8. Crystals.	2. Jasper.	16. Slate.
19. Clays of various	16. Lead.	4. Soapstone.
sorts.	12. Manganese.	1. Spars.
5. Fuller's earth.	19. Marble.	5. Sulphur.
6. Gold.	15. Ochres.	2. Talc.
	2. Pearls.	

These minerals are at present nearly all buried in mine and quarry: none is being worked, except to an insignificant extent.

Nearly all the minerals used in Ireland to-day, and for over eighty years past, have been imported from England and other countries. The people cannot get possession of the mineral lands; the landlords will not work them; there are no railroads to bring the ores to market or the sea-coast, or to move fuel for manufacture; and where railroads do exist, they are controlled by English capital that deliberately charges a death-rate to Irish industries; and lastly, as will be seen later on, the policy of the government has been to smother and prevent the growth of all mineral industries in Ireland.

Yet so vast and varied are the riches of many of these Irish minerals, notably of iron, copper, lead, marbles, porphyry, glass-sand, potter's clay, sulphur and slate, that the development of these alone would (technically, not merely digging and exporting) make Ireland a prosperous country.

But to follow a single subject, it is necessary to use severe restraint in treating of Irish resources, so enticing and extraordinary is the field. Let us set out at once for the gold-fields, and perhaps return to the others by-and-by.

The extensive existence of gold, with the governmental policy of suppressing the working of it, is an epitome of the entire British treatment of Ireland.

The most ancient Celtic annals agree with the latest geological authorities in declaring Ireland to be exceedingly rich in native gold.

In the ancient Book of Leinster, and also in the Book of Lucan, it is recorded that Tighernmas, son of Ollaig, first "boiled" (or smelted) gold in 1500 B.C., in the forest south of the Liffey. Here is this first Irish record of using the gold of the Wicklow valleys, 3000 years ago, when in the "inviolable delightful place of Ucadon, the artist of Cualann":

"The gold was first *boiled* in Erin;
Upon his woody sportful lawn
Long, capacious bellows were blown
By the man of unebbing fame,
In the forests south of the Liffey."

The Book of Leinster, a superb MS., dating from the year 1150, when it was transcribed from ancient MSS., is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. On folio 246 there is another record of the ancient knowledge of gold in Ireland: "The reason why the men of Leinster are called 'Lagenians of the Gold' is this, because in their country gold was first discovered in Erin."

In A. D. 706, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, the

relics of Ronan, son of Bearach, were placed in a shrine of gold and silver.

In 1151 Turlough O'Brien took with him to Connaught "ten score ounces of gold," recorded in Sir William Wilde's "Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy."

This work of Sir William Wilde is an invaluable collection of authorities on Irish antiquities. The student will find in almost all the ancient Irish MSS. and other records descriptions of the golden ornaments of the primitive Irish. "A greater number and variety of antique articles of gold have been found in Ireland," says Sir William Wilde, "than in any other country of Northwestern Europe. . . . Our museum (of the Royal Irish Academy) is rich in golden objects, containing more than five hundred specimens. Pins, fibulæ and brooches having been discovered in Ireland in immense quantities and variety, some of which are unsurpassed for design and workmanship. . . . Those magnificent specimens of silver and gold found in Ireland of late years had reached a degree of perfection which modern art can with difficulty imitate."

Fortunately for Irish art, it cannot be confounded with that of any other country. The forms of many Irish brooches and pins are identical, for instance, with those found in Scandinavia; but those of Scandinavia are all of bronze, while those of Ireland are of gold and silver, and are ornamented with the unique involved spiral or serpent coil, called by Kemble the *Opus Hibernicum*, which is the antiquary's sure test to distinguish national from imported work.

In the Preface to the translation of Keating's "History of Ireland" (London, 1727) is engraved a beautiful cap or crown of gold, elaborately ornamented, which was dug up in 1692 at Barnanely, county Tipperary. It was found ten feet under ground, at the bottom of a dried bog, by workmen who were digging peat. The crown weighs about five ounces, and from the decoration (which is without the Cross, a sign almost invariably used on the royal insignia of Ireland) it is presumed to antedate the conversion of Ireland in the fifth century.

In 1169 (Wilde's "Catalogue Royal Irish Academy Museum") Donough O'Carroll died after bestowing 300 ounces of gold on clerics and churches.

In Dr. Keating's "History of Ireland" (p. 526, edition of London, 1727) we read: "Turlough O'Connor [who became king A.D. 1130], King of Ireland, did not long survive this battle (Moinmore), but died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was interred with great solemnity near the great altar of Ciaran at Cluain Mac Nois (Clonmacnois). This prince left to the clergy of the kingdom 540 ounces of gold, 40 marks of silver, all his jewels, plate, horses, arms, bows, quivers, arrows and all his military equipage."

After the Norman conquest of England (see Deslarnes's "History of Caen") that country paid an annual tribute of 23,740 marks of silver to the Treasury of Caen, while from Ireland were exacted *400 marks of silver and 400 ounces of gold*, an enormous sum of money for those times.

Giraldus Cambrensis, writing of Ireland in 1200, says the country "abounded in gold."

"The quantity of antique manufactured gold ornaments dug up in Ireland, even in recent times," says Sir William Wilde (essay on "Antiquities of Ireland"), "has been estimated as exceeding half a million of money" (two and a half million dollars); and he adds: "As much more may be lying beneath our feet, for every year as new cuttings are made for railroads, or bogs are drained, deposits of gold ornaments come to light. Two or three years ago a deposit of massive gold bracelets, in value nearly £5000, as bright and beautiful as if just finished, was dug up in Carlow; and still more recently several antique gold frontlets were found by a laborer while digging, who, unconscious of their value, threw them to his children." Sir William Wilde rescued these frontlets (which the man was cutting up into nose-rings for his pigs), and they are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The form of the ornament is beautiful and classic—a half-moon diadem, resembling closely some seen in Etruscan sculpture.

It was stated at the time of this discovery that these and other antique ornaments found in Ireland were not native, but imported; but the Royal Irish Academy was patriotic enough to have these and other ancient ornaments tested, and the analysis proved that the metal was identical with the gold abundantly found in the County Wicklow.

In Hunt's "British Mining" (p. 902) we find these figures: "In 1852 Ireland produced 32,220 ounces of silver; in 1883, 2910 ounces." In "Mineral Statistics" (1883) it is stated: "Since 1796 from £35,000 to £60,000 worth of gold has been found in Wicklow, including nuggets of 24 ounces and 22 ounces." These figures are enormously understated, there being no official record of the amount of gold found. The fact is, there has been and is to-day a constant search for gold going on by the people in the neighborhood of the auriferous valleys and hills, but their "finds" are kept secret, as the British Crown claims the ownership of all gold-mines in Ireland.

According to Sir William Wilde there are seven assured gold-bearing districts in Ireland, by far the most important being those of the County Wicklow. This county is extraordinarily rich in minerals. In the Ballinvalley stream alone, a scientific authority, Mr. William Mallett, found the following minerals:

Gold.	Topaz.
Platina.	Garnets (2 varieties).
Tinstone.	Micaceous iron.
Magnetic oxide of iron.	Red iron ochre.
Titaniferous iron.	Hydrous peroxide of iron.
Wolfram.	Ironstone.
Manganese, oxide of.	Molybdenum (sulphuret).
Copper pyrites.	Prase.
Galena.	Augite.
Feldspar.	Zircon.
Mica.	Quartz.
Sapphire.	Chlorite.

Mr. Arthur G. Ryder, A. I. C. E. I., manager of the Ovoca Mineral Company, testifies to the existence of the above minerals in the County Wicklow, and adds the following, some of which have been quite recently discovered: Cement, zinc, antimony, arsenic, brick-marl, coal, cobalt, slate, paving-sets, and marble, silver and sulphur in abundance.

Mr. Ryder says:

"There are at least two mining districts in the county; in the more northerly, the mineral belt is about nine miles long by four miles wide; the local rocks are principally granitic; and the principal mineral found is argentiferous lead, containing about 70 per cent. lead and 6 ounces of silver to the ton. Here are situated the famous Luganure Mines, which have been more or less worked for sixty years, have yielded as much as £7000 profit in one year, have produced £138,756 worth of minerals in twenty years (1834-53), and in which were found, in 1861, 2850 ounces of native silver (capillary) associated with black sulphuret. Formerly five hundred miners were employed here. To-day the number is about thirty-five. No gold has yet been discovered in this district. The second, or Ovoca mineral district, is about 16 miles long by two miles wide, and comprises Gold Mines Valley, Ballymurtagh, Ballygahan, Tygroney, Cronebane, Connorree, Stroughmore, Kilmacoo, Kilmacree, and Ballycapple Mines. . . . Vast reserves of iron pyrites exist, containing from 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. of sulphur, and in some cases over six ounces of silver to the ton."

Gold has been found in the following places in Ireland: In a quartz vein at Bray Head, County Wicklow; in the pyrites lode, Ovoca, County Wicklow; in a quartz lode at Ballymanus, County Wicklow; in a copper lode at Dhurode, County Cork; in the mountain of Crochan Kinshela, Wicklow (an ancient and most valuable field); at Moyola river, Londonderry; in Connorree and Kilmacoo, Wicklow; in the mountains of Limerick, and other places. In Kilmacoo the result of working (in 1885) was half an ounce of gold per ton in the ochreous cap of the bluestone lode.

In the Ballinvalley stream, in 1770, a man named Byrne picked up a nugget of pure gold weighing 22 ounces. Thinking it was copper, he used it as a weight for sixteen years, when a peddler purchased it from him and resold it in Dublin for a large sum. This discovery created such excitement that hundreds of women and boys assembled to look for gold. In six weeks, according to

Graham, these poor people washed out 2666 ounces of gold (Sir William Wilde says £10,000 worth) by the most primitive methods. The government then sent soldiers to clear the valley (on the ground that the people were assembling for "treasonable purposes"), and assumed the control of the auriferous stream.

Here may be asked and answered the pregnant question: *Why are these Irish gold-fields not worked?*

Before the Parliamentary Committee on Irish Industries (on May 21, 1885) this question was asked of Professor Edward Hull, LL.D., F.R.S., Director of the Royal Geological Survey of Ireland and Dean of the Faculty of the Royal College of Science—certainly a person well qualified to give an intelligent and unbiassed answer, at least an answer unbiassed in favor of Ireland. Professor Hull, referring to the Wicklow district, where these poor people found the gold, answered as follows:

Question: You see no reason why that gold-mining industry could not be worked at a fair profit?

Prof. Hull: I think it is very likely that it could. It is said that very large quantities of gold were got there in former times, before it was under the Government.

Question: Before 1796 or 1797?

Prof. Hull: Before the Government took it up. It became Government property, and then it fell off. The peasants, in a fortnight, made over £3000 worth of gold, and then the Government took it and the search was abandoned."

Then Professor Hull was asked whether he thought it likely that the source of the gold could be discovered, and his answer was: "They have failed to discover the source of the gold in the old rocks, though no doubt that is the source. . . . I think that it is an industry well worth working up. . . . I have no doubt there is a great deal of gold to be got in the same locality that it used to be got in, upon the west of the mountain called Crochan Kinshela. There is a valley there in which the gold was obtained by washing from the alluvial materials; and there is no reason to suppose that there is not as much gold in the alluvial material which has been left behind as there was in that which has been washed."

When the British Government drove the peasants out of this Wicklow Valley, the step was taken, of course, "according to law." The law was made, as usual, for the occasion. An Act of Parliament was passed to enable "the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to conduct the working of a gold-mine in Wicklow;" and the Government appointed as their agents Messrs. Weaver, Mills, and King.

We learn from this Weaver (Trans. Royal Geological Society, vol. v., part 1), that these agents were instructed to "endeavor to collect all the gold deposited, and thereby to remove every tempta-

tion for the assembling of mobs"; and they continued accordingly to work on the auriferous drift "*until the depth of covering had become sufficiently thick to preclude the hope of gain from individual trials, conducted without order or regularity,*" or, in plain words, until they had buried the gold too deep for the people to dig out. While the militia were thus employed, the peasants were occupied in prospecting the neighboring streams; but, naturally, any finds thus made were kept secret. In 1798, the rebellion having broken out, the troops were transferred to Rathdrum Barracks, which they fortified with the mining plant. Up to this time their operations had resulted in a large profit, the washing of the sand left by the peasants having afforded 555 ounces of fine gold. After the rebellion, however, the agents devoted most of their time to a search for the *source* of the drift gold in the neighboring hills. There were then, as there are to-day, many cogent reasons for adopting this plan, the principal being the frequent occurrence of nuggets with adherent quartz, which proved the existence somewhere of an auriferous quartz lode. Fortunately the Government failed to discover this lode, and the troops were withdrawn, after having taken £3675 worth of gold from the valley.

"Since the departure of the English troops from the valley," Mr. Arthur G. Ryder, manager of the Ovoca Mineral Company (Paper read before Parliamentary Committee, 1885), says: "The peasants have found at least £25,000 worth of nuggets in the same stream, and three separate attempts have been made to discover the lode, but without success. . . . I am, therefore, convinced that the gold district of Crochan Kinshela now presents a most promising field for the profitable employment of capital, and I know that employment is everywhere urgently needed by the impoverished population of Wicklow."

Mr. Ryder says in relation to the auriferous lodes of Connorree, Kilmacoo, etc.: "I have found gold in no less than 15 different ores, clays, etc., from these mines, using the Readwin amalgamation process. . . . As to the stream or placer gold of the district, I am satisfied that *did such streams exist in any other country than Ireland, they would soon be heard of all over the world.* From part of one small rivulet at least £50,000 worth of gold has been washed in recent years. Even in its present bed, nuggets of 24, 22, 19, etc., ounces have been found; but the dry gulches have never been explored. The lower part of the principal river-course, to which all the streams contribute, is still virgin ground; yet the lower a miner prospects down an auriferous stream, the greater, as a rule, is his success. The whole district is known to be auriferous; yet an infinitesimal portion only of the 'black sand' has been uncovered. None of the improved processes for winning

gold have ever been adopted here; yet the greatest advances have of late been made in the direction of more effective machinery. Only where the valley is wide and flat and the gold much scattered, have trials been made; yet in its lower course the stream flows through a narrow chasm, where the nuggets are probably concentrated. Both water and fuel are available on the spot, and labor is cheaper, perhaps, than at any other gold-field in the world. The sands of the Rhine are washed for gold, although but one part of gold is found in eight million parts of sand."

Professor W. K. Sullivan, Ph.D., M.R.I.A., President of the Queen's College at Cork, and member of the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland, testified before the Parliamentary Industrial Committee of 1885, in reference to the Ovoca gold-fields: "The working of the streams by the peasants is most unsystematic, but they get an annual sum; it is very difficult to ascertain how much it is exactly, because they do not either like you to see their operations or to give you the gold, for fear it might be seized by the Crown. . . . Gold-mines in Ireland are the property of the Crown. . . . I have seen the peasants washing for gold and have got specimens of the gold along with the tin which accompanies it."

Mr. G. Henry Kinahan, member and Vice-President of the Royal Geological Survey of Ireland, M.R.I.A., author of "The Geology of Ireland," says: "I think there is amply sufficient ground for exploring the Wicklow gold-fields. There are many places in Ireland where I believe there are gold-mines. There ought to be deep placers at Wooden Bridge. There has never been any attempt made to work deep placers on the different gold-streams. There are the Gold Valley stream and the Darragh Water, both of which are known to contain placer-gold. Those streams meet at Wooden Bridge, but there never was any trial made there, unless there might have been prehistoric works."

Mr. Kinahan ("Geology of Ireland") says that in all probability the river bed down to the seaboard may be found to contain gold, and there are many considerations which justify this opinion. He says: "It is very desirable that researches of this nature should be encouraged, since discoveries of gold-bearing rocks usually lead to a knowledge of the existence of deposits of other useful metals."

The bed of this Wicklow gold, in the quartz, has never been discovered. All the workings are "placers," or washing process. Mr. Kinahan says: "A lode or quartz reef exists somewhere in Wicklow, because the gold there has always been, more or less, attached to pieces of quartz." And, he adds: "I strongly suspect that the reef exists about where the Government was asked

to make a trial some time ago." This trial, of course, was not made.

Mr. William George Strype, Civil Engineer, Managing Director of the Dublin and Wicklow Manure Company, and Director of several mines in Wicklow, says: "It is a well-known fact that there is a considerable quantity of gold in Wicklow, but no one has, up to the present, succeeded in extracting it with advantage."

Professor Hull says: "There is gold in alluvial deposits in several valleys in the County of Wicklow, as the stream at east base of Croghan-Kinshella, Knockmiller, Clonwilliam, Ballintemple, and tributaries of the Aughrim river. Till recently it has been worked in placer mines in Gold Mines Valley."

The placer gold is said, by Gerard Boate, to have been found prior to 1652, in the Moyola river, County Derry. Other gold is said to have been found, before 1820, in the sands of the streams of Slieve-an-Orra, County Antrim; Ballinascorney Gap, County Dublin; Barony of St. Mullins, County Carlow; in the County Wicklow, at Greystones; and in the Vale of Ovoca, with its tributary valleys.

Mr. Kinahan (Royal Geological Survey) says of the Government workings in Wicklow in 1797-8: "All these were shallow workings; *the orders given to Weaver, the principal engineer, being to work only to such a depth as would prevent the country people from working them.* Since then all workings have been shallow, none exceeding 30 feet in depth, while most of them were only from 12 to 15 feet deep."

Mr. Arthur Ryder says. "Gold is disseminated throughout the whole of the Ovoca district and has been found in large quantities in Gold Mines Valley. I have worked 17 samples of local ores, clays, etc., by the Readwin process, and in 15 of these I found gold, ranging from a trace up to 6 dwts. per ton. I have read of a foreign mine where ores holding 3 dwts. per ton are profitably worked. The "rotten quartz" of Connorree, containing 6 dwts., can be raised for 2s. per 21 cwts. Silver is found in the bluestone and in some of the iron pyrites, and varies from .009 per cent. to .036 per cent. American ores which are worked run as low as .001 per cent."

With regard to the workable silver in Wicklow, the following comparison is made from "Mineral Statistics," an English publication:

	Lead. Per cent.	Silver, per ton. Ounces.
Bluestone from Morfa Dhu Mine, } 12		7
Anglesea, Wales. }		
" " Mona Mine, . } 13		3
Bluestone from Kilmacoo, Wicklow, 22.55		10

In the year 1753 five hundred miners were employed at Cronebane, Wicklow, where a discovery of bluestone was made, and the Rev. Dr. Henry, F.G.S., in his report to Earl Cadogan, writes in that year: "Beneath this (*i. e.*, the bluestone) lies a rich rocky silver ore, which sparkles brightly and yields 75 ounces of pure silver out of a ton of ore, besides a great quantity of pure lead." It is but reasonable to conclude that similar conditions still prevail at Kilmacoo, where, according to Mr. Ryder, C.E., about 800 tons of bluestone are now in sight.

Elsewhere throughout the County Wicklow, according to various authorities, alluvium gold occurs in the higher shallow alluvium of the valleys (placers), in the lower deep alluvium of the valleys (deep placers), in the alluvium of the beds of the high, now dry, supplementary streams of the ancient or primary valleys (dry gulch placers), and in the shelves, or high level flats, on the sides of the valleys (shelf, reef, or bar placers).

In modern times in none of the valleys of the County Wicklow has gold been worked, except in the shallow and dry gulch placers.

"The experiments and calculations made," says Mr. Kinahan, speaking for the Royal Geological Survey of Ireland, "suggest that gold probably exists in the following places: Three miles of untried deep alluvium in the Coolbawn Valley; over a mile of deep alluvium in the Gold Mines Valley; about eight miles of alluvium along the Darrah Water, from Tomnaskela to the Lower Meeting of the Waters; six miles of the Valley of the Ow; three miles of deep alluvium along the Macreddin stream; and from the Ovoca mines to the sea of Arklow, six miles of deep alluvium. Besides the foregoing deep and shallow placers there is the probability of the existence of dry gulch and bar or shelf placers. In connection with the south branch of the Gold Mines Valley, one or two dry gulches were worked by Weaver, who got in them 'large gold.' Elsewhere they, or the bar placers, have not been looked after; yet, in many places there is a possibility, if not a probability, that such golden relics may exist. There are other places in the County Wicklow, such as Ballinglen and the Tinnahela stream, in which gold has not been tried for, although the indications would suggest its existence. Attention, therefore, may be called to them."

Every other mineral treasure in Ireland, and many are unexcelled in the whole world, is in the same deplorable condition as the gold fields. The few hundred landlords who own the country are too idle, too ignorant, or too deeply mortgaged to make the proper investigations or begin practical developments. And where, as in some strange instances, men are found willing to

begin, they are soon crushed by the dogged opposition of pro-English railroad managers and other carriers or distributors.

The only industries flourishing in Ireland to-day are distilleries and breweries, and a few chemical works in which the inexhaustible supply of sea-weed of all kinds is reduced to substances like iodine, or some form of manure.

"There is not a shovel or a knife made in Ireland," was the testimony of an authority before the Parliamentary Committee on Irish Industries (1885); and yet Ireland possesses exhaustless quantities of the best iron in the world, with abundance of coal and peat for smelting and manufacture. There is not a police barrack or other government building in the country that is not slated with Welsh slate, though Ireland has vast quarries of superior slate, which cannot reach a market. There is not a yard of broadcloth worn by the Catholic clergy, for instance, made in Ireland; it is imported from England, where it is made from Irish wool. And so runs the whole shameful story of neglect and deliberate suppression.

A land that the Almighty made to teem with milk and honey, a land of rich fields and gentle airs, of sweet waters and lovely prospects, untainted by one poisonous breath of noxious reptile or deadly plant; a land of gold and silver and marble, and every precious element of glory and beauty; and on the surface of this paradise a population driven to despair by poverty, subserviency, and profitless, hopeless toil!

The latest British official who reports for Ireland is the Irish Registrar-General, showing, in the words of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, "that since May, 1851, the awful number of 3,197,419 men and women of Irish birth (the young and strong ones) have fled their birth-place to find in most cases death in foreign lands, and each year is adding to the terrible national drain." And, in addition, this leading Irish journal says that 2,500,000 Irish people died in their own country, in the same period, of hardship and starvation.

"What name is to be given to wholesale extermination like this?" indignantly asks the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bagshawe, the revered Bishop of Nottingham, himself an Englishman. "It is carried out by the bayonets of the troops and the constabulary," and the Bishop adds: "The same murderous work is going on at the present hour with horrible malignity."

Ireland ought to be the home of a thousand industries. Her children once possessed skill of head and hand to raise her wonderful products into shapes of use and beauty for all the world. But there is hardly a wheel turning in the desolate country. The metals and marbles are covered with earth. The rivers of match-

less water-power pour inutile into the sea; the people fly from the land of their love as from a plague-stricken region.

Never before in human history has a highly-civilized, brave, industrious, religious race suffered from conquest so dreadfully as have the Irish people. In the twelfth century they had laid the wide and deep foundations of a splendid nation. Their great schools had then been filled with students for centuries; they had covered their lovely island with abbeys and churches of surpassing beauty, as the skeletoned ruins testify to the present traveller; they had, alone of all European nations except Greece and Rome, codified a noble system of native law, fitted to the complexities of the highest social order; they had established profound respect for religion, letters and music. Had the Ireland of the twelfth century proceeded uninterrupted into the nineteenth, there would have been an Irish national history rivalling, if not surpassing, the most luminous pages of Hellenic glory. But the growth was invaded from without. The fair structures were thrown down; the learning, law, art, religion were banished or trampled into the earth. The whole country was given to a handful of the conquerors to do with it as they pleased; *and they own it still.*

"The landlords," says Bishop Bagshawe, "are but a handful of the population. Less than 300 persons own one-third of Ireland; half Ireland is owned by less than 800; and two-thirds of it by less than 2000. The whole number of landlords does not exceed 10,000."

"In Ireland alone," says John Stuart Mill, "the whole agricultural population can be evicted by the mere will of the landlord, either at the expiration of a lease, or in the far more common case of their having no lease, at six months' notice. In Ireland alone the bulk of a population dependent wholly on the land cannot look forward with confidence to a single year's occupation of it; while the sole outlet for the dispossessed cultivators is expatriation."

Remedy? The object of this article is diagnosis, not remedy. Diseases in the individual may be cured by medicines, and individual wrongs by the patchwork of legislation. But the moral affliction of an unjust social order cannot be cured by law.

The cruelty or injustice of a strong nation is its disease: it has only one Physician, and He works through the consciences of good men who have opened their eyes to the iniquity.

PROTESTANT INTEREST IN PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.

Vol. I. The CONFESSIONS and LETTERS of St. Augustine, with a Sketch of his Life and Work. Buffalo: Christian Literature Company. 1886. Large 8vo. Pp. 619.

Vol. II. St. Augustine's CITY OF GOD and CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. Ibid. 1887. Pp. 621.

IT is a wholesome sign of the times that the Fathers of the Church are beginning once more to attract the attention of students and readers. They have never, at any time, been neglected by the Catholic scholar. For to him they are witnesses of the truth; and his theology must be learned from the Scriptures not as interpreted by the caprice of private judgment, but by the authority of the Church. And, though she defines her doctrine in councils or by the voice of Peter speaking through his successors, yet it is through the holy Fathers, who are her chief theologians, that she develops and explains her teaching.

Hitherto, generally speaking, the Fathers have not been regarded with much favor by non-Catholic divines. At the beginning of the religious revolution which, near four hundred years ago, destroyed the unity of Catholic faith in good part of Europe, some effort was made by the partisans of the new errors to enlist the Fathers on their side. The breach between the Old and the New, between the Church, with her hereditary faith of fifteen centuries, and the novelties preached by those of the "new learning" or "new gospel," as they called themselves,—bad priests and renegade friars, as the people knew them to be,—was so clear and so startling that it became a matter of necessity to make some attempt to show that this total change of creed, polity and ritual was no radical innovation, but simply a giving back to Christendom of her old religion in its first purity. For this the Fathers were paraded as a court of appeal, and passages from their works were quoted, or misquoted rather and shamefully distorted, to lend some color to the desperate attempt. But it was such a wretched failure that the majority of Protestant divines, including many even of the "Reformers" themselves, seeing that no artifice availed to drag the Fathers into the service or extort from them anti-Catholic testimony, gave up in disgust the wearisome task imposed on them by

controversial necessity, and found it more expedient to decry and denounce the witnesses they had summoned to their own confusion.

Hence the vile language in which Luther speaks of them. In this he is imitated by his disciples ; and by Calvinists too, on the continent of Europe, in Great Britain and America. It may occasionally happen that they quote approvingly a passage or two from some holy Father or Catholic Doctor. But it is not out of reverence for his character or his acknowledged position in the Catholic Church. It is because they imagine they have discovered in his pages something that lends countenance to a pet error of their sect or some partial remnant of truth which commends itself to the approval of their private judgment. It is in this way that the Calvinist and Jansenist love to use or misuse St. Augustine, the Anglican Sts. Ignatius and Cyprian. So, too, the Puritan, John Milton, when he unwisely steps down from Helicon to dabble in theological strife, condescends to praise the Fathers, when he thinks they side with his loose notions of divorce, but in the next breath reviles them like a common scold, when they chance to run counter to his Calvinistic prejudices.

Since Protestantism, like the old Kronos of mythology, has taken to devouring her offspring, and has been swallowed up in turn by Rationalism, to a great extent in Germany and partially at least amongst English-speaking peoples, the hereditary feeling of ill-will and contempt for the Fathers seems to have given way to a better sentiment, more respectful and more just to those venerable worthies of the early Church. Amongst German savants, even divines nominally Lutheran or "Reformed," the works of these holy and learned men are edited, annotated and studied with zeal and diligence, as writings of great, good men and representatives of the thought and talent of their epoch. This may not be much ; it may be nothing more than what they do for Plato or Josephus, Kalidasa or Yayadeva. But it is something after all, especially when we contrast it with the vulgar abuse and ribaldry of Martin Luther and John Milton. It is, we hope, a higher motive that in England and America begins to lead so many to the reading and study of the Fathers. At all events, nothing but edification and real advantage can come of this newly awakened desire for patristic literature. Honest men will learn at last to recognize them as echoes and exponents of the great truths which the Catholic Church has taught from the beginning and teaches at this day, and which in an evil hour men were led by demagogues and false "Gospellers" to reject as human inventions, not consonant with truth and primitive Christianity.

We have spoken before of the first volume of St. Augustine's

works, in which are contained the Confessions and Letters of the holy Doctor. Of the Confessions, that enduring monument of Christian humility, and of the manifold testimonies they bear to Catholic doctrine and practice, we have said enough. The Letters contain a little over five-eighths of what may be found under that name in the Maurine edition, the principal omission being of those letters that touch on the Donatist and Pelagian controversies. The latter, being on subjects of somewhat abstruse character, are not so necessary as those of an historical nature. Hence their absence is not so much felt, especially as the anti-Pelagian treatises of the Saint are fully given in three volumes. But the letters relating to the Donatist schism are so few that they need not have been sacrificed to gain a trifle of space. Besides, they are almost indispensable to give the reader an adequate idea of the mild, amiable character of St. Augustine, breathing as it does intense charity for those who had separated themselves from Catholic unity, and at the same time sternly urging the necessity of visible communion with the Church, which if one knowingly reject, no good works, no austerity of penance, no outward show of holy life can avail him to salvation. We do not even hint that this may have furnished any ground for the omission of the Letters. But we can feel how unpleasant it must naturally be for a Protestant editor to translate and publish for the instruction of his fellow-religionists, as the distinct, unmistakable teaching of Augustine and the Catholic Church of the third and fourth centuries, what he bitterly resents as uncharitable dogmatism when uttered by Leo XIII. and the Catholic Bishops of our day.

The translator of the Letters is Rev. J. F. Cunningham, and though his version is not always literal, it is (as far as we can judge), on the whole, sufficiently faithful. The Index is wholly inadequate. It ought to have been far more complete. For, had all the other works of St. Augustine become the prey of Vandals in Africa or barbaric Goths in Europe, his Letters alone, if they but survived, would sufficiently reveal to posterity the life, character and thoroughly Catholic doctrine of the great Bishop of Hippo. The meagre character of the Index not only offends good taste and propriety, but is occasionally misleading. It is headed "Index of Subjects," and is preceded by another, ample enough, of the persons to whom the Letters are addressed. Yet of the subjects, which he treats so fondly, so fully and so eloquently, how many are passed over without a single word of mention! The Index has not failed to remind us of Augustine's "Ignorance of Hebrew," of what he thought of "Scripture" and the "Epicureans" (three references for each topic), of Anaximenes, Anaxagoras and the Cutzupitæ—a kind of Donatist heretics who lived in Rome

under Numidian jurisdiction, precursors of the Anglicans who live there now under the rule of Queen Victoria and her so-called Bishop of Gibraltar. But of his magnificent praises of the Catholic Church, her wonderful unity, her divine authority, the deadly sin of schism or voluntary separation from her communion, and like themes, on which so earnestly, so fondly, so frequently, he loves to dwell, not one word of reference! The "Catholic Church," indeed, is quoted once, but whether the reference be meant as a joke or a sneer, is not so clear. We find "Catholic Church, the," Vol. I., pp. 411-415 (of Clarke's Edinburgh edition, pp. 388-390 edition of Buffalo), where the saint speaks of having altered his views as to the policy of allowing the Donatists to practise their religion and by their immoral conduct to defy the civil and criminal law of the empire with impunity! Indeed, the true spirit of the index-maker would have been honestly and truthfully disclosed to the reader had he labelled his item "Catholic Church, the; essentially and on principle a persecuting church," pp. 388-390. His *animus* would seem yet more clearly revealed further on in another heading, where the same pages are quoted, "Persecution, later views of Augustin on, pp. 388-390."

There is, speaking of the same Index, another heading which is, to say the least, reprehensible for its ambiguity. Under the word "*Feast*" we read: "Feasts in honour of martyrs, censured, pp. 239-241; abolished at Hippo, 253-256." Now, since *feast*, in English, may mean two things, festival or banquet, the addition of the words, "in honor of the martyrs," would rather incline the reader to think that festivals were meant. But this would be a serious mistake. It was not the festivals instituted in honor of the martyrs that St. Augustine and the Church of Hippo condemned, for he extols such commemoration of the martyrs as good and useful. It was the banquets given on those days in the cemeteries, which in their beginnings were commendable enough, being intended to honor the Saints by almsgiving to the poor, but which, by degrees, degenerated into scenes of unseemly revel and riot—that were censured and abolished at Hippo. As long as they did honor to the martyrs, they were retained and respected. It was only when they became a dishonor and insult to God's Saints that these excesses were denounced and condemned by St. Augustine and his fellow bishops. He himself says distinctly¹ that what was sinful and unworthy was abolished, while the commemoration of the martyrs, which was "a pious and honorable act of religious service," was retained. Rev. Mr. Cunningham was indebted to the Maurine editors for the reference, and

¹ Ep. xxii., ad Aurelium, § 6.

they use St. Augustine's own word, *convivia*.¹ They speak, too, of the banquets being given, not "in honor of the martyrs," but on the "anniversary of their martyrdom," or, as the Church loves to call it, their *birthday*.² Hence, it would have been fairer to use plain English, that would admit of no misconstruction. We make no charge of bad faith against the Rev. compiler, or index-maker, for he may be innocent of evil intent. We only mention it to show that a Catholic is not without reason cautious, suspicious, and even, like the Tyrian Queen, *omnia tuta timens*, when he sees the wonderful way in which our books, whether Scripture, Holy Fathers, or even petty devotional treatises, are edited, interpreted, annotated, and nicely indexed, too, *si superis placet*, by those outside of the Church.

Another blemish in the translation of St. Augustine's Letters, and one that applies to the subsequent volumes likewise, is the wilful perversion of his Biblical nomenclature. He is made by his translators to say, Melchizedec, Zion, Zephaniah, Hagar, Terah, Tobit, Haggai, Elisha, and the like, instead of what he did say, viz., Sion, Melchisedec, Sophonias, Thare, etc. In other words, the translator has taken upon himself to correct the spelling of the Saint, or rather of the Septuagint whom he closely follows, by the standard of the English Protestant Old Testament. Even if the heterodox spelling were correct, which no amount of learning can ever prove it to be, it would still be taking an unwarrantable liberty with the Saint's text, and wholly indefensible on philological grounds. The translators of King James had faithfully respected the Greek form of names preserved by the New Testament; and it was only the late Revisers who, with unpardonable presumption, attempted to teach the Apostles and Evangelists that they had erred in not spelling by the infallible rule of King James's translation from the Hebrew. It is unjust to any writer to correct his spelling without being able to substitute something better; and most of the time it is unwise and improper for philological reasons. Rosenmüller is more than once guilty of this inaccuracy in transcribing, with direct quotation and inverted commas, portions of St. Jerome's commentaries on the Sacred Books. He puts under the Saint's pen more than once the letters *z* and *tz* where the great Doctor had used sharp *s*. For this is invariably the way in which this most learned of interpreters is accustomed to transliterate the Hebrew letter *Ssade*.

The second volume of the Buffalo edition contains the famous twenty-two books on the City of God ("De Civitate Dei"), the

¹ They use also, what is more expressive, *epulæ*. See Index in Maurine ed. under the words *Convivia* and *Martyres*.

² *Convivia in natalitiis martyrum*.

noblest and most comprehensive apology ever yet written on behalf of the Church, which in Augustine's mind is identical with Christianity. It is a magnificent Philosophy of History, as far above the modern infidel or anti-Catholic works that pretend to the name as the sun is above the clouds and mists that seek to darken his brightness. And never can history be worthily written, never can it be a mirror of the truth, the guide and light of life, unless the historian keep ever before his eyes the lofty views and great principles that Augustine followed in developing the history of the two rival cities, Jerusalem and Babylon, the two hostile kingdoms upon earth of God and of the world. And the Christian believer will find there refuted in advance all the vain sophistry with which the Church is daily assailed by those who cry out that she is a hindrance to the temporal prosperity of nations, that it is only by casting aside her doctrines and maxims that a people can be elevated and enlightened, that progress is proportionate to the decrease of her rule, and that perfect independence of her control is essential to the life and well-being of the nations. No impartial, Christian-minded student of the Saint can fail to see that those "emancipated" nations who have flung off their allegiance to Christ's Church might as well bow down at once in undisguised homage before Jupiter, Mars and Venus. For what is symbolized by these false gods is the true object of their new worship. And their nominal profession (should they retain it) of faith in Christ and His Gospel is only a mask under which they hide their hearty allegiance to the earthly city of Babylon.

The volume closes with the Saint's treatise on Christian Doctrine, a work that has been highly esteemed in every age of the Church. Bossuet says of it somewhere that there is no book in Catholic antiquity that contains in a condensed form more valuable rules and helps for the elucidation of Scripture than this treatise of St. Augustine. The translator is the Rev. I. F. Shaw. No suggestion of ours would be likely to find approval from the translators or editors. But we have an opinion, and may express a hope. We think the books of St. Augustine and the other Fathers do not need much glossing. In matters of pure erudition note and comment would not be out of place. But to ascertain their doctrinal views is very easy, and no commentary is needed, especially when experience shows that "explanatory notes," even if not so intended, have the practical result of confusing, hiding and darkening, rather than elucidating the meaning of the authors. Let them rely a little more on the good sense of the reader, and give us the text, as they profess to do with Scripture, without note or comment.

Lest any one should think there is here some exaggeration, we will give (out of hundreds) an example or two to illustrate those

generally useless, and often silly, attempts to explain the holy Father's meaning, where no explanation was needed; and where, if one be offered, it has every appearance of being offered with the sole view of bewildering the reader, of "throwing dust in his eyes," as the vulgar but very significant phrase has it, of carefully hindering him from getting to know what the Father really meant. It has a very uncharitable look to be always suspecting that under every word lurks fraud and design. But we cannot help it. There is an inexorable logic of facts, in the presence of which Christian charity loses all her resources, and must yield the contest. She may weep, but she can utter no word of defence. She is stricken dumb by the sentence of her own divine Master: "*ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*" (Matth. vii).

In a note to the Buffalo edition¹ we have an elaborate attempt to explain away, or rather divest of all meaning, the pious hope and entreaty of St. Monica on her death-bed, that she should be unceasingly² remembered at God's Altar by her family and friends, in other words, at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. There was no word of explanation needed here. It was what Monica had learned in infancy from her catechism, and what every pious mother in the Catholic Church might or does actually repeat on her death-bed at this day in any part of the world. She was perfectly understood by Augustine and his weeping friends, just as the same request would be understood by the Catholic Christian nowadays in Ostia (where she uttered it), in Algiers, in Rome, in New York or Washington. She had lived a holy life, but the scales of divine justice are above our comprehension. She may have had her imperfections, and they can only be cleansed by the prayers of the Church, and above all by the Adorable Sacrifice of the Altar. But this teaching, known to every Catholic child, as well as to St. Augustine, must be kept from the view of the "intelligent" evangelical reader. He might suspect that the saint was bearing witness, not only to the faith of the fourth no less than of the nineteenth century, but also to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament.

Hence the note begins by gravely informing us that the origin of prayers for the dead dates back, probably, to the close of the second century; that they were originally expressions of hope, and became gradually supplications and prayers, degenerating even into prayers for the unregenerate, until at last there was developed purgatory on one side and creature worship on the other. But Augustine did not believe in creature worship (see his Letter to Maximus). In the Church of England prayers for the dead

¹ Vol. i., p. 141.

² "Whosoever you may be."

were wisely eliminated from the Prayer Book, because praying for the dead implies a belief in Purgatory.

This is the substance of the Note, which we have faithfully condensed. Who wrote it, matters little. It seems to be an improvement by Rev. Mr. Pilkington on a previous note of Rev. Mr. Watts, the Calvinist divine who translated and edited St. Augustine's Confessions in the first half of the seventeenth century. But whoever wrote it, Dr. Pusey and Dr. Schaff are just as responsible as if they were the writers. What connection is there between the note and the text? Is the reader enabled any better to understand the pious request of Monica and its fulfilment by Augustine, when he is told that prayers for the dead began at such a date or were thrust out of the Anglican Prayer Book for fear they might lead incautious Protestants to believe in Purgatory? The only question that can interest the reader is this: Did Monica and Augustine think the dead were helped by the prayers of the faithful and especially by the Holy Sacrifice, and did they say so? If not, let the note disprove it.

And then the gratuitous information that Augustine did not believe in creature-worship! Who ever accused him of it? Did any Catholic, or Protestant either, to the knowledge of Dr. Pusey or Dr. Schaff, ever make such a charge against the Saint? It was rather unfortunate to quote St. Augustine's letter to Maximus,¹ because from it we learn that the accusation of creature-worship was actually brought against St. Augustine and the Church of his day. And by whom? By Pagans, because they invoked the saints and martyrs, honored their memory and their relics, in a word, for the very same reason that makes heresy at this day charge creature-worship on the Council of Trent and the great world of Catholic believers. When will these good men learn that their accusations against the Catholic Church have not even the poor merit of originality, and that they are nothing more than an idle repetition of the stale calumnies invented against Christianity by the old worshippers of Jove and Bacchus? It does not require a very profound study of the Fathers to discover that there is scarcely—we will not say an argument—but even a lying sneer or jibe directed by the present heretical world against our sacraments, rites and moral teaching, that does not find its counterpart in the wicked insinuations and calumnies of dead Paganism. In the very letter of Maximus, to which St. Augustine replies, there is heathen ridicule of a holy martyr because of his odd name, *Namphanion*; and the very cant name of "dead men," by which Protestants love to call our Saints, seems to have been taught them by this Pagan scoffer. Our

¹ Ep. xvii., ad Maximum Madaurensen.

Saviour taught a different lesson when he reminded the Jews that the true God was the God of the living and not of the dead, and that, therefore, His friends, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were not dead, but living. Heresy, however, is so enlightened that it will not listen to Christ our Lord, much less to His Apostles and Evangelists, but it willingly goes to school to the Pagan Maximus of Madaura, to the heretic Vigilantius, and is delighted to learn from them that the Abrahams, Isaacs and Jacobs of the Old Testament, the Peters, Pauls, Clements, Polycarps and Namphanions of the New, are nothing but "dead men," and that they have left behind them only "carcasses" that are worthy of no respect.

THE WEAPONS OF SO-CALLED MODERN SCIENCE.

IN the beginning of the modern era, dating it from the Renaissance, the controversies which the Church had to engage in were carried on with a recognized basis of Revelation. Controversy turned upon the extent and meaning of that Revelation. Protestantism, springing naturally from the Renaissance, began early to empty into its true channel of rationalism, which was widened and deepened by the French Sons of the Revival, who had not chosen to break definitely with orthodoxy until they broke with Christianity. The Bible ceased, conspicuously, to be drawn so much into controversy, as an authority. The bitterest attacks upon the Church were made in the name of Metaphysics. This Metaphysics, that discarded the supernatural, soon rejected the immaterial. The accumulated wealth of material science seeming to store the magazines of war, the basis of the anti-Christian aggression was, at length, formulated thus: Christianity is in antagonism with the material order of the universe. There is a clearly marked scale of descent:

Facilis descensus averni.

The outcome of it all, in practical life, is the "animal ethics," so highly extolled by the "thinkers." As compared with the sixteenth century, the whole form of aggression has been changed—tactics, arms, and words of command. The question comes back

¹ The very word that Beza impiously applies to the Sacred Body of our Saviour after death.

upon us, daily,—and as it is an important one, there is no harm in repeating it,—Are we properly equipped for the conflict?

Our enemies have left the old battle-ground. They no longer uphold the false against the true Christianity. Finding that, on the field of the Supernatural, the scriptures and tradition, which they had tried to use, only turned against them as engines of destruction, they have deserted this field, and now contend, with every round of sophistry, that the supernatural, for the sanctions of whose revelations they so stubbornly fought, does not exist at all. They have thrown themselves, heart and soul, into the exploration of the not merely natural, but of the sensible, the visible, the tangible; and, holding up every molecule of earth, now try to make it pose as an argument—a long-hidden argument which they have found—against Christianity and Revelation. And they are teachers. They have made explorations, and, in their expositions, can figure as teachers. What wonder, then, if, after listening to learned discourses that evidence great research and long experiment, people who do not understand the long, earnest and intricate preamble, but who know the meaning of the one invariable conclusion drawn, *i.e.*, that the Revelations of Christianity are contradictory to the facts of “SCIENCE,”—what wonder if people begin to doubt? Not, certainly, that the argument is anything more than jugglery; but the children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light. With one object in view—the overthrow of Christianity—they, literally, leave no stone unturned, if the mere turning of it can but add to their air of research. Their thesis, or, if they start without thesis, their conclusion, is always this: Science is the antithesis of faith, and the success of their efforts is too evident and too disastrous to be ignored. With the mass of men to-day the dominant idea is the wonderful leap physical science has suddenly taken into its maturity, waiting long like the cereus, and then bursting forth into glory in a night; and with this idea dominating the whole harmony of their thoughts, they feel glad to have lived and to have been born in such an era of science; and their faith is simple belief in its future power. It has done so much, it has proved itself to them in so much, that, when its “high-priests” come forward and declare that it has moulded the casket and woven the shroud and pall of Revelation, they, too often, quietly submit.

There are multitudes who make at least a pretence of seeing in the Bible nothing more than one of the variations of human emotion. We no longer hear controversies on the Trinity or Unity of God, the twofold Will of Christ, the middle state of Purgatory, the jurisdiction of Peter. The chief points attacked to-day are the very elementary truths of religion—of natural religion. A

hundred Reviews, stamped with names that carry learned appendices, scatter plausible sophistry over the world, and it is taken up and popularized in a thousand ways, so that it may not fail to reach the lowliest. Here and there we meet with an erudite refutation; and we rest satisfied that our work has been done. But the evil is not undone. It continues to be spread with feverish solicitude in newspapers and reviews, in class-rooms, in lecture halls, in parlors. Women, girls just entering society, are eager to show that they are not behind the age, and ask with a sparkle of vanity where the defenders of Christianity have hid themselves, at the approach of the great machine of Science.

Many calm themselves with the reflection that the very absurdity of the attack makes it harmless. This is a very false view of the case, and one as fatal as it is false. We are not pessimists. It is not pessimism to admit the height and build of your adversary and the length of his arm and to prepare accordingly. Mr. Mallock, whom we cite in the character of inquirer which he chooses to assume, says: "We are literally in an age to which history can show no parallel, and which is new to the experience of humanity; and though the moral dejection we have been dwelling on may have had many counterparts in other times, this is, as it were, solid substance, whereas they were only shadows."¹ Cardinal Newman does not hesitate to point to the calm threatening growth of positivism as to a phenomenon vaster than the mere outburst of a heresy. Neither can we disregard the testimony of those few—alas, too few—who, having helped to unchain the winds, are now recoiling in horror at their work. Even ten years ago, the profession of faith applauded to the echo in the socialistic congress of workingmen showed that the new metaphysical theories had reached their ethics, and had become a social reality. "They speak to us of a future life, they speak to us of heaven; but science has proved that this is all a dream, a lie. We do not want any of it. What we demand is hell—nothingness—with all the voluptuousness that goes before."² M. Jules Simon put it all in a sentence for the French people: "*Nous étions croyants, nous sommes devenus sceptiques, demain nous serons nihilistes.*" "We were believers, we have become sceptics, to-morrow we shall be nihilists."

A few years ago when Virchow, Haeckel and Oscar Schmitt put their heads together to deliberate upon the school programmes of Germany, it was asked whether monistic atheism should be reserved for the higher education, or whether it should not be introduced into the intermediate schools, and given in successive doses

¹ *Is Life Worth Living?* p. 197.

² From Report in *Bien Public* of Ghent, Sept. 12th, 1877.

in the primary schools, so that it might enter gradually into the family, and that children might grow up to it. Virchow could not bring himself to pronounce for the latter plan, but the others did not shrink from it. The *Revue Scientifique* (May 18th, 1878) answered boldly that it was expedient to lead the child gradually from anthropomorphism to the theory of the "*unknowable*," and to avow frankly that we do not know where the world came from or what becomes of us when we die.

All science may be divided, according to its object, into supernatural and natural. The object of supernatural science is God. St. Thomas tells us that it is God, considered as supreme cause; not merely in so far as we can know Him through creatures, for thus He may be the object of philosophy, but also and especially as to that which belongs to His own proper knowledge of Himself, and which He has communicated to us by revelation.¹

Natural science may be subdivided into that which has for its object intellectual and moral truths, and that which has for its object purely material phenomena. The former constitutes philosophy proper, more specifically metaphysics; the latter, embracing the material universe, constitutes physics. Metaphysics, employing consciousness and reason, discusses primary truths, substantial causes, questions of origin and finality, the essence of the necessary, the contingent, the immaterial, the free, etc. The domain of physics is circumscribed by the limits of purely material phenomena,—of that which can be reached by the five senses. Hence the term physics extends not only to that which is commonly called physics, but also to chemistry, geology, meteorology, and even to biology, which has for its object the sensible phenomena of life. Physics tries by repeated experiment to deduce the general laws that govern what is material in the universe in its material action. It is clear, then, that physics holds the lowest place in the hierarchy of the sciences. Physics as a science is as far below metaphysics as sight is below intelligence. Physics is a science which is, objectively, purely material, yet some of its devotees have had the presumption to arrogate to it the name of "Science," to the exclusion of every other science; and themselves they have crowned as "Scientists." From the definitions of the three orders of science it should be easy to determine their respective limits. But the lowest order, having with an amazing charlatanism hung up its sign, "all things knowable *à bon marché*," professes to have superseded the two other orders, denying or declaring unattainable or mythical those realms which, with all its presumption and effrontery, it acknowledges it cannot reach.

Step into its wonderful palace of knowledge. Its princes, coun-

¹ Summ. Theol., P. I, Q. 1, a 6.

terfeiting the air of a very suave conservatism, will meet you at the portal.

"Ah! Seeking for knowledge?"

"Yes, I want some instruction about God and immortality."

"Ah! Yes; I see—about—well, the fact is, science has no data on those points. It has never had any evidence that these things exist at all. Science adheres strictly to facts,—visible, tangible, audible facts,—and draws its conclusions after testing its facts under modifying influences. As to the things you speak of, science has not yet one fact, not to speak of a series of facts. Hence, science not only cannot draw a conclusion; science cannot even propound a theory. All science can do is to ignore such things. Science has gone high into the upper strata of the air and deep into the bowels of the earth, and has found nothing to indicate the existence of what you speak of. Hence, having no time to lose, it has relegated all such things to the region of the unknowable. This is the very mildest attitude it can assume. And it takes this position only out of courtesy to those who, less instructed, still hold on to what science really knows to be a fable. Science, I say, knows this; for, having explored all realms, it has proved it by a negative argument, by elimination. This argument is too lengthy for the majority of mankind to follow through all its details; so science avoids useless discussion with most men by saying: 'It may be so. We do not know. We have not found it.' But go in. Walk through the Palace at your leisure. Put a few questions to the Operators."

You advance, and, at once, there bursts upon your view a scene that makes you feel like a very Aladdin in the land of Alchemy. Here are no idlers. You accost an operator, and ask him for some information about miracles.

"Miracles! Yes. I know what you mean. We do not use the word. It is no longer found in our vocabulary, except as a mythological term. See that coil of wire? With that I can talk across the ocean. Is that what you call a miracle? The paradoxes of nature we are putting into toys. You say there are a great many things we do not know. Oh, yes; there are a great many. But, give us time. See what we have done in a quarter of a century!"

"But the spiritual soul, what can you say about that?"

"The spiritual soul! Well, we say nothing about it. We have never found it. And if there is one thing that we have done more than another, it is to study every fibre of the human frame. We have resolved it into its last elements; and what you call soul we now call mechanism. You have only to disturb some essential valve or pump, and it will not work. The same thing happens when you loosen the piston of a locomotive. The locomotive cannot

go. Of course, there are certain secrets in the complicated movement called life, that we have not yet reached; but we know all the elements, and we are on the way."

Well, if this is not a quackery that outdoes in brazenness all the quackeries at which men have ever gaped in awe! Quackery is defined in the dictionaries as "false pretensions to a knowledge of physic." What other name than that of supereminent, transcendental quackery can we apply to these "false pretensions to a knowledge of all things?" The Positivist school contents itself with saying that the questions which regard origin, substance, final cause, first cause, are absolutely inaccessible to us, because they lie outside the range of sensible observation. The avowedly materialistic school goes farther, and professes to decide all problems moral, metaphysical and religious. With the same code of laws which it has picked up out of matter, it passes sentence on ideas and atoms, on force and will, on intelligence and motion. Both materialistic monism and positivism repudiate the immaterial, as rationalism before them repudiated the supernatural.

The scientific question, therefore, which confronts us to-day, resolves itself into this: Must we admit a contradiction between the positive data of the experience of the senses and the teachings of conscience, reason and faith? between the testimony of the external faculties and the testimony of the internal? between the testimony of the internal faculties to-day and the testimony of the external faculties handed down to us by tradition? To keep up with modern progress, must we keep throwing away, as we would so much ballast, the deep-seated, uniform, universal beliefs of the human race? To be, and to be deemed, worthy of the future, must we deny the past, its glories, its geniuses, its thought?

This is not an arbitrary statement of the question. It is the one to which an affirmative answer is urged upon us in the name of science. We have to answer that there is not and cannot be opposition between knowledge and knowledge respectively in the three orders. Physics deals merely with the laws that rule matter in its material action. As physics it has not to ask, "whence or why matter?" It takes what it can find, what it can see, hear and feel, watches it to see how it acts, and then records the result of its experiment. If it attempts to do more, it goes out of its province. Philosophy, metaphysics, determines, in general, the nature of the material and the immaterial, the finite and the necessary. Theology, using a new light, faith, writes higher truths, supernatural; and it sheds this new light upon truths even physical and metaphysical, and illuminates them for the ken of a higher intelligence, to become the tenets of a higher belief. The three orders of knowledge are not contradictory. It is not necessary to deny the

existence of the higher order simply because its truths are not visible by the light of the lower; simply because we cannot build it up from the principles that suffice in the lower domain of matter. There is no more reason in this—less reason—than there would be in denying the existence of the golden harvest bathed in sunlight, because we should not be able to fathom it by the data, the handful of facts we might have gathered by the aid of a safety lamp down in the azoic stratum of primitive granite. We should not deny the flight of birds because we cannot fly ourselves; especially when we see the birds flying.

We should not deny the possibility of a second story to a building simply because our scaffolding will not reach high enough to make a second story, especially when we see houses of four, five and six stories all along the block. And yet similar things a few of the most forward and loud-spoken "scientists" arrogantly insist must be done. Verily, it would make one wroth if it were not such a comedy, and it would make one laugh were there not tears of tragedy at the end. But why is it that men will be deceived? Because most men are able to see better than they are able to think. When they have been shown through the brimming storehouse of visible wonders whose existence they had not suspected, they are disposed to believe the lie, the *ne plus ultra*, that is drawn as a conclusion. And the other reason is this: that when the lie favors the gratification of their gross desires, by eliminating conscience and the hereafter, they are doubly disposed to adopt it as the norma for the ethics of life.

In what has been hitherto said mention has been purposely omitted of that group in the departments of knowledge which, classified as one physical science under the heading of erudition, would embrace archæology, philology and historical criticism. Erudition is in the sphere of the natural sciences, and has played a great part in apologetics. The demonstration of Christianity reposes definitively on historical fact. From history we have an invincible proof of the Apostolicity, the Sanctity and the Divinity of the Church, and of its paramount civilizing action on the world. The adversaries of Christianity have been almost entirely driven from this field. Pope Leo XIII., in his letter to the erudite scholars, Cardinals Hergenröther and Pitra, urges them to strengthen and fortify with evidences of historical truth the position that has been attained. For us—the English-speaking Catholics—the war was long carried on upon the domain of history, for the mere reason that the press was in the hands of our adversaries. They have been almost routed from this battle ground, and have intrenched themselves behind the barrier of matter, professing to ignore facts that imply the action of free will. There is a beautifully mournful

passage in M. Renan's *Dialogues et Fragments Philosophiques*, which runs thus: "Here upon the seashore I was seized with regret at having preferred the historical sciences to those of nature. . . . There was a time when I was impassioned by these latter studies in the highest degree; but I was drawn away from them by philology and history. Yet every time that I converse with the *savants* I ask myself whether, in espousing the science of history, I have chosen the better part.

"What are the three or four thousand years which we can know out of the infinite duration that has gone before us! . . . History in its common acceptation—that is, the series of facts which we know of the development of humanity—is only an imperceptible portion of the true history, understood as the tableau of what we can know of the development of the universe." And he sings in the same strain, but more intensely, in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*: "I was drawn to the historical sciences, petty conjectural sciences, which are continually undoing themselves, and which will be rejected in a hundred years. Things now point to an age when man shall have little interest in his past. I fear much that the precious documents of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, destined to give exactness to history, will mould before they are read.

"It is by chemistry at one end and astronomy at the other, and especially by general physiology, that we hold the secret of being, of the world, of God—as you choose to call it. The regret of my life is to have chosen for my studies a kind of research which will never have any influence, and which will always remain only as interesting considerations upon a reality gone forever."

This is lugubrious. It is one more "epitaph written by himself." He had in view the sceptical school to which he belongs. His estimate does not affect the real science of historical fact and of the development of humanity. But his testimony is valuable as an intellectual weather-vane, showing the real direction of ideas towards the purely material sciences, where adventurers are constructing the new faith, monist or nihilist, to continue the war against the faith of ages. The natural domain of history has been deserted, and matter, *pure matter*, has been chosen as the stronghold. The once favorite arms of historical criticism, philology and rational exegesis, have been thrown away. We may judge of the condition of these weapons in the hands of unbelievers, when we see them, to-day, obliged to go as far as India to produce, as arguments against Christianity, falsified translations from a language little known in the Occident. To the testimony of Renan, it may

¹ Page 153, ann. 1876.

² "Revue des deux Mondes," Dec. 15th, 1881.

be well to add that of his master, Friederich Strauss. We take from what he called his *Confession* :

"Men must go, men will go thither—to the science of nature. . . . We, philologists and critical theologians, made an idle display of words when we decreed the end of the miracles. Our sentence met with no echo, because we did not teach men to do without the miracle. We could not provide a force of nature to take its place at the very point where it was found indispensable. Science (Darwinism) has discovered this force, this action of nature ; it has opened the door through which a happier posterity shall drive out the supernatural forever."

There is opened up to us a new Crusade. Our present Sovereign Pontiff says : "It is necessary, therefore, for the defender of the Faith to apply himself, more than ever, to the study of the natural sciences."

The defence is not nearly so difficult as that which had to be conducted on the basis of Scripture, Tradition, History or Metaphysics. There is no scientific knowledge so easy of acquirement as general physics and biology. They are the more necessary to the apologist because they are popular, attractive, and, in a degree, accessible to all. They are bound up with daily life, with the industries of the world. They are of things visible. They make pictures for books. They form the riches of museums and exhibitions.

It is their very easiness of acquirement that has been utilized to make them instruments of evil. The natural curiosity of the child is stimulated in the primary classes, and explanations are given and his questions are answered in such a way that, even from his Primer of Geology, he goes forth with the germs of all the sophisms and negations of "Science." These negations and sophisms strike deeper than does historic untruth, with which school books are still teeming ; deeper, too, than rationalistic criticism. For whilst the untruth of history and rationalism in interpretation disturb religion and faith, confound the origin of worships and lead to religious scepticism, they, nevertheless, leave humanity and do not ignore a moral order. Hence it is still possible, out of their ruins, to rebuild the edifice of truth. But presumptuous physics and biology strike at metaphysics. It is not merely the origin of Christianity that they assail, but the origin of the visible universe and of man. They strive to do away with the idea of God and of the soul, to enforce that of identity between man and beast. This is a low and loathsome form of aggression, no doubt ; but, driven

¹ "The Old and the New Faith," § 54.

² Encyclical of Feb. 15, 1882.

from every other position, the enemies of Christianity have not hesitated to take this one, and even to glory in its degradation.

The character, therefore, of the apologetics called for to-day is eminently "scientific," using the word "scientific" in its much abused sense. The work to be done is to oppose the true science to the false. There is great scope for those who wish to engage in the defence of Christianity on the new battle ground of "Science." Their method should be one of untiring attack. However, mere ridicule will not do. They must be skilled in the facts of their case. They must "speak that which they do know;" but then they must speak it as "plain, blunt" men, and be not afraid, in season and out of season, with all patience, to hold up to scorn the logical bankruptcy of scientific charlatans. We purposely abstain from names in this article. Hitherto, as a rule, there has been too much hesitancy. One cause of this has been lack of knowledge of the bare facts of physical science. This can be remedied by study.

Another cause has been a fear of departing from the etiquette prescribed for religious controversy. Of course, where there was profession of religious belief, and where we had to begin by supposing men in good faith, we could not but laud their sincerity and the necessity of following the dictates of conscience, even whilst we offered them a new light which, owing to the circumstances of their lives, it had not been their good fortune to fall in with. But with the "scientific" adversaries this cannot hold. In their denial of God they are either sincere or not sincere. If they are not sincere, why should we pay court to their hypocrisy and treat them as if they were? If they insist that they are sincere, then we know that only the fool has said in his heart, there is no God.

There is a great work to be done. It may, indeed, be tiresome to follow them, to track their steps, to watch the results of their explorations, so as to be able to expose the chicanery with which they set forth their gathered treasures. But we have to follow them. They are wolves in sheep's clothing, and we must be ready when they appear to strip them of their masquerade. Theory—hypothesis—has reached its "lowest depth," but beneath that "lowest depth a lower deep . . . threatening to devour . . . opens wide." It is the "lower deep" of practice, the ethics of materialistic atheism, which means the search for brute satisfaction, without even the instinct of brute restraint. Though there are still multitudes who pray and who die consoled by faith and hope, how many are there not who go into eternity after coldly abdicating their sonship, their faith, their hope,—leaning, as they say, on the authority of "Science." There is no sadder picture in the panorama of the wanderings of human intelligence.

FEDERAL SCHEMES TO AID COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

NO thoughtful citizen can view without alarm the steady tendency towards centralization going on in the country and the breaking down of the constitutional limits with which our fathers wisely encircled the powers granted to the General Government created in 1787. The great civil war was a most dangerous period, when every doubtful exertion of power was excused by the plea that the very existence of the Constitution was at stake. Since its close the array of precedents then established makes every new attempt more sanguine of success, and induces fanatics to stigmatize any opposition to their wildest theories as disloyalty.

There is, however, a limit, and the sound sense of the people will ultimately prevail. Once a genuine alarm is created, all the unconstitutional usurpations will be annulled and the Supreme Court, true to the spirit of the Constitution formed by the Convention over which Washington presided with such providential wisdom, will sweep them away as the tornado brushes from its path the petty works of meaner men.

The plans are often so masked with the disguise of public good, of zeal for the general welfare, that the inherent and unconstitutional elements are not seen in all their naked deformity, and well meaning persons are led away.

The creation of a Department of Education was in itself a dangerous symptom, as the Federal Government has under the Constitution no power to interfere in the educational affairs of the States. Over the Territories, with a sparse population, Congress has indeed a constitutional power, over the District of Columbia, over West Point, forts, and navy yards. At any time in the last century Congress, in its deep and earnest anxiety for the education of the young in these inchoate States and spots withdrawn from the exercise of State systems, might have provided a general system of schools, and even paved the way for higher educational institutions. But you search in vain the statute book or the annals of Congress for any such beneficent action. The old Continental Congress indeed, in its ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, which, by the treaty of 1783, devolved on the Congress as a cession of part of Canada by England, did provide for education from the public lands, after Virginia and

other States had surrendered their vague and shadowy claims to it. But under the Constitution of 1787 the powers of Congress and of the Federal Government are strictly limited.

Even after Congress in our time created a Bureau of Education, the department made only more glaring its neglect of a real duty. We can find evidence that Congress annulled the charters of colleges and broke up schools in territorial limits; but the light of research shows that, like ordinary sinners, Congress has neglected to do what it ought to have done, and has done what conscience should have forbidden it to do.

But in time it became evident that the Bureau of Education was part of a scheme to bring the whole school system of the separate States under the control of Congress. The working of the scheme can be traced in the debates of Congress, though it is hardly safe to follow the printed issues of the *Congressional Record*; for if we are to take that publication as a type of truth and honesty displayed by the General Government in its new part of great moral educator and elevator, we shall be somewhat startled on a very cursory examination. It is probably the most false, mendacious, and intentionally dishonest and misleading publication ever issued; for while it purports to be a record of what is said and done in Congress, it reports not what members actually have said, but what on sober second thoughts they wished they had said, omitting much they really uttered and introducing matter never pronounced in the Senate or House. It is a stigma on our civilization that such a work will live to deceive men and falsify history.

The Rev. Mr. Mayo, of Massachusetts, one of those general benefactors of humanity from his own standpoint, and a great dabbler in educational matters, interested himself in the education of the Southern negroes. To his mind the white population of the South, impoverished by the war and still more by the terrible governments to which they were subjected during the years that followed it, were not doing enough to educate the negroes whom the North had liberated. To his mind it became the duty of the General Government, which had made them citizens and invested them with the elective franchise, to educate them. He prepared tables showing the fearful illiteracy that prevailed, but, like most one-sided men, did not set in very bold relief what the robbed and impoverished white population of the South had done and were doing even while smarting under a sense of wrong and oppression.

The scheme thus generated in the brain of a New England Protestant clergyman required some one to take it up and push it in Congress. Such a person was found in Senator Blair, of New Hampshire.

In December, 1881, this Senator introduced "A Bill to aid in

the establishment and temporary support of Common Schools." Under this \$105,000,000 were appropriated to be paid out in ten annual sums, beginning with fifteen millions the first year, and ending with six millions in the last. It professed that these amounts were to be expended to secure the benefits of common school education to *all* the children living in the United States. The basis of distribution was certainly remarkable. The money was, of course, raised by taxes, which are supposed and intended to be imposed on all parts of the country and all the inhabitants equitably. In the treasury it is the property of the people of the United States at large. But how was it proposed to return this money to the people? By States according to population? No. According to wealth, on the principle that the State contributing most should receive most? No. But the census of illiterate persons ten years old and upward in the whole country was to be taken as the basis, and each State was to receive according to its proportion of this class. A State having none of this class would get nothing, a State that contained half the illiterate population of the country would receive fifty millions of the public money. The word "children" was a lure,—the persons "ten years of age and over" included the great mass of adult negro voters up to the age of ninety, who certainly could not be expected to enter the schools or profit by the new educational facilities. The money was to be expended jointly by the Secretary of the Interior and the State Superintendent of Schools or other supreme school officer or body in each State; but if the State officer failed to agree with the ideas of the Federal Secretary, that State's share was to go back into the Treasury to be added to the distributive fund of the next year. In other words, the State officer had no power except to concur with the Federal officer. The money in each State was to be disbursed through a Commissioner of Common Schools in that State, appointed by the President, and rewarded with a salary of from three to five thousand dollars. Existing public schools, not sectarian in character, might be aided, and new ones might be established. If any State declined to accept the act, or neglected to take steps to obtain its share, its portion became a part of the general fund for distribution among the other States and Territories. The Secretary of the Interior was to administer the law through the Bureau of Education, and the Commissioner of Education was to act as Commissioner of Common Schools for the District of Columbia.

In the use of the word "sectarian," the Rev. Mr. Mayo and his mouth-piece, Senator Blair, forgot the words of honest old Elihu Burritt in a letter addressed to the *New York Tribune*, October 9, 1875:

"Now as 99 common school teachers in 100 in all these Northern States are Protestants, as the literature of all our reading books and the very atmosphere of our schools and even their out-door sports are Protestant in their influence, would it not be judicious as well as liberal to remove all religious bars to the admission of Catholic children? We ask and require them to yield some of their scruples in sending their children to schools which are effectively Protestant and which they have considerable reason to expect will influence their young minds. Then we may well and justly make some concessions of the same kind to them. . . . My only object has been to show that the term *sectarian* cannot properly be applied to it (the educational question) in the sense generally adopted."

How was the Secretary of the Interior to define "sectarian"? The use of the Protestant Bible makes every school where it is read a school under the Protestant sects, and therefore sectarian.

The word "sectarian," however, was intended to be, and really was, a slur on the Catholic body in this country, who, finding their children expelled from the State schools by their intensely anti-Catholic character, and by the license given to teachers to insult and expel Catholic children at their fancy, have been compelled to establish schools of their own where their children can be educated morally and religiously.

In debates which subsequently arose on this bill and others like it, Senator Vest, of Missouri, said: "I wish to call the attention of the Senator, irrespective of the census, to a simple fact, which is known, I presume, to every Senator present, that the Roman Catholics in the United States do not send their children to the public schools, that as a matter of religious duty, at least, they think they should not attend these schools, and I am utterly amazed to hear the statement, even from the census or anywhere else, that there are only 500,000 children in the United States in private schools. I undertake to say that if the fact is ascertained it will be found that there are that many children of Roman Catholic parents who, on a question of religion, do not attend the public schools."

To this Mr. Blair made a very lame answer, and said: "It is not worth while to quarrel with the Senator over a million or two!" A million or two! What precious statistics must they have been which Senator Blair has paraded so zealously for the last seven years, if to his figure of half a million we can in any part add a million or two!

The term "sectarian" was aimed especially at Catholic schools, for it is the only church which has any extensive system. To exclude these schools it actually lays down this as a principle: If

you teach the children to read, write and cipher, you deserve aid ; but if you are such enemies of God and man as to teach them at the same time religion and morality, you become outcasts, and deserve not the aid of the State, but its heaviest and severest punishment. We will make a "shibboleth." The form of the Lord's Prayer which Rev. Dr. Schaff and other revisers rejected from the Protestant Bible shall be our test. Any pupil who will not repeat the spurious form must be expelled from the schools ; we do so in Massachusetts.

But if we examine this Blair bill of 1881, not only in its spirit, but its form, we find it utterly un-American and indefensible. It strikes at every principle of sound government. It created a horde of officers, proposed to swell to an enormous extent the employees of the Bureau of Education, and required an army of sycophants and time-servers. No grosser attempt to debauch the public morals was ever brought forward.

Under this bill the head of the school system in each State had to be the tool of the Secretary, ready to "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee" at his every dictate, or his State lost its share. Any State or Territory that failed to carry out in detail whatever whim the Secretary might entertain, lost its share, so that in fact it depended solely on him whether each State in the Union obtained a share, or whether it was paid to two or three favored and compliant States. What a system for sycophancy and toad eating !

Taking the whole body of illiterates as a basis of calculation was not only without precedent, but absurd, for more than two-thirds of the illiterates in the South in 1880 were adults too old to attend school, and, therefore, hopelessly illiterate, who should not have been taken into consideration in a matter of schools which they would not attend even if an opportunity was afforded.

The project of Senator Blair was essentially sectarian, and at once received strong sectarian support, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian associations advocating it in a memorial to Congress in March, 1882. At first, however, it made little progress, and was not carefully scrutinized or debated. But as a strong sectarian influence had been aroused, an agitation was kept up for a more vigorous effort at a future period. Catholics, of course, had nothing to do in the matter. They are practically excluded from all share in the management of the public schools, and their children are liable at any moment to be expelled from them. Strong Catholic opposition to the Blair bill would have helped it greatly, it was earnestly desired by its friends, but it did not come. Catholics took no step.

Senator Blair brought the matter before the Forty-eighth Congress, and a bill was reported in which, however, the States were

in a manner recognized, and the proportional amount was to be paid "to the treasurer of the State, Territory or District, or to such officer as shall be designated by the State," but the Governor of each State was required to make an elaborate report including any information the Secretary of the Interior might require; and, if a State misapplied the funds, or the Governor failed to make a satisfactory report to his superior officer, the Secretary of the Interior, that State was to forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment, until it had made up and duly applied the misappropriated money or a more pliant Governor made a report.

This bill excited serious debate. The Senators had had time to look into the matter, and the glaring difficulties were exposed by many.

The right of Congress to appropriate money for public schools—the right to make an appropriation for ten years—the new and unwise basis of distribution—the improbability of Congress being able to suppress illiteracy in the South when it had utterly failed to suppress it in the petty limits of the District of Columbia, over which it had entire and absolute control—the vagueness of the term school age, embracing in some States a period twice as long as it did in others—the attempt to make State Governors mere deputies of the Secretary of the Interior, all these and other points were raised and vigorously pushed by Senator after Senator, till Mr. Blair was forced to yield some points and make amendments.

Senator Pendleton said: "I do not find in the Constitution any provision—I have not found it, I have sought for it diligently, I would like to find it—any power to provide for the education of the voters of the United States." Senator Saulsbury in vain called upon Mr. Blair to show any power in the Constitution. He could shield himself only under the power given to the General Government to pay debts incurred for the "general welfare of the United States." Senator Vest and others showed from the words of Madison and others who helped to frame the Constitution, that it was not a grant of power, but a limitation of the ability to tax; and that it referred exclusively to matters affecting the country as a whole, and that it never was intended to authorize Congress to interfere in any way in the domestic affairs of any State.

If the latitude claimed by Senator Blair was admitted, Congress might on the same plea pass a general law of marriage and divorce, assume the direction of prisons, poor-houses, and asylums; for no power once assumed by Congress has ever been relinquished, but has been steadily developed, and made a means of drawing more and more money from taxation. Taught by experience in similar cases, Senator Butler said: "If this money is appropriated under this bill, and I beg the Senator to mark that prediction, ten years

will not roll around before the National Government will have control of every common school in the United States."

Whenever the bill came up these objections to its constitutionality were constantly raised.

Senator Hawley, in the debates of 1888, put them very distinctly:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

"It is claimed that herein Congress is empowered to provide for the 'general welfare'; that is, to do anything which in its judgment conduces to the welfare of the nation, and as education is a good thing, Congress has a right to go to work to educate the people, especially as it is alleged that many of them are either unable or unwilling, or partly both, to educate themselves. The Senator from New Hampshire pushed this claim to a most extravagant extent, likening the bill to the desperate endeavors of a nation to save its life in time of war, and affirming for the National Government a right to say that school education is a matter of such vast and vital importance, and is so woefully neglected, that the nation must in a time of peace and wonderful prosperity assume measurable control over it, even though it were admitted to be beyond constitutional reach. Pomeroy's Constitutional Law has become a standard authority. This authority (he was my classmate and old friend, I am happy to say) declares:

"If the construction should be adopted which regards the second clause [to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare] as an independent grant of power, it would, in effect, be making our general government unlimited. Providing for the common defence and general welfare includes everything which any government could possibly do; and a grant of power in these broad terms would be the same as making Congress omnipotent, equal in the extent of its functions to the British Parliament."

"The usual and constant theory of the Government has been that the expression 'to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare' is not an independent grant of power. The power of unlimited taxation is truly granted, for that is essential to sovereignty, but it is granted for specified purposes, and the application of the levied money is confined to paying the debts and providing for the common defence and general welfare. As Story and others suggest, the clause has now the same meaning and purpose that it would have if it read 'The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes' in order 'to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare.' So far from being used to signify a grant of power the words 'general welfare' are used for a limitation of power."

At the time, however, of which we are speaking many Senators were afraid to go on record as opposing a bill to advance education, leaving it to the Supreme Court to decide the question of constitutionality. Hence when it came to a vote many declared in its favor.

The bill as it passed the Senate on the 7th of April, 1884, by a vote of 33 to 11, reduced the amount to \$77,000,000, beginning with seven millions, gradually rising to fifteen millions, and descending to five millions in a period of eight years. By the third section no State or Territory was to receive any of the benefits of

the Act until the Governor filed with the Secretary of the Interior an elaborate report on the common-school system in his State or Territory, and the Secretary was then to certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he found to be entitled to share in the benefits of the Act.

The moneys were to be used only for "common schools not sectarian in character," and "no second or subsequent allotment" was to be made to any State or Territory unless the Governor filed with the Secretary of the Interior a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory. If it appeared to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds had been faithfully applied and the conditions observed, "then the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation." The Secretary was to administer the Act in regard to Territories through the Commissioner of Education.

This act still retained the fallacy of including adult illiterates in the figures as a basis of distribution when children only were to be benefited, and though it did away with the projected creation of new salaried Federal officers in the several States and Territories, it retained the anomaly of making the Governors of the States subordinates of the Secretary of the Interior, subject to his dictation, and without appeal subject to his judgment whether they discharged their duty. The history of the country can scarcely produce a parallel to this barefaced attempt to place the chief magistrates of the sovereign States in a humiliating position under men whose office is not even mentioned in the Constitution of the United States.

But after passing the Senate Senator Blair's bill rested. There was no disposition in the House to take it up and pass it. In a speech on the appropriations for the naval service the Senator, in March, 1887, recurred to his favorite topic and disclosed one of the underlying motives of his pretended philanthropy. "Nothing but dense stupidity can fail to see that the manufacturing capital and cities of New England and the North generally, are doomed if they are to compete with the cheap labor of the South, which is already becoming skilful with the hand, although, unfortunately, not fully intelligent in the discharge of the duties and in the exercise of the power of citizenship. This condition comes only with education in the art of reading and writing, and in the other common branches of knowledge. Southern products and manufactures are already disputing with *us our* own markets and controlling them in many articles."

"We," on the lips of Senator Blair, is not, as in the Constitution of the United States, "the people of the United States," but the

manufacturers of New England; and the Federal Government is asked to take a hundred millions of dollars, drawn from the people of the whole country by tax, and devote it to educating the Southern negroes, so that they will demand higher wages, and in that way cause the failure of Southern manufacturing enterprises, produce a general bankruptcy at the South, shut up the rising mills and factories, and leave the school trained negroes without any employment or wages at all, and to do so because Southern men have had the effrontery to consider that they had any rights, and have actually dared to dispute with *us* New England manufacturers *our* own markets!

Yet, though this bill was in direct violation of the reserved rights of the States, was degrading to the Governor of every State, aimed to crush the growing industries of the South, there were Senators from that part of the country who voted for it, enticed by the bribe it contained, even as Mayor Courtenay of Charleston in an elaborate pamphlet had in 1881 maintained that the General Government had the power and was bound to aid the public schools in the South. Yet there were some to oppose it manfully. Senator Coke made an able argument against it. "If the Constitutional power exists in Congress to levy and collect taxes from the people for the purpose of partially defraying the expenses of public schools in the States, it exists for the purpose of paying the entire cost of the public schools of all the States, whenever Congress shall choose to exercise it."

Gradually, however, thinking men studying the whole question, and examining what the effect had been of such aid given to State effort, began to reach the conviction that such aid paralyzed local work, and led people to look for similar contributions in the future, instead of teaching them to exert themselves to their utmost, and receive aid only in case of widespread disaster crippling the resources of a whole community. The very agitation of the question was acting disastrously in the South, chilling the energy with which the question of education had been taken up, and allowing the faint-hearted or mean-spirited the opportunity of seeking to postpone further action till they saw what Congress would do for them.

The *Evening Post*, of New York, took up the matter thoroughly and in earnest. Exposing the fallacy of Dr. Mayo's figures and statements, which were made the basis of all of Mr. Blair's assertions, it showed the absurdity of making the pet theories of any social dreamer the groundwork for voting away millions of money wrung from the people. But when it exposed the evil results of the scheme it gave the heaviest blow to Mr. Blair's project when it justly stigmatized the proposed action as "A Bill to promote Mendi-

cancy." The epithet told, and many soon recognized the justice of the application. The *Post* showed how the Western Reserve Fund had been an incubus on the school system of Connecticut, instead of a benefit. It showed Rev. Mr. Mayo to be "that most dangerous of all guides, a man with a hobby," who, familiar with the school facilities of Cincinnati and Springfield, Massachusetts, was shocked to find the country parts of the South so far behind them. "If he had gone from Springfield through the hill towns of western Massachusetts, he would have found schools which are but little more 'effective' than exist in the South, and are in session but little longer." Judged by the standard of our great cities to-day, the country schools of New England fifty years ago were by no means "effective," but they prevented the mass of the people from remaining illiterate. The assertion, made apparently on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Mayo, that illiteracy in the South was rapidly increasing, was tested by the reports from the several States.

The school attendance in South Carolina rose from 110,416 in 1874, to 185,619 in 1884; in Mississippi, from 166,204 in 1875 to 266,966 in 1883. Florida in one year increased her schools from 1504 to 1724, and in 1885 of a school census of 66,978 children between the ages of 6 and 21, had 62,327 enrolled in her public schools.

Mr. Mayo said that "not one-third of the Southern children and youth between the ages of 6 and 20 are or ever have been in any effective school." From official reports the *Post* showed:

	Per Cent. Enrolled.	Average Attendance.	School Days.	Cost per Pupil.
Alabama had, . . .	56	62	83	2.30
Mississippi, . . .	60	58	77½	3.01
South Carolina, . . .	63	69	70	2.41
North Carolina, . . .	56	62	62	2.12
Georgia, . . .	57	66	65	2.12
Kentucky, . . .	49	63	102	2.48
Arkansas, . . .	48	3.67
Louisiana, . . .	19	69	102	4.24
Florida, . . .	93	73	90	5.37
Texas, . . .	79	...	100	6.78

In fact two-thirds of the children of school age in Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri, Florida, and Texas attend school, and nearly two-thirds in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and more than one-half in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

When other statements of Dr. Mayo came to be critically examined men found that what they had been quoting as almost inspired—his assertions as to the short term of Southern compared to Northern schools, his pretence that it was extremely difficult

to secure regular attendance at Southern schools, his charge that the salaries paid to teachers were exceptionally meagre—all fell to the ground. The *Evening Post* put its conclusions in this form: "That the omniscience of a supernatural Being should have been attributed to one who thus proves to be the most fallible of mortals, and that the Congress of the United States should have proposed, upon the vague outgivings of such an oracle, to revolutionize the established educational policy of the government, will be accounted in future years one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of popular superstition on record; and the Mayo myth must hereafter occupy a prominent place in every history of the world's mythology."

A change of opinion set in. Papers that, at first, advocated Senator Blair's project, began to grow lukewarm or openly hostile to it. Great educators, including President Barnard of Columbia College, President Hyde of Bowdoin College, President Angell of Michigan University, President Robinson of Brown and President Eliot of Harvard, gave clear expressions of their disapproval of the scheme. Many saw in it a temptation to fraud, for as the amount received by each State depended on the number of curable and incurable illiterates it could show, each would try to make this class appear from year to year as large as possible. There was a premium offered on their keeping their people illiterate, for a wholesale reduction of the class of illiterates involved a wholesale loss of cash—they would be punished and mulcted for the good they effected. Every child by learning to read and write actually robbed the State.

To prepare for a new campaign in the Fiftieth Congress, Senator Blair prepared a quarto pamphlet which he declared contained as much matter as an octavo volume of 400 pages. All the threadbare arguments and mythical facts of Dr. Mayo were paraded anew, his own speeches given, the recommendations of ministers and conventions duly set forth. Believing that by this campaign document he had recovered public opinion, he again introduced the bill. Debates of course ensued, and Senator Hale said truly: "We are brought face to face with wider and deeper defects in the whole scheme which has been so earnestly and faithfully urged forward by the Senator from New Hampshire, who has charge of the bill. It is the hard fortune of this measure that, as time goes on, there are seen to be more reasons arising against its passage, and less reasons are shown for its necessity as a great public measure. Not only is this apparent in the Senate, but it is clearly discernible outside of Congress among the people at large."

The slur on Catholics had, as we have seen, called forth comment. In a previous Congress Senator Van Wyck, of Nebraska,

had asked: "Why these words as a gratuitous thrust against a sect which has done more for education than any other? The world is indebted to the Catholic Church from the time of the Dark Ages, when she preserved the literature of the centuries preceding, and in our earlier history, when she established missions and schools among the Indians, until now she is aiding to educate the colored man and gathers her own children into parochial schools."

Mr. Blair then declared that the offensive word "sectarian" had no reference to the Catholic Church. But he had not the truth or manliness to say as the Mayor of Charleston did: "The Right Rev. John England, first Bishop of Charleston, founded an English and Classical School sixty years ago in our city, and among those who have been ornaments of our learned professions and mercantile life in the past half century, and some of whom are still spared to us, are those who recall with affectionate regard this distinguished divine as the schoolmaster of their youth."

On the contrary, a hatred of Catholicity had evidently been a concealed but powerful motor in all his acts, some now verging on madness. In a speech in which he denounced the *Evening Post* pamphlet as a tissue of falsehoods, pointing to the reporter's gallery he cried out: "The American people will have truth from that gallery, or they will clear that gallery on which I now gaze"—expressions recorded by that gallery but suppressed in the *Congressional Record*. In the same speech he made this extraordinary and insane outburst:

"Why, Mr. President, I believe some have called this a bill for the promotion of mendicancy. It has been so styled by the *New York Post* and the *Washington Post* and other organs of Jesuitism in this country, for this is a great fight initiating and already outlining itself for the future between the common schools of the United States and those influences which would subvert this great system. I tell you, sir, that upon this very floor, soon after we had passed this bill two years ago, and while it was in the hands of a packed committee of the House of Representatives, where it was finally strangled—on this very floor a Senator showed me, and I read it with my own eyes, the original letter of a Jesuit priest, in which he begged a member of Congress to oppose this bill and kill it, saying that they had organized all over the country for its destruction, that they succeeded in the committee of the House, and they would destroy the bill inevitably, and if they had only known it early enough they could have prevented its passage through the Senate. They have begun in season this time, but they will not destroy this bill.

"Twelve years ago, when I was a member of the House of Representatives, and we were undertaking to enact a constitutional amendment which was to prevent the appropriation of the public money to the support of sectarian schools in this country, a friend of mine pointed out to me upon that floor nine Jesuits who were there log-rolling against the proposed amendment of the Constitution. I did not know them. He claimed to know them; and he pointed them out nine at one time. They were not the Catholic Church, thank God. Within the sound of my voice sleep the remains of John Carroll and of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, men who were devoted to civil rights and to true religion; and against the memory of those men, and against the great Catholic organization of this country I say nothing, for I venerate their

memories and I venerate that great organization which, subject to my reverence for the faith of my fathers, is, in my belief, a true exemplar of Christianity.

"I care not how far it exerts, or how widely it extends its power; but within that organization is a Jesuit organization which has set out to control this country, which has been repudiated by every free country, Catholic and Protestant, in the Old World, and they have come to our borders and they are among us to-day, and they understand that they are to secure the control of this continent by destroying the public school system of America. They are engaged in that nefarious and wicked work. And as Jesuits have been expelled from the Old World, let me say that the time is soon coming when the Jesuits will be looked upon as more the enemy of this country than is the Anarchist to-day. And the process either of their expulsion or of their conversion will be one in which the American people will sometime be engaged, unless the Order change their programme and their work."

It is fortunate for future history that this stupendous piece of ignorance, fanaticism, and superstition did not share the fate of the tirade against the reporters. It is in the *Congressional Record* of February 16th, 1888, from which we carefully reprint it. And a man who can display such amazing ignorance has been talking for eight years of removing the ignorance of the country. In all those eight years at Washington he had not ascertained that John Carroll was a Jesuit, and that the Tory Dulany taunted Charles Carroll with being a pupil of the Jesuits; he had not learned that there was a Jesuit College at Georgetown founded by John Carroll aided by Charles Carroll. The story of a letter of a nameless Jesuit priest to a nameless member, asking him to kill the bill, may be believed when the letter is produced, for a man superstitious enough to believe and print that he believed he saw nine Jesuits on the floor of the House of Representatives log-rolling against a proposed constitutional amendment, must have utterly lost his reason. The Jesuit Fathers in and around Washington are better known there than Senator Blair, and nine of them, or even three of them, on the floor of the House, acting as log-rollers, would have been heralded through the country; we should have had their names and their pictures and the full story of the affair. Not a Jesuit Father can be named as active in the matter of the amendment or on the question of Public Schools. As teachers and men of learning, the Colleges and Theological Seminaries are their field. This he could learn from the Catholic Directory published annually in this country. He will find their colleges and houses of theological study from Boston to San Francisco, but not a single parochial school taught by them. To make them teachers of parochial schools is about as true as to assert that United States Senators are all elected by the States to teach district schools in Maine. The parochial schools are under the Bishops, taught by Sisters and Brothers of various orders, and there is not a Bishop in the country who is or ever was a Jesuit.

"His eye in fine frenzy rolling" ought to have seen nine Bishops or nine Christian Brothers or nine terrible Sisters of Charity.

On the 16th of February the bill was passed by a vote of 39 to 29. One Senator, Berry, of Arkansas, acting under instructions from his State, voted against his own conviction.

It remains now to be seen whether this time it will be taken up in the House of Representatives, or whether it will die there, to revive again in the Senate session after session while Mayo's disciple continues to represent the Sovereign State of New Hampshire.

Education when based on religion and morality is a good; without such control it may be and must be a curse and not a blessing to any community. All the early schools of this country were essentially religious, under the control of various churches. Children learned religion with their alphabet and through their whole course of study. The range of study was not great, and in thinly settled parts illiteracy or the nearest approach to it prevailed, yet it was the day when men talked and reasoned on great principles of government, overthrew the power of the English Government in our land and established the Constitution which is such a marvel in men's eyes. In later times there have been colleges and universities established by the State under no religious influence. It cannot be denied that all these institutions are essentially rationalistic and tend more and more to drive from the minds of the young the idea of revelation, redemption, even of a personal God. Under the same impulse the Public School system is modeling itself more and more on that established in France, where Christianity is openly decried and the very existence of God denied. Even now all reference to God and prayer and eternity is carefully expunged from books adopted in the common schools of this country. If this excluding of religion continues, aided by the introduction of books adapted from French works keenly contrived to sap all faith in God, there will not be in the country, twenty years hence, any schools recognizing God or Christ except Catholic colleges, academies and schools, and those which sincere Protestants hasten to establish before it is too late.

If the control of all the public schools in the country is allowed to be grasped by the Federal Government, the rationalizing process becomes comparatively easy. Instead of laboring to effect the dechristianizing scheme in State after State, the whole effort can be concentrated at Washington.

Here is one great danger which it behooves all men who still believe in Christ the Redeemer and God the Creator, to labor to avert.

When the Blair bill comes up in the House of Representatives, the delegates of the people at large must consider its constitu-

tionality. They must decide it, the Senate having thrown the responsibility on them.

They must treat the bill as what it really is, a sectional bill. Though general in terms, it applies in fact exclusively to the South, the amount given to Northern States bearing no proportion to the amount taken from them, and the strange basis of division giving the greatest amounts to the South.

They must bear in mind that by the avowal of Senator Blair, it is a bill intended to crush commercial and manufacturing interests in the South that New England may retain a market for its manufactures, leaving the Southern operatives and the men who would gladly employ them in one general slough of misery.

In view of the gradual increase of schools and scholars in the South all pretext for Federal interference is rapidly vanishing; the Southern States show their ability to educate the ignorant masses among them, who are not by reason of their advanced age hopelessly illiterate, and the Census of 1890 should be awaited to see whether there is any such dangerous condition of affairs as to require the straining of doubtful powers beyond the Constitutional limit. From all the statistics available, it is certain that the Census of 1890 will show that the Southern States are as fully competent to manage this as any other of their domestic concerns.

In the face of all the facts the House of Representatives cannot safely venture to pass a bill of more than doubtful constitutionality, of very doubtful wisdom as a means of improving schools; a bill aimed at Southern commerce and manufactures; a bill to degrade the governors of the States; a bill to promote mendicancy; a bill to cripple and destroy local interest in schools; a bill to render the school system a powerful lever in the hands of those who make Christianity a by-word and a mockery.

Scientific Chronicle.

CATHOLIC SCIENTIFIC MEETING.

THE International Congress of Catholic Scientists will meet in Paris on the 8th of this month.

The brief of his Holiness issued last May, the untiring exertions of Mgr. d'Hulst, President of the Paris Catholic University, and the prompt coöperation of scientists of many lands have combined in assuring for it a splendid success.

The organizing committee of the Congress, Mgr. d'Hulst presiding, had a meeting on November 22d, 1887. It was then officially announced that 430 favorable answers had been received, 285 from France, and 145 from other countries. The list of honorary members enrolled up to that date contained 162 names of eminent men, among them over 40 cardinals. It was also announced at the same meeting that papers to the number of 60 on various scientific topics had already been handed in to the Chairman. This encouraging state of affairs at a date so far in advance of the meeting of the Congress, gave bright promise of the favorable auspices under which the event itself would be inaugurated. We look forward then with lively interest to the reports of the transactions of the Congress, feeling confident that, once more, practical proof will be given of the benefits which science derives from the safe-guard of religion.

There is one subject which we would especially desire to see taken in hand by some of the able men whom the Congress will bring together; we mean the refutation of Darwinism. A baneful and growing fashion is at present in vogue amongst a large class, particularly of English and German speaking scientists, of declaring themselves Darwinists even when the profession seems altogether foreign to the matter with which they are dealing. We could not understand, for instance, why an eminent mathematician such as Prof. Sylvester is known to be, should make a profession of faith of this kind in the course of a purely mathematical article, which some time ago appeared under his name. The origin of the fashion would seem to be, that not a small portion of the scientific press of these countries systematically ignores whatever does not emanate from a Darwinian source.

The mischief accruing from all this is easily perceived. It leads uninformed readers to infer that the Darwinian hypothesis is all but universally adopted by the world of science. In reality, if we consider the whole of the scientific world, the reverse is nearer the truth. In the greater part of continental Europe the adherents of the system are conspicuously few. The old French school is opposed to it, all the great professors of the *Sorbonne* and of the *Collège de France* reject it. Among

the materialists of France, it is true, some ardent admirers of the system are on the point of establishing a new chair in which their views may be inculcated. The French Government, which is only too eager to promote anything even seemingly opposed to Catholic traditions, will, no doubt, lend every assistance to the movement, and before long we may expect to find some second-rate naturalist of the Darwinian type exalted to the position. In Germany, we find among prominent scientists the same general view. In the Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians at Wiesbaden last fall, a trenchant refutation of Darwinism was delivered by the illustrious Prof. Rudolph Virchow. We regret that its length precludes the possibility of reproducing it in these pages, and it would be an injury to it to summarize it or otherwise alter its form. We need not be apprehensive of exaggerating the authority of this remarkable man. As the originator of "Cellular Pathology" and of the present science of tumors, his position in the ranks of science is unequivocal, and his reputation as a master of every subject he enters into is unchallenged. His special field of study, too, rendered him peculiarly fitted to meet the arguments of the Darwinists with contradictory facts, which his own investigations had scrupulously verified. Let us hope that some of the Catholic scientists will follow in the same lines, and show in a still clearer light the baseless and hollow character of the suppositions on which the showy structure of Darwinism is erected.

SPECTRUM ANALYSIS AND THE ROWLAND GRATINGS.

THERE is perhaps no branch of physical science which, for the rapidity of its development and the importance of its discoveries, can be compared with spectrum analysis. Not thirty years have elapsed since the investigations of Kirchoff and Bunsen, yet to the method of analysis which they introduced we owe some of the most striking discoveries of the present century. The spectroscope has not only led to the finding of several new chemical elements, but it has also proved of great assistance in astronomy. By its means, many of the elements composing the sun have been ascertained, and the question of the solar spots has been almost completely answered. The red prominences which may be seen around the solar disk during a total eclipse, have been observed by the spectroscope even in full daylight; they have revealed to the observer their constituent elements, and, by a slight change in the position of their spectral lines, they have made known the velocity with which the incandescent gas bursts forth from the body of the sun. By spectrum analysis, astronomers have ascertained that some of the nebulae are huge volumes of glowing gases, and are, therefore, not composed of separate stars; they have found that most of the so-called fixed stars are really in rapid motion, and have actually measured their velocity in the direction of our line of sight.

Now, what is this spectrum analysis, and upon what principles does it

rest? When a beam of sunlight, entering a dark room through a narrow slit in the window-blind, is allowed to fall upon a prism, the light will be refracted, *i.e.* turned aside from its straight course. Not only will the sunlight be refracted, but it will also be decomposed into its constituent colors. For, since the different colors are unequally refrangible, some will be turned from the straight course more than others; hence the different colors will, after refraction, follow slightly divergent paths, and if they fall upon a white screen they will form a ribbon of light containing, in regular succession from violet to red, all the colors of the rainbow. This ribbon, or band, is called the *solar spectrum*. If any other kind of light be allowed to pass through a prism in the same manner, it will form its own spectrum, differing from that of sunlight, and by carefully examining any spectrum we can ascertain the kind of light which has caused it.

For this careful examination, however, we need a more elaborate arrangement than a prism and a white screen. The instrument employed is called a spectroscope. Spectroscopes differ widely in their construction, but they generally consist of three parts: 1st, a prism, to form the spectrum; 2d, a collimator, to direct a narrow beam of light upon the prism; 3d, a small telescope, to view the spectrum. The collimator is very much like a telescope with a narrow slit instead of an eyepiece; by widening or narrowing the slit, the amount of light introduced may be increased or diminished at pleasure.

Let us consider the manner in which the spectroscope is used for the analysis of light. Suppose we place in front of the collimator a flame which is strictly monochromatic, containing, for example, no color but red. The light, passing through the slit and meeting with the prism, will be simply bent from its course; as there is only one color, all the light will be refracted to the same extent, and the spectrum will consist of a single red line. Suppose, however, that the flame, instead of being monochromatic, contains two colors,—for example, red and yellow. The naked eye cannot distinguish the two colors in the flame, but when the light passes through a spectroscope the colors are unequally refracted, and thus form a spectrum consisting of two bright lines,—the one red, the other yellow. If the flame contains three colors, its spectrum will consist of three bright lines, and in general every additional color in the flame will produce an additional bright line in the spectrum.

Spectra such as those we have just described are called “bright band spectra,” and their use in analyzing substances may be readily seen. Each one of the chemical elements, if burned, will produce its own peculiarly colored flame, giving rise to its own characteristic spectrum, *i.e.*, its own system of bright lines. Rarely can one distinguish, by the mere color, the flame of one element from that of another, and the difficulty is increased a hundredfold when several elements are burned together. The spectroscope, however, compels each element to make known its presence. So delicate is this method of analysis, that the burning of the one two hundred millionth of a grain of sodium will give the characteristic spectrum of that metal.

The more numerous the different colors in the light examined, the

more numerous will be the bright lines in its spectrum. Now white light contains every color. Accordingly, if white light be analyzed, there will be so many bright lines that they will coalesce into an uninterrupted band of light, very much resembling the solar spectrum, yet differing from it in a manner to be explained later. These uninterrupted spectra are called "continuous spectra." They are given by any incandescent solid or liquid, and also by any gas burning under great pressure.

The solar spectrum belongs to a third class; it is one of the "dark band spectra." To a casual observer the spectrum of sunlight appears to be continuous, but on closer examination it is found to be interrupted by a great number of dark bands. Fraunhofer, in the year 1815, was the first who carefully investigated these dark bands, and they are still known as the "Fraunhofer lines." Their existence in the solar spectrum was a puzzle to physicists, until Kirchhoff explained them in the year 1859. He placed a calcium-light in such a position that the rays from it, before reaching the collimator of his spectroscope, had to pass through a flame colored by sodium vapor. Then, looking into the spectroscope, he found that the bright lines due to the sodium were absent from the spectrum, and that their place was supplied by dark bands. While the white light was passing through the sodium flame, the vapor of sodium had absorbed just those rays which it was itself capable of emitting. Extending his investigations, Kirchhoff discovered that what was true of sodium vapor was true of any other vapor, and that every black band spectrum could be explained by the absorption of certain rays of light. Hence the black band spectra are called sometimes "absorption spectra."

The relations which the various classes of spectra have, one with another, may be seen at a glance. Incandescent solids and liquids, as well as gases under great pressure, give continuous spectra. Vapors and gases, when not compressed, give bright band spectra; and these spectra are different for different substances. The dark band spectrum is given by white light which has passed through an incandescent vapor, and has had some of its light absorbed.

Whenever the spectrum is employed for the purpose of analysis, the exact position of the lines becomes a matter of the greatest importance. At present, there are more than three thousand lines recognized in the solar spectrum; hence, unless the position of each is determined with accuracy, there is great danger of mistaking one for another, and thus rendering the observation useless. The exact determination of the place of each line becomes still more necessary when the spectroscope is used to measure the motion of the stars, for this motion is calculated from a very slight change in the position of the lines. Unfortunately, when the spectrum is formed by means of a prism, the relative distance apart of the lines will depend upon the material of the prism, and, even in the same prism, will vary with the temperature. Thus an element of confusion is introduced, where the greatest accuracy is demanded. The difficulty, however, may be avoided by the use of a grating, instead of a prism, to form the spectrum.

The grating consists of a system of close, equidistant parallel lines, ruled upon glass or polished metal. If the lines are ruled upon glass, the grating acts by refraction; if upon metal, by reflection. In either case we obtain a series of spectra; the principal one of these, called the spectrum of the first order, has the great advantage that in it the relative distances apart of the various bands do not vary. Hence the grating is far better than the prism wherever exact work is needed.

The first gratings that gave really satisfactory results were those manufactured by Rutherford, of New York, about ten or twelve years ago. At present, the best of Rutherford's are surpassed by those ruled by Professor Rowland, of the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore. A few years ago, Professor Rowland had a very accurate ruling-machine made in Germany. By this machine nearly all the gratings now in use were made. Those gratings were found to give the best results which contained 14,700 lines to the inch. Quite recently, a new machine was constructed at the Johns Hopkins University, under the personal supervision of Professor Rowland himself. The new machine has ruled as many as 40,000 lines to the inch, and is expected to perform far better work than the old one.

With the improved gratings, there is no doubt that many discoveries will be made. Already Messrs. C. C. Hutchins and E. L. Holden, of the Harvard University Physical Laboratory, claim that their investigations, conducted by means of a large Rowland grating, render doubtful the coincidence of some Fraunhofer lines with the spectra of the metals. This, then, would seem to be the first question demanding a solution. There is also another field of investigation which will scarcely be neglected, namely, the opinion of Lockyer about the chemical elements. He brought forward the theory that many substances now known as elements are really compound. His opinion is looked upon with disfavor by most chemists, but there are several facts which entitle it to further examination. Some of the metals, when raised to a very high temperature, give a spectrum differing from that ordinarily given by the same metals. At the high temperature, several new lines appear in the spectrum, and these new lines seem to be the same for different metals. Now there are several hydrocarbons which have a spectrum of their own when the temperature is not high enough to decompose them, and which, when heated very much, are decomposed and give the spectra of their constituent elements. Lockyer supposed that the metals were, in the same manner, decomposed into simpler substances at very elevated temperatures, and that the new lines were due to those simpler substances. The subject certainly deserves investigation, and fortunately the investigation is now quite possible. For the recently invented "electrical furnace," and the new method of welding by means of electricity, are said to produce a degree of heat hitherto unattained. If, then, the metals be exposed to this heat, and the new gratings of Professor Rowland be employed to analyze the light emitted, the way will be opened for discoveries of the highest importance for Chemistry and for Physical Astronomy.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

At the present day, in the hurry and bustle of mere material progress, many nations of the earth seem to have lost sight of the God from whose bounty they have received their choicest gifts. It has been justly remarked that the United States, in the religious observance of the Lord's day, and in the yearly proclamation of a day to be set apart for public thanksgiving, shows her gratitude to the Creator for His manifold favors, and sets an example that might well and profitably be followed by other and older nations. And certainly we have just grounds for being grateful, blessed as we are in so especial a manner, with gifts of nature that few other nations possess in such variety and abundance. Our climate, although, by reason of the vast extent of territory, so varied, is as a rule salubrious: our soil is so fertile that, with but little more care than is now bestowed on its cultivation, it would yield sufficient to support a population ten times as great as the present: the beauties of Nature have been lavished with prodigal profusion over the length and breadth of the land. Other points might be dwelt upon to show how great is our debt of gratitude, but for the present we would especially draw attention to the great store of treasure bestowed on us in the abundant mineral resources of the United States.

On this score, the United States may well be an object of envy for other less favored nations in this age when the march of progress demands an abundant store of mineral wealth, to supply the various industries that steadily increase with the rapid advance of science and invention. The remarks that follow are based on statistics furnished by the U. S. Geological Survey Office in its sixth annual report, that for 1885 (the last official report issued). We have also made use of data drawn from other reliable though not official statistics.

According to the government report for 1885, the aggregate value of mineral products for that year is estimated at four hundred and thirty millions of dollars (\$430,000,000.00), showing an increase over 1884 of fifteen million three hundred thousand dollars (\$15,300,000.00). In a note at the conclusion of the report, it is stated that probably the report for 1886 would mark a still greater increase; and the anticipation was fully realized; for according to advance sheets of the report for 1886, which is now in press, the total yield for 1886 is valued at four hundred and fifty millions (\$450,000,000.00), showing an increase of twenty millions over 1885. These figures speak for themselves, but a few details may serve to make them more expressive. According to the custom which obtains in all mining statistics, we shall first speak of the precious metals, gold and silver.

The Census Report for 1880 put the total value of gold produced up to that time from the beginning of mining operations in this country, as something more than fifteen hundred millions of dollars (\$1,500,000,000.00); of silver, at about one billion (\$1,000,000,000.00). Now the value of both metals produced in 1880 alone, reached seventy-five millions (\$75,000,000.00), and it was remarked that the mining industry

for these metals was in a very prosperous condition. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that the same remarks should be repeated in 1885, when we consider that in the intervening years several valuable mines, especially of silver, were greatly developed; such, for instance, as those of Leadville, Col., while some of the North Carolina and Georgia mines are believed to have a great future before them. The yield of gold and silver for 1885 reached eighty-five millions of dollars (\$85,000,000.00), the increase over 1880 entirely regarding the silver yield, as the yield of gold both in 1880 and 1885 was almost the same, about thirty millions (\$30,000,000.00).

In an interesting paper, "The Future of Gold and Silver Production," read at the November meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, Professor Newberry declared that the production of gold in the United States, while equal to that of the whole of Europe, is not likely to be greatly increased. We need not, therefore, look for such quantities of gold as flooded the world from California, and later, from Australia and New Zealand. The professor further stated that the future of silver actually lies in this country and in America in general; the continent having, since its discovery, given to the world over six billions' worth of this precious metal. In the United States the annual production of silver is likely to reach over fifty millions: in fact, the yield of 1885 almost reached that amount.

While giving the place of honor to the precious metals, we must remember that they are not our most valuable minerals. In the mineral world of the United States, "Coal is King." The total number of tons produced in 1885 was over ninety-five millions, representing a value of about one hundred and sixty millions of dollars (\$160,000,000.00). The supply in the United States is almost unlimited; coal of good quality and in paying quantities is found in over thirty of our states and territories. Just at present the most fully developed mines are in Pennsylvania; this state alone in 1885 furnished nearly two-thirds of the entire yield for the country.

In 1884 the production of iron, valued at twenty millions of dollars, was not so great as the petroleum yield for that year, but in 1885 the metal again took the lead, with an output valued at thirty millions. The "iron region" of this country, especially in the vicinity of coal mines, is being actively developed, and with the revival of trade, the iron industry bids fair to become more important than ever. Great activity is manifested in Alabama, near Sheffield and Birmingham, where the advantages of a combination of coal and iron mines and quarries of limestone are most conspicuously marked.

The greater number of the seventy minerals mentioned in the Report for 1885, showed a wonderful increase in production as compared with previous years; this is especially true of gold, silver, copper, zinc, mercury, nickel and aluminium. The last mentioned metal, owing to improved methods of production, is fast becoming very common. We remarked that iron is again making an advance; coal, however, seems to have fallen back, and this is due to the fact that, in Pennsylvania, and

in a few other exceptionally favored localities, natural gas has, to a great extent, replaced coal in many metallurgical operations, in the manufacture of glass, and in some other industries. It has been estimated that in 1886 this new fuel replaced coal to the amount of ten millions of dollars. At present the cost of gas is about one-fourth that of coal employed for the same purposes; and apart from the great diminution of expense the use of gas is far preferable to the use of coal in many ways. The enormous waste of this valuable agent, though in some cases unavoidable, is much to be regretted. It is said that the value of the gas wasted in a single well within the past five years, amounted to half a million of dollars; had it been possible to use it as fuel, an expenditure of two millions of dollars' worth of coal might have been saved.

Even the briefest notice of the many other minerals of this country would carry us beyond the limits set us in the present chronicle. Suffice it to say that there is almost no mineral, useful or valuable, of which an abundance may not be found in the United States. A few words about copper, and we will close this article. As is well known, the price of this metal has almost doubled within the last few years, owing to the fact that a French syndicate has bought in advance the entire yield for the next four or five years, and now controls—we need not say with what justice—the price and supply of that valuable metal. The copper mines of the United States are the richest in the world, annually realizing about twenty millions of dollars. About one-fifth of this supply comes from the Hecla and Calumet mines. Geologists say that the copper supply of the United States is inexhaustible. The copper ores of this country are very valuable for their qualities: the malachites (copper carbonates) found in some of the Arizona mines are held equal to the best Russian specimens. One class of these carbonates, found together with azurites, is in nowise inferior to those of France, and forms one of the most beautiful of ornamental stones.

ISOLATION OF FLUORINE AND THE CHEMICAL THEORIES.

AFTER eighty years of trials and failures, whose history is as interesting to the chemist as any he can desire to recall, the chemical element fluorine has been isolated. It has long been known in combinations. Mineralogists have for years been familiar with fluor-spar and other fluorides both of metallic and unmetallic elements. Hydrofluoric acid either in the gaseous form or in solution is so well known as to be employed in the arts for etching on glass. However, when chemists tried to isolate fluorine it escaped, corroding or decomposing everything with which it came in contact. Hence it was supposed, and the successful experiment of Mr. Moissan has confirmed the supposition, that perhaps no other element has an affinity so strong and so universal. Nearly all substances, whether organic or inorganic, are attacked by it with great force. The only

metals which can partially withstand its corroding action are those of the platinum group.

It would be impossible to describe the numerous, very expensive and sometimes very dangerous steps, by which the labors of Mr. Moissan were brought to a successful issue. The work was carried on in the laboratory of Prof. Debray in Paris. By electrolysis of the double hydrogen and potassium fluorides, fluorine was obtained in quantities large enough to permit of experiments. The mixture, enclosed in a platinum U-shaped tube with stoppers of fluor-spar, was acted upon by a strong electric current, while, by means of methyl-hydride, it was kept at a temperature of -50° . Under these circumstances the potassium fluoride is first decomposed. The current liberates fluorine at the positive electrode, and potassium, in the nascent state, replaces in the hydrofluoric acid the hydrogen evolved from the negative pole.

Chemists look upon this isolation as a great result, but not because any practical application or great profits may be derived from the process, as in the case of other important discoveries. In the present case the importance is derived entirely from a theoretical point of view. The new discovery affords a remarkable confirmation of chemical theories. Chemistry is essentially an experimental science. Its progress for many years has been necessarily slow, because many facts had to be ascertained before any generalization could be derived from them. Consequently, the so-called *Chemical Laws*, like those of definite and multiple proportion, were stated at a comparatively recent date. Then followed the grouping of the elements and the theory of *radicles* found in organic bodies. Great progress has been made by this latter theory, in which the name of *radical* or *radicle* is given to a compound of several elements acting like a simple element, as, for instance, a metal. It is asserted that in the decade 1860-70 over 100,000 new organic compounds were discovered, of which nearly 5 per cent. were practically useful. Once that a compound of a *radicle* was discovered the chemist sought for corresponding ones of the same with other elements. The analogy which he followed as his guide rarely failed to be borne out by the discoveries which he made. Chemists welcome every new confirmation of these and similar theories, since many, unacquainted with the very principles of the science, when embarrassed by the objections taken therefrom, seek to escape by asserting that all chemical theories are merely imaginary hypotheses stated without foundation. This is an easy but unscientific way of answering objections.

The discovery of fluorine gives a new example of the utility of chemical theories and of the solid foundation on which they rest. Long before the isolation of the element the fluorides were classed with chlorides, bromides and iodides, because their properties both physical and chemical were analogous and gradually progressive. For this reason fluorine, the supposed element, was placed in the same group with chlorine, bromine and iodine, and known with these latter as a member of the Halogen group. Mr. Moissan's discovery and experiments establish completely not only the existence of this element but also the

properties attributed to it on account of the analogy mentioned above. It was always considered as the most active of the group, and the discovery has verified the supposition.

ELECTRIC ITEMS.

Is electricity only in its infancy? A scientific writer and lecturer not long since asserted this. The present condition of the science is most flourishing, yet when we compare it with all that the future promises the statement seems perfectly true; because we have every reason to expect still greater progress in the theoretical study of the science and yet more marvellous applications of it to the needs of modern society. However true the remark may be, all must concede that electricity, though not out of its infancy, is surely a vigorous infant. In proof of this we shall mention a few random items connected with the subject.

One of the most novel applications of electricity to mechanical arts is that of welding by means of the electrical arc. Various processes have been proposed from time to time, but the method lately devised by Mr. N. Von Benardos, of St. Petersburg, seems to be thoroughly practical and the best of all. The following is a brief description of the new method:

The electric arc is produced between a carbon pencil at one end forming the positive electrode, and the metal to be treated at the other end forming the negative. Thus the heat is concentrated at the one point where it is needed, and it has been calculated that, at times, one square centimetre of the metal glows with the intensity of 100,000 candle power. The size of the carbons must be in proportion with the work that is to be done. The new method promises important progress in the working of metals. Metallic plates of all thicknesses can be welded together; iron and copper, tin, zinc, aluminium and platinum, etc., can be united. The use of carbon as the positive electrode prevents all oxidation and is certainly a great improvement. Another advantage of the new method is that the material requires little or no preparation, the intense heat itself sufficing to cleanse the surfaces to be welded. If necessary, sand can be added as a flux, or the action can take place under water. In the plant for different kinds of work a suitable system of dynamos and accumulators is required capable of bearing strong charges of electricity. These can be discharged either at a few amperes or at several hundred times that amount. Thus we see the great variety of circumstances under which the process is applicable.

But there is always some drawback to every good thing, and so it is with this splendid light, which affects the workmen much like ordinary sunstroke. Colored glasses are often used to lessen the glare, but even then accidents occur.

Though all are familiar with the speed of telegraphic messages, the

following feat appears worthy of notice. Last January a conversation was carried on by wire over the longest circuit ever worked, the extreme points of which were San Francisco and London. The message sped over an unbroken circuit, strengthened by many relays, from San Francisco to New York via Vancouver, B. C., Montreal and Albany; thence from New York it was sent to London via Canso, N. S., and Bristol, England. The dispatches were repeated only at the last two points, which are the landing stations of the Mackay-Bennett cable, and at New York. The average time required for an answer to short sentences was about five minutes. Marvellously quick time over a line of nearly 10,000 miles! It beats the record made some two years ago by a New York merchant who telegraphed to Japan about some goods he was shipping and within six hours received an answer via London and the East.

Such feats of telegraphy are surprising and yet not more so than the results that have lately been achieved by long-distance telephones, even though the distances compared to the long circuits we have just mentioned are very short. In January last, the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. completed their line to Albany, and thus made it possible for one in Boston to speak with a friend in Albany via New York, a distance of over 350 miles. True the voice was not quite so distinct as it ordinarily is between points a shorter distance apart. However, it was heard and distinguished, which was all that could be expected under the circumstances.

Speaking of telephones, it may interest our readers to know that there are 400,000 of them at present used in the United States. In Europe they are quite common and becoming more so every day.

Progress in electric lighting both by the arc and incandescent method is very rapid. A novel calculation has been made to show the number of lamps in service. An enthusiastic statistician states that if the carbons daily used in arc lighting in the United States were placed end to end they would stretch a distance of about 50 miles. A new company which started January, 1887, is now working 15,000 arc lights. The incandescent lamps, too, are rapidly increasing in number. For theatres and public halls they are invaluable, both as regards convenience and safety, and this has brought about in Italy and some other continental countries special enactments enforcing their exclusive use in such places. It would be impossible to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of lamps in our country. We see them everywhere, in hotels, in steamboats and in private residences.

But electricity gives not only light but also power, and this motor power every day finds some new application. At present in all the large cities it is sold at very low rates for moving elevators, printing presses and even sewing machines. The largest motors now reach about forty horse power, and, according to the statistics, last year there were 8000 motors in the United States, while at the beginning of the present year 4000 more were in construction or had been ordered. The necessity that the companies find of building up this special business of electric

motor power accounts for the low rates. Without this application the immense plants that are used during the night for illuminating power would during the day be idle and profitless.

Before concluding these items we wish to call attention to two new projects lately set on foot. One proposes by means of electrolysis to precipitate most of the impure and solid matters carried off in the sewers of our large cities. If this can be accomplished, then the waters pouring through these underground channels will leave behind them the impurities and germs of diseases that they now bear along; they will become inoffensive and no longer pollute the streams. Moreover, the materials left behind can be collected and sold as valuable fertilizers.

The other project is a very small electric railroad elevated on posts to avoid all danger, and, as far as possible, running across the country in a straight line. The cars, for greater safety, will move along three rails, one above and the other two below. On account of their size these cars must of necessity be automatic, and so they will carry motors for propelling, for brakes, etc. Fixed dynamos will produce the currents to work the motors, which are expected to give a speed of about 300 miles an hour. If this project succeeds can we not hope some day to see passenger trains moved by electricity at a much greater rate of speed than the fastest trains of to-day?

MINOR ITEMS.

Mr. H. F. Boyer, of H.M.S. "Malabar," has been carrying out experiments with the view of testing the efficiency of a system of submarine communication between ships. The method is his own invention, and in essential features is almost identical with that of Prof. Blake, which we described in these pages last October. It is remarkable how these two gentlemen, by investigations altogether independent of each other, arrived at practically the same solution of this important problem. Prof. Blake in America conceived the design and thought out the details without having the advantage of being able to test them practically on a large scale, while the English officer had opportunities of subjecting his plan to crucial experiments and of proving it successful even in foggy and stormy weather. It will be remembered that in Prof. Blake's method the signals were to be produced by a gong or peculiarly constructed whistle attached to the vessel as far as possible below the surface of the water; Mr. Boyer employs either the same means, or, in the same conditions, explosions of small quantities of gun-cotton. He employs a system of telephones to receive the signals, whereas Prof. Blake's receiver was a microphone connected with a telephone on the "bridge." The results of Mr. Boyer's experiments have been eminently satisfactory. It was found that the gain in the rate of transmission of the sound was a very considerable advantage, and moreover that the transmission was not interfered with even when the waves were lashed to fury by a storm, because at the depth of some twenty feet the water is very little agitated even by the most violent wind.

2. We have indicated in previous numbers some of the recent inventions relating to submarine and torpedo warfare. This is a direction in which naval engineering is making rapid advances. The latest development is a boat constructed for the Danish Government. The boat was planned by Lieutenant Horgoard of the Royal Navy, and possesses many advantages over similar vessels hitherto designed. It can, of course, be propelled on the surface, as ordinary boats, but may be sunk at will to any desired depth and continue its course for a considerable distance under water. It is so equipped as to render reappearance on the surface unnecessary for many hours. The motive power for propelling it on the surface is supplied by steam, but, when under water, electricity is used. The longitudinal section of the vessel is elliptical.

But it is not only in this direction that naval engineering is advancing. The following returns just issued by Mr. N. M. Bell, superintendent of foreign mail, will show that considerable progress has been made in securing greater speed and immunity from accidents in ocean steamers. The American mail is transported by the fastest steamers only, irrespective of their nationality or the company to which they belong. Hence close records of the speed of the different vessels are officially kept. The shortest time required for conveying the mail between London and New York was 187.5 hours or 7 days and 19½ hours, the longest being 258 hours, while the average was about 255 hours.

Several new vessels now in construction promise to excel even these records. They will be, no doubt, splendid specimens of what engineering skill can do for the greater comfort and convenience of passengers.

3. Many experiments, mostly successful, have lately been made with a view to the substitution of steam-heating apparatus and electric lights instead of stoves and oil lamps in railroad cars. Such attempts are highly praiseworthy, as by these arrangements an element of dreadful danger in case of accident is eliminated. Doubtless the great accident near Haverhill, Mass., in the early part of this winter, would have been far more appalling in character and results had not steam been employed instead of stoves. The frequent and severe cold spells in the Northwestern States put the practicability of heating the cars by steam from the locomotive to a rigorous test. But even during blizzards and in snow-bound trains a satisfactory result was obtained.

4. The "Railway Age" remarks that the year 1887 surpassed any of its predecessors for the extent of railroad mileage built in the United States within the term. The returns show an increase of nearly 13,000 miles of new main tracks constructed. This number represents an increase of more than 1500 miles over the previous year's record, which also was in excess of any preceding one. The increase was almost entirely confined to a few Western States, Kansas taking the lead with an addition

of 2000 miles. New England and New York have only a comparatively small advance to show, and the other Eastern and the Southern States have also been satisfied with slight additions. In December, 1887, the extent of railroads in the United States reached a little more than 150,000 miles.

5. Measures are being taken in regions enjoying an abundant supply of natural gas to employ this useful fuel for two additional purposes. One of these is the heating of fire-engines. In Pittsburg, where, perhaps, the scheme is already carried into execution, it has been proposed to take the gas from the city mains by means of a hose and bring it under the boiler of the fire-engine. Thus the engine would be lit up when in use, and besides, a powerful heat would be had without a moment's loss of time.

The other scheme is to use the gas as fuel for locomotive engines. It is suggested that, instead of coal, the tenders carry wrought-iron tanks similar to those used for the oxyhydrogen light. In these tanks a supply of the condensed gas might be carried sufficient to afford fuel for over 500 miles of a run.

Apart from other conveniences of such a scheme, the saving in the weight to be hauled ought to render it acceptable to railroad companies, while the absence of smoke would increase the comfort of passengers.

6. Now that the question of a Postal Telegraph for the United States has been proposed (and, perhaps, put off for an indefinite period), it may be of interest to recount briefly a few facts about the establishment of a similar system in the United Kingdom nearly twenty years ago. Up to 1870 the telegraph service was in the hands of private companies; the charges were high and varied with the distance. The proposal to take the service into Government hands met, of course, with strenuous opposition from the private companies. Their opposition, however, was removed on the Government agreeing to buy their lines at a price equal to twenty times the net profits for the current year. The Government by this contract paid \$35,000,000 for property that had cost less than \$12,000,000. In spite of this bad beginning the advantages of the new system soon made themselves manifest. The rates were reduced on an average more than one-half, and a uniform charge of one shilling for a message of twenty words to any part of the kingdom was established. The number of messages sent in the first year of the change was over 12,000,000, or double that of the preceding one, and thus the system became self-supporting. The charges were still further reduced and an increase in the number of messages kept on uninterruptedly until it reached, in the year just ended, a grand total of 40,000,000. Recently the charge has been fixed at twelve cents for a message of twenty words. This latest reduction has not had time to show much influence on the number of messages, but we can safely surmise that it will lead to an enormous increase without any extra burden for the country.

Book Notices.

ST. PETER BISHOP OF ROME : OR THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE OF THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES. Proved from the Fathers, History and Archæology, and illustrated by Documents from other sources. By the *Rev. T. Livius, C. SS.R., M.A.*, Oriel College, Oxford. Dedicated to His Eminence Cardinal Newman. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.; London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

The Roman Episcopate of St. Peter, which is the subject of this work, is of deep interest for its own sake to students of history and especially to Catholics apart from its theological bearings. For, as held by Catholics, it is a great fact inseparably bound up with what is of revealed faith, viz., the Primacy of St. Peter and the succession of the Roman Pontiffs. It is the verification indeed, in all time, of the promise which our Divine Lord made to St. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." In its bearings upon religious controversy it is a point of vital importance to Protestants, and consequently one which, driven by the necessity of their position as opponents of the Catholic faith, they have incessantly assailed.

It is true that St. Peter's Roman Episcopate was not antecedently necessary for the succession of the Bishops of Rome to his Primacy. For it is quite conceivable that the Primacy might by some other mode of Divine appointment have passed from St. Peter to the Roman Pontiffs without his ever having been himself Bishop of the See of Rome. But though this was antecedently possible, there is no room for doubt that in the order of actual fact St. Peter's Roman Episcopate was the means chosen by Divine Providence for the transmission of the Primacy to the Roman Bishops and its permanence in the See of Rome. This is involved in all Catholic tradition and belief. Hence it is a subject of deep theological interest, and it is impossible to treat it adequately as simply a historical fact. It has this two-fold bearing also for Protestants. For the concession by them of St. Peter's Primacy and the transmission of his Primacy to his successors in the See of Rome taken in its theological significance cuts the ground from under their feet and at once condemns them as schismatics.

Impressed by these considerations, the author of the work before us treats his subject as a complex living moral fact which has its original source in Divine revelation, and is the result and realization of the express promise of Christ to Peter and through Peter to his Church; or, rather, is the Divinely appointed mode by which that promise, which vitally concerns the essential constitution of the Church, is carried into actual effect. It is ever fraught with momentous consequences to the belief, doctrine and discipline of the Church and to the political principles and action of all Christian society. During successive ages it has held its place, and now holds it, in the hearts and minds of all Catholics, not as an isolated event of past history, but, while an actual historical event, yet also an ever-present living principle mightily influencing religious belief and practice.

For these reasons the author has treated his subject in its theological and controversial as well as its historical bearings. At the same time

he has not confused them, but so far as the nature itself of his subject permitted he has judiciously left them separate.

Very properly the author, following the method of all sound theologians, draws a distinction between the *law of succession* to the Primacy and its *conditions*. By the *law of succession* is meant the *title* or juridical decree which denotes that an office is not merely and simply personal, but personal in such sense as to be at the same time real and perpetual. Thus in virtue of the *law of succession* by which our Divine Lord conferred the Primacy on Peter and willed it to be perpetual, there always will be successors to Peter who will be chief Pontiffs, universal Bishops in His Church. Consequently the *law of succession* by which St. Peter has successors in His Primacy, being made by our Divine Lord Himself, is not of ecclesiastical but of Divine origin.

Under the *conditions* of succession are comprised whatever makes one person rather than another the rightful successor and regulates the time and place when and where he is to succeed. Hence for the Bishops of Rome to be successors of Peter must depend on certain facts, viz. : (1) that St. Peter himself was Bishop of Rome ; (2) that he was so until his death ; (3) that he did not before his death resign to another his ecumenial authority ; (4) that he left his supreme authority and prerogatives to the See of Rome.

These four points combined constitute what may be called the *Petrine fact* and the verification of them conclusively proves the Roman Pontiffs to be the successors of St. Peter in his Primacy ; and since that Primacy and the law of succession to it is *de jure divino*, it follows that the Roman Pontiffs succeed to Peter's primacy not by virtue of human agreement or assent, but by Divine right and authority.

In treating his subject the author divides his book into three parts. The First Part comprises the historical testimonies from Fathers and writers of the first four centuries, and other matter which serves to prove and elucidate the fact of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. This part is almost entirely a translation from the Latin of Professor Jungmann's *Dissertatio Prima, De Sede Romana S. Petri Principis Apostolorum*, made by permission of Prof. Jungmann. A few passages in it have been amplified and a few abridged by the author of the work before us, and he has also added a number of valuable foot-notes. The passages from the Fathers are quoted at length, in order to give in full the exact words of their testimony, so that the reader may have the precise evidence before him and thus can see and judge for himself.

The Second Part sets forth the evidences of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate derived from archæology. In this part the writer has freely availed himself (by permission) of the well-known work, *Roma Sotteranea*.

The Third Part contains a series of chapters occupied with arguments and discussions of a more general character on various topics relative to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. These are entirely the author's own work, except the lengthened extracts which, in order to confirm and elucidate his statements and arguments, he makes from the writings of Cardinal Fisher, Baronius, Murray, Döllinger, Cajetan, Franzelin, Mr. Allies and other distinguished writers.

From this it will be seen that the plan of the work is fairly exhaustive. This is all the more important and gives greater value to the work from the fact that it is the only book in the English language which treats *ex professo* and at length the subject of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and sets forth *in extenso* the various testimonies and arguments in proof of that important fact.

Before entering upon his immediate subject the author gives a succinct

account of what may be called the literature of the controversy raised by non-Catholics concerning Peter's going to Rome and his being Bishop of that See, and also sketches the general plan and scope of his argument. He shows that the fact of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate was not questioned before the thirteenth century, when the Waldenses undertook to deny that there was any proof of it in Sacred Scripture. The historical fact itself was first formally controverted by Marsilius of Padua, a heretic who espoused the cause of the schismatical Emperor of Germany against Pope John XXII. In the book entitled "*Defensor Pacis*," of which Marsilius was the chief writer, he says: "As to St. Peter, it cannot be proved from Holy Scripture that he was Bishop of Rome, nay more, that he was ever in Rome at all. Wonderful, indeed, that according to some ecclesiastical legend . . . such things should be said of Peter, and that Luke and Paul should make no mention of them." William of Ockham uses almost the same words as Marsilius, from whom probably he borrowed them. Referring to St. Peter's going to Rome, he says: Holy Scripture does not teach this, but some apochryphal legend. Following Ockham, Wickliffe also denied that St. Peter was ever in Rome. From Luther's time onwards many Protestant writers have written in denial of the fact of St. Peter's going to Rome and his Episcopate there. Chief of these is Frederick Spanheim; and Protestant writers subsequent to him have simply rehashed his arguments. In this they have been helped by several German rationalists, such as Baur, Weiner and Leipsius. And these, logically following out the method of Protestant writers, have reached the conclusion that St. Peter was not an actual person, but that all the statements respecting him, and the Evangelists and early Christianity are mere fables and myths.

Among many other Catholics who have written in refutation of the cavils and sophistical arguments of Protestants on this subject are Cardinal Gregory Cortesius, Cardinal Fisher, Bellarmine and Foggini. Among the later German Catholic writers are De Smedt, S. J., Windischmann, Herbst, Stenglein, Hagemann, Hundhausen; and among Italians are Perrone, Aloysius Ado and P. Sebastian Sanguinetti, S. J., whose book is one of the most notable on the subject. A number of learned Protestants have also held that the fact of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is certain on historical grounds. Some of these have written in its defence as a historical fact. Among the most notable of these are Cave, Pearson, Grotius, Usher, Blondell and Basnage. There are many Anglicans, too, who do not deny the fact that St. Peter went to Rome and took part in preaching the faith and governing the Church there, but they refuse to acknowledge that he was ever the Bishop of Rome.

Preliminary to bringing forward his historical proofs, the author makes the following points: (1) that the Roman See has been generally regarded as the centre of Christendom; (2) that the reason it was so regarded is *because the Bishop of Rome was believed to be the successor of St. Peter in the Roman Pontificate*; (3) but, if St. Peter never was in Rome and his going to Rome is a mere fable, then it would follow that the huge mass of facts resulting from the historical development of the preponderating influence of the Roman Pontiff as its centre would be based on some idle legend or some fabricated forgery; (4) but this conclusion would be absurd, for it would be utterly opposed to all the laws which regulate man's moral conduct. Historical Christianity would then be a mere sham were the fact, which more than any other is the key to its historical evolution, not an actual fact at all, but a mere idle tale.

One of two things, therefore, must be acknowledged. Either so constant and universal a persuasion as that of St. Peter's having been Bishop

of Rome is based on unmistakable evidence of the fact being really true, or else those who deny the fact must positively assign some real and adequate reason or cause that gave rise to this false persuasion. But this Protestants utterly fail to do. They construct theories and ingenious hypotheses, but do not attempt, or pretend even, to assign any real and adequate reason for the general continuing belief that St. Peter was in Rome, that he was Bishop of Rome, and that he was put to death in Rome. The whole life and development of the Roman Catholic Church, together with the eminent influence of the Roman See, is a vast, manifest, universal fact. During fifteen centuries the foundation of this fact, that which gave it reality and living power, was believed and acknowledged, to be the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter. If, then, the actual historical existence of this Episcopate of St. Peter be denied, those who deny it are shut in by a necessity from which they cannot escape to point out and prove some other historical fact which will adequately account for this universal belief and will also adequately account for the historical development of Christianity for fifteen centuries.

After having ably proven and elucidated these points, the author brings forward his specific historical proofs. Very judiciously he begins at a century more remote from the Apostolic age, and then traces the stream of history on the subject up to its source. He thinks it unnecessary to commence at a later century than the fifth, because all Protestant historians possessed of any claims to learning admit that in that century the persuasion that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome was universal. Accordingly he commences with the fourth century and gives at length and in their exact words the testimonies of the Church Fathers and other writers of that age. He then passes on through the third and second and first centuries until he reaches the Apostolic age.

Along with each quotation, the author states from what writing it was made, its context, and all the circumstances and details necessary to correctly estimate its value. He then takes up the various objections which Protestants have raised and shows that they are mere sophistical quibbles. He then devotes a chapter to a very interesting and valuable dissertation upon the chronology of the Acts of the Apostle in relation to St. Peter's Episcopate, and in the closing chapter of Part First he discusses the early historical notices of and allusions to the Bishops of Rome until the close of the Sub-Apostolic age.

The Second Part of the book deals with the archæological proofs of St. Peter having been in Rome, his Episcopate there, and his martyrdom. The inscriptions in the various Catacombs at Rome, on the gilded glasses found in the Catacombs, the sculptures on the Christian sarcophagi, the paintings and the symbolical representations, referring to St. Peter having been in Rome and to his Episcopal and Primatial office, are clearly described, and their significance and the evidences of their antiquity lucidly set forth. In other separate chapters the Chair of St. Peter in the Vatican and that in the Cœmeterium Ostianum are described and their historical significance is pointed out. Two additional chapters are occupied with accounts of other monuments of St. Peter's residence and Apostolate at Rome, memorials of his martyrdom there, and an account of the Pallium, its origin, its history and symbolical significance, and its inferential testimony to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Primacy.

The Third Part of the work, comprising twenty chapters, is occupied with discussions and arguments bearing on St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. In the first eight of these chapters the bearing of various passages in the New Testament on St. Peter's Roman Episcopate; reflections on some

of the consequences involved in that Episcopate; St. Peter's Apostleship in distinction from his Primacy and the relation of the Apostolate to the Episcopate; the relation of the historical fact of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate to the Dogma of the Primacy, and the nature and right of the Primacy and its Succession as connected with the See of Rome, are stated and thoroughly discussed.

Subsequent chapters are occupied with the relation of St. Paul to St. Peter, and the relation of St. Paul's work at Rome to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Universal Primacy; St. Paul's reprehension of St. Peter at Antioch; the evidences of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Universal Primacy from the Greek Liturgical Offices; the Succession of the Roman Pontiffs to St. Peter's Episcopacy and Primacy, illustrated from the Greek Liturgies and other like sources. Then in still other chapters the legendary theories of modern rationalists are considered, also the statements and views of various Anglican writers. The last chapter is a statement and exposition of the truth that the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter and his successors is the chief monument of historical Christianity and the realization of the Divine idea in the two Dispensations.

It is not saying too much that, in the discussion of all the various branches and relations of his subject, the author notices and thoroughly refutes every objection which Protestants and infidels have raised against St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Universal Primacy. He has freely availed himself of the results of the study of the subject by other careful and learned investigators and scholars; and, incorporating them into his work, he has produced a volume of whose value and importance we can scarcely speak too highly.

LIVES OF THE DECEASED BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES; with an Appendix and an Analytical Index. By *Richard H. Clarke, LL.D.* Author's Revised, Enlarged, and Corrected Edition. Three Volumes. New York. Richard H. Clarke, Nos. 49 and 51 Chambers Street. 1888.

The first two volumes of this work were published in 1872, and were received with much favor at the time and have continued to maintain the place in public estimation which when first published they quickly obtained. Since then forty-one Prelates of the Church in the United States have gone to their eternal rewards. The lives of these more recently deceased and of Bishops O'Regan and Chabrât, whose lives were not published in the two first volumes,—forty-three in all—make up the contents of the third volume.

In his preface to this third volume the author refers to the only unfavorable criticism which he deems worthy of notice. We will give it and his reply to it, in his own words. He says:

"The only serious criticism that we have encountered is that our biographies have been one-sided, exclusively laudatory and shielding the Bishops from all blame. The answer to this is, that wherever errors or faults have been committed involving a valuable instruction from the past to the future, such as ecclesiastical savings banks and erroneous methods of financial and property and executive management, we have pointedly exposed them, in order that history might teach its lessons. But to relate the private faults and sins of the dead would be merely to show what is manifest, that they were human. From their human frailties we have sifted their virtues and good deeds, for the latter form the triumphs of faith and grace over the temptations of our fallen state, and are a priceless inheritance. Like the Mexican miners in the Cordilleras, we have sifted the mass of materials; the dross and baser matters have

passed through the sieve and have been rejected, while nothing but the pure and precious metal remained."

It needs no argument to show the correctness of the principle which Dr. Clarke has here stated. A truthful biography resembles a lifelike portrait. The skilful and conscientious painter does not strive to catch and place upon his canvas every little speck or wart that happens to be on the face of his subject. He aims at depicting the features in their just form and proportions, and then, and beyond all this, to catch and delineate the expression which gives to them their individual distinctive character. This accomplished, his portrait becomes real and lifelike.

To pursue a different method from this would produce in painting not a portrait, but a caricature; and in writing, not a true biography, but a lampoon or satire. So far as the human personal frailties of Prelates have deleteriously affected their administration of diocesan affairs and injured the interests of religion, it is right to mention them for the sake of the lessons they teach; but beyond this both justice and charity require that they be consigned to oblivion. This method Dr. Clarke has adopted and endeavored to pursue, and, on the whole, very successfully.

Reading these volumes is like walking through a gallery of portraits of historical personages. Their respective intellectual and moral features are brought to view. Their respective natural gifts, their attainments in knowledge, their Christian virtues, their methods of doing the work which they were consecrated and appointed to do, their trials and labors, the difficulties they had to surmount, what they accomplished, and what they left to their successors to endeavor to accomplish, are brought to remembrance.

The first two volumes are occupied with the lives of Prelates who have belonged to former generations and have passed away entirely from personal knowledge. Scarcely any one now survives who knew them personally. The perusal of their lives is like reading the inscriptions on monuments of heroes who lived in former ages. But the third volume contains biographies of deceased Prelates who belong to our own age, and the memory of them, or of most of them, is fresh and distinct in the minds of many who are still living.

Yet, while we are writing this and endeavoring to show the value, both for information and edification, of these volumes, we cannot refrain from expressing a regret we have often before felt, that there are so few full and complete, or even approximately complete, biographies of any of the Prelates of the Church in the United States. The number of these works is less than a score, and most, even of these, are necessarily brief and meagre, owing to the scanty materials at the command of the writers. And this dearth of historical, or more strictly speaking biographical, material exists even with regard to distinguished Prelates who died but a few years ago.

How precious, for example, would not be a complete life of the learned and saintly Michael O'Connor, First Bishop of Pittsburgh and during the latter part of his life a missionary priest of the Society of Jesus. He was the bosom friend and counsellor of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick. *Par Nobile Fratrum*, in their day and generation, they were Pillars of the Church in the United States. Mighty were their achievements and grand the results of their labors for the promotion of religion. Yet scarcely any materials are now in existence for a life of Bishop Michael O'Connor, none, indeed, except those which the memory, yearly becoming less distinct, of those who personally knew

him can supply; and unless these be quickly gathered up they will soon be lost beyond possibility of recovery. Here is a work for our Catholic Historical Societies to do. And the work must be done quickly and before the persons themselves die who still remember the facts. For Bishop O'Connor, notwithstanding his profound and accurate erudition, wrote no books, and before his death destroyed all his manuscripts, including the letters he had received and copies of those he had written to others. His spirit of self-depreciation was such that he deemed all that he ever wrote unworthy of publication. As during his Novitiate as a member of the Society of Jesus he endeavored to conceal the fact that he had been Bishop, so too, when he felt that he was approaching the end of his earthly existence, he seemed to desire that after death he should be quickly forgotten. He destroyed, so far as he could, whatever would serve to perpetuate and reflect honor upon his memory. As with him, so it doubtless has been with others of our deceased Bishops, among whom was the Right Rev. Jeremiah F. Shanahan, First Bishop of Harrisburg. Of all the powerful and edifying sermons he wrote and preached, of all his eloquent discourses, nothing is extant beyond the newspaper reports of a few of them. He thought his manuscripts unworthy of preservation.

Perhaps it may seem to some of our readers that these remarks are irrelevant to our subject. But they are not. They are made by us for the purpose of bringing out to view the difference between the respective purposes of biographical monographs of a particular personage and a work like that before us. Each has a sphere and purpose of its own. The one does not supplant the other or make it needless. On the contrary, they mutually supplement each other.

The author of the work before us evidently understands this, and has shown his good judgment in not attempting to give to his *Lives of Deceased Prelates* the character of special biographies. In the nature of things it would have been impossible for him to do this without swelling his work beyond all reasonable limits. He aims, not at giving a finely finished portrait of each deceased Prelate, but an outline sketch, less elaborate yet not less accurate and distinct. His work—and in this its great value chiefly consists—furnishes a panoramic view of the history of the Church in the United States, and of the parts performed respectively by the deceased Prelates in extending and building up the Church; their different intellectual and spiritual gifts and attainments, their different methods of work, their success in subduing the spiritual wildernesses in which many of them toiled, or in the cultivation of fields which their predecessors had planted and watered.

Then, too, while it does not supplant and, wisely, does not aim to supplant, biographies of any of our deceased Prelates; yet, owing to the dearth of such biographies—a dearth which will probably continue to exist—it seems destined to furnish the only means in future years, as in the present, by which we can form a distinct idea of who and what our deceased Prelates were and what they did and strove to do.

How unceasingly and rapidly death removes our Prelates is shown by the fact that since 1872, when the first two volumes of the work before us were published by Mr. O'Shea (now republished along with the third volume by Dr. Clarke), forty-one have passed away from earth. But if they have passed away, the results of their labors continue, and how fruitful and blessed they were is seen in the wonderful growth of the Church in the United States. For, whereas in 1872 the American Hierarchy comprised fifty-four Bishops, six Vicars Apostolic, and four Mitred Abbots; now, after the lapse of only fifteen years, it consists

of seventy-four Bishoprics, seven Vicariates Apostolic, ten Mitred Abbots, and one Prefecture Apostolic; and in the same time the Catholic population has increased from five and a half millions to eight or ten millions.

Over the pages of the third volume, the receipt of which furnishes the immediate occasion of this notice, those who read will fondly linger. For it will bring afresh to their minds the memory of Prelates whom they personally knew and whose names were as household words to them—Prelates whom they loved and honored and revered. Some of them presided over and directed the work of extending and building up the Church in fields where the Church had been well-established by their predecessors in office, and was already measurably provided with churches, priests, and religious and charitable institutions. Others were literally Missionary Bishops, whose dioceses were spiritual wildernesses, which they had to subdue by their labors, with no resources or help but those which, under God, their faith and zeal could create. Yet, though they sowed the good seed in tears, God blessed their work and permitted them to see the springing grain and in part, at least, to gather ripened sheaves as a foretaste of the more abundant harvest from their labors, which remains for their successors to reap.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS juxta Doctrinam S. Alphonsi Mariæ de Liguorio, Doctoris Ecclesiæ. Auctore Jos. Aertnys, C. S. S. R., Theol. Mor. et S. Liturgiæ Professore. Tornaci: V. H. Casterman, 1886 and 1887. Tomi Duo. 8vo.

There are not a few who object to the indefinite multiplication of text-books that is going on in the literary, scientific and theological world. They say, and with good reason: Why repeat what has been already well said by another? If times were notably altered, what suits one generation might not suit another, as the Fathers of the Church, though complete sources of all theology, will not furnish an apt theological manual for students of our times. But outside of this hypothesis (they keep on saying), where there is no significant difference of time, place, and other adjuncts, why this multiplying of text-books? Is there anything to justify such expenditure of money and labor? If a book is really good, and may be improved by addition and correction, why not reprint it, and correct or add as may be necessary?

They give, as shining examples of this judicious reprinting of standard works, La Croix and St. Alphonsus, who made Busenbaum their text-book, adding and improving where they deem it necessary. They might have added, too, the illustrious example of Francis Antony Zaccaria, one of the most indefatigable and voluminous writers to be found in the last half of the eighteenth century. One-half at least of his works consists of the writings of other authors, whom he reprinted with notes, additions and emendations. Among them we find the Moral Theology of La Croix (or Busenbaum), of Tamburini, of Dominick Viva, the Jus Canonicum of F. Vitus Pichler, the great work of Petavius De Dogmaticis Theologicis, the Chronology and History of the Bishops of Osimo, Cremona and Verona (with notes from Ughelli's Italia Sacra), Fleming's "Mœurs des Chrétiens," translated into Latin by a German Jesuit, enriched with choice dissertations, and extended to three quarto volumes. A list (though not complete) of numerous works of others, reprinted, enlarged and improved by Zaccaria, may be found in the Preface to his edition of the "Disciplina Populi Dei" (Venice, 1782, vol. i., pp. 29-34).

But there are others who do not acquiesce in this reasoning and are

not persuaded by these examples. They think that there is something good and useful in a variety of text-books, as St. Augustine said long ago about books of devotion. Our author has handled his materials very well, and his style is sufficiently clear for the use of either professor or student. His treatise is full and complete in every respect, and if we have a fault to find with him it is that he has adhered too closely to the saying, *Malius est abundare quam deficere*. The contrary often holds good in manuals of this kind.

DE SPIRITU SOCIETATIS JESU. Auctore *Julio Costa Rossetti*, S. J., cum approbatione Superiorum Ordinis. Friburgi Brisgovie. Sumptibus Herder. 1888.

The object of this small volume is to give a clear and complete outline of the religious spirit which in a particular manner characterizes the Institute of St. Ignatius. It gathers, as it were, the principles out of the "Constitutions"—that most perfect code of human legislation for a Divine end—and marks the lines of action which, emanating from these principles, meet directly the errors, moral and intellectual, of our day. Thus, this digest becomes an index for the benefit of those who wish to understand the work, the modes of operation for good, peculiar to the Society of Jesus; modes which the world, not discovering the inner principle that gives them shape and aim, suspects too often of being artificial and dark because they are so strangely powerful. And whilst the primary purpose of this book is to serve as a manual for the scholastics of the Order, or as a key later on to the larger works of similar character which are in use in the Society, yet it will prove of great advantage to others who, recognizing the superior mode of warfare which St. Ignatius initiated, aim at combating successfully the evils which surround the apostleship of truth in these times. Father Rossetti is already known as an author familiar with the recent aspects of the ethical question, and this must make us all the more confident in accepting the practical wisdom of this compact treatise; for when we remember that the religious spirit of an order is something apart from the spirit of religious vows, and that the apostolic character of the Society of Jesus, both in its legislation and discipline, somehow covers the distracting problems of modern civilization, we cannot fail to realize how valuable a book of this kind will prove to men employed in the apostolic labor of turning the world from its worldly idols into the ways of truth and sacrifice.

It is but just to say that this little work of 288 pages is made additionally readable from its excellent get-up; arrangement, typography, and binding, together with a very moderate price, equally recommending it.

BIOGRAPHY OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JULIUS P. GARESCHÉ, Assistant Adjutant-General, United States Army. By his son. Press of J. B. Lippincott Company: Philadelphia. 1887.

We have here a filial tribute worthy of a brave and pious father. Our late civil war had no nobler victim than Colonel Garesché, who was killed in the first battle in which he was actively engaged, that of Murfreesboro, or Stone River, on December 31st, 1862, while fighting bravely and gallantly by the side of General Rosecrans, whose chief of staff he was. All through life he was remarkable for his earnest but unassuming piety, and piously he died as he had lived, receiving Holy Communion on the morning of the day of battle, and spending some time in prayer immediately before he rode out to meet his death.

Colonel Julius P. Garesché was descended from some of the most honored French settlers in the West Indies, was connected with the best-known families in Wilmington and Philadelphia, and was a brother of the well-known Jesuit Father Frederick Garesché. The story of his too short life is told with beautiful simplicity by his son, Louis, who honors himself in thus honoring his parent. The best part of this deeply interesting and highly edifying story is told in the colonel's own words, in copious but judiciously chosen extracts from his letters, and these let us into the secrets of a truly Christian family life.

But by no means does all the interest of the work end here. We have, besides, references to and illustrations of general Catholic American history, genealogical and other details of pioneer families in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, notes of Bishop Odín, Father Domenech, and other early missionaries in Texas, where Colonel Garesché was stationed during the greater part of the interval intervening between the Mexican war and that of Secession, and of the city of St. Louis in those times.

So valuable an addition to our Catholic literature is this book that it is to be regretted only a limited edition of five hundred copies has been printed.

THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND. With a Preliminary Account of the Sources of the Saint's History. By William Bullen Morris, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Third Edition. London and New York: Burns & Oates, Limited; Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

This book promises to become the standard biography of Ireland's Apostle. For clear statement of facts, and calm, judicious discussion of controverted points, it surpasses any other work we know of in the literature of the subject. The present edition, Father Morris tells us, has been much altered in form and dimensions; but on it he need not wait the popular verdict with trepidation. "The introduction has been rewritten; an inquiry into the state of Ireland at the period of St. Patrick's advent has been introduced into the life, and there are considerable additions, and some omissions, in the body of the work." The book is, then, practically a new one, and it is a critical history, too. "With something like a pang the writer has been driven to give up the very beautiful legends connected with St. Patrick's infancy, having come to the conclusion that they do not rest on any solid historical foundation, and that it is impossible to make them harmonize with St. Patrick's autobiography." He draws largely upon the Saint's own writings, and practically ignores the controversy about his birthplace, which, after sifting all the evidence adduced by recent controversialists, he concludes "still remains a mystery." The work may not be incapable of improvement, but it is the best of the kind that has so far been given us. "A biographer of St. Patrick," Father Morris concludes, "must ever feel that he is the servant and interpreter of a mysterious master, and, therefore, it is in all sincerity that the writer borrows the declaration of St. Gregory the Great, as it stands in the preface to Villaneuva's edition of the *Works of St. Patrick*: *Ab omnibus corripi, emendari ab omnibus paratus sum.*"

A VISIT TO EUROPE AND THE HOLY LAND. By Rev. H. F. Fairbanks. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1888.

So many travelers have committed to print their impressions and experiences of the journey or journeys indicated in the title given above, that a wayfarer in these days, no matter how observant he may have been, can hardly be expected to tell us much that is new. But this feat

Father Fairbanks, a priest of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, has accomplished with rare success in the book now before us. And he is as well as an intelligent guide, one whose company is not only not tedious, but instructive and improving. He shows us the points of most interest in Ireland, Great Britain, France, Italy and its capital, Rome, the other Mediterranean countries, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, Switzerland, the Rhineland and the Netherlands. We do not hesitate to pronounce his book one of the best of recent works of travel.

CÆREMONIALE EPISCOPORUM CLEMENTIS VIII., INNOCENTII X., ET BENEDICTI XIII., JUSSU EDITUM BENEDICTI XIV. ET LEONIS XIII. AUCTORITATE RECOGNITUM. Editio Typica. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci, et Cincinnati: Sumptibus, Chartis et Typis Fr. Pustet. MDCCCLXXXVI.

The publisher of this work seems to have a proper sense of his responsibility as "printer to the Holy Apostolic See and Congregation of Rites." Its typography and binding are all that any one could desire, for taste, use and durability; and the contents are, of course, official.

Accompanying the volume is an explanatory pamphlet of sixteen pages, published by the same house last year, entitled: "De Vi Obligandi Libri Cæremoniale Episcoporum ac de Consuetudine ipsi adversanti Dissertatio quam Disciplinæ Liturgicæ Studiosis Offert D. Joachim Solans, Presbyter, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Urgellensi Cæremoniarum Magister et in ejusdem Civitatis Seminario S. Liturgiæ Professor. Ordinarii Licentiæ."

THE CANONS AND DECREES OF THE SACRED AND CECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF TRENT. Translated by the *Rev. J. Waterworth*. To which are prefixed Essays on the External and Internal History of the Council. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

This is a fac simile reissue of a book that first appeared forty years ago, and that has long been out of print. It is a preëminently useful work, one that should be brought within the reach of the general Catholic public. The two historical essays are not masterpieces of historical composition, but are fully as good as any treatment of the same subject in the same number of pages that we have in English. These essays occupy nearly as much of the book as do the Canons and Decrees, there being about 250 pages of the former and over 280 of the latter. At the end of the volume are lists of the dignitaries who participated in the Council, and a very full alphabetical index to the Canons and Decrees.

AVE MARIS STELLA. Meditations for the Month of Mary, from the Italian of the *Rev. Canon Berteu*. Translated into English by M. Hopper. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

We have here a very timely publication, well adapted to suggest pious reflections to every class of reader, to help increase devotion in those who have it already, and to inspire it in the lukewarm. The translating is satisfactorily done, making the reading smooth and pleasurable.

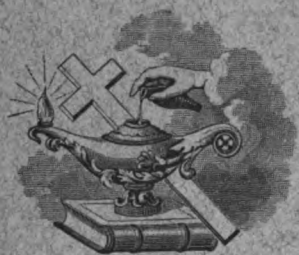
THE LESSER IMITATION; Being a Sequel to the Following of Christ. By *Thomas à Kempis*. Done into English by the Author of "Growth in the Knowledge of our Lord." New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.

It is impossible to speak too highly of this little work. As the "Following of Christ" is of priceless value, of scarcely less is this sequel.

THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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THE

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RIGHT REV. JAMES A. CORCORAN, D.D.,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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THE LATEST HISTORIAN OF THE INQUISITION.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. By Henry Charles Lea, author of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Superstition and Force," "Studies in Church History." In three volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888.

THIS work, just issued from the press, is professedly an original and important contribution to the history of a stirring age of the world. A few natural and even necessary questions must be asked of it by all who would seek truth from its pages. These questions must be answered mainly from the historian's own words. It is not, indeed, the man personally, but the writer's value as a teacher of history, that is concerned.

First, has he sought the truth himself—impartially—or is he an offensive partisan likely to surprise the good faith of his reader?

Then, has he had ready to his hand the necessary sources from which to form his judgment, and does his method of writing draw from these sources evidence that will allow the reader to check off the judgments proposed to his assent?

Finally, is the historian competent to deal with the material he has gathered, and to place it before the student?

It is clear that an answer to such questions cannot be expected from the current criticism of newspapers and periodicals which,

when not inspired by the publishers of the work, will too often mistake bulk for fulness, or, as it has been put, "the stolid for the solid."

There is double need of questioning when the period of history is bound up with controversies still living and drawing minds violently to contrary sides. The history of the Middle Ages—and more than all else of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages—is a strong case in point. Three hundred years ago the Homilies of the Anglican Church declared those ages part of a "diabolical millennium." A leading Catholic convert from the Anglicanism of our own day has popularized them under the name of "Ages of Faith," seeing in them, far from any diabolical action, only the realization of Christ's beatitudes on earth.¹ There is surely sufficient latitude between these extremes to warrant caution in accepting the work of any historian on a period so largely in dispute.

In a late number of this REVIEW we attempted to go over the whole history of the Inquisition as it has been treated in anti-Catholic controversy during the last three hundred years.² We thought ourselves justified in styling this treatment an "odious mythology." We still think so after reading the volumes of Mr. Lea—more pretentious than any which have yet appeared on this subject. We are far from ranking him at once in the number of the mythologists; but we find in his pages the most exact fulfilment of certain reasons, given by us at the close of our previous study, why a Catholic, or, indeed, any lover of historic truth, cannot hope to find a satisfactory treatment of the subject from the average non-Catholic historian. These reasons are in direct connection with the questions spoken of above. We now purpose applying them as tests of historic truth to these three first volumes of Mr. Lea. We may then wait securely for the other volumes he promises us on the Spanish and later Inquisition.

The reasons we gave are "that the [historian] in question is not at all likely to possess the necessary training in theological terms and canon law to understand the very documentary evidence in his hands." Then there is "the strange ignorance, almost sure to be found, of the piety and higher influence of religion in the age whose history is in question." Thirdly, "so rare is an entire absence of prejudice that the facts themselves, known only in part as they are, will regularly take on a color not their own, but due to the jaundiced eye of the observer." "Besides all this," we added, "the essential elements of the ecclesiastical problem will regularly be missed." We ventured to conclude that "another of the immediate and most general results reached by the Catholic

¹ Kenelm H. Digby, *Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith*.

² October, 1887, p. 691.

student who has carefully gone over this ground is a well-founded distrust of much pretentious historical research."

I.

Mr. Lea has foreseen from the start the difficulty of his work. In his preface he calls it "a history treating of a subject which has called forth the fiercest passions of man, arousing alternately his highest and basest impulses." He even anticipates a close examination. "I beg the reader to believe that the views presented have not been hastily formed, but that they are the outcome of a conscientious survey of all the original sources accessible to me." "I have sought to present an impartial account of the institution as it existed during the earlier period." He seems specially to disclaim any fellowship with those historians who have used the Inquisition as a convenient weapon of attack on the Roman Catholic Church of the present day. "The Inquisition was not an organization arbitrarily devised and imposed upon the judicial system of Christendom by the ambition or fanaticism of the Church. It was rather a natural—one may almost say an inevitable—evolution of the forces at work in the thirteenth century, and no one can rightly appreciate the process of its development and the results of its activity without a somewhat minute consideration of the factors controlling the minds and souls of men during the ages which laid the foundation of modern civilization. To accomplish this it has been necessary to pass in review nearly all the spiritual and intellectual movements of the Middle Ages, and to glance at the condition of society in certain of its phases." This is almost enough to disarm the incautious. If faithfully carried out it would go far toward answering the question concerning the sufficiency of the historical material in the writer's hands, quite apart from the publisher's assurance that "for fifteen years he has been collecting material for it—material which has grown enormously through the well-directed researches of recent scholars, and which has not hitherto been co-ordinated and utilized for such purpose."

Besides, Mr. Lea claims special competence from his examination of the jurisprudence of the period, "which presents without disguise its aspirations and the means regarded as best adapted for their realization." Finally, though he maintains that "no serious historical work is worth the writing or the reading unless it conveys a moral," yet he promises that the moral shall "develop itself in the mind of the reader without being obtruded upon him."¹

Unfortunately, we Catholics have a long and grievous experience of morals thus left to develop themselves in the minds of readers.

¹ Vol. i., Preface.

We ask impartiality from the historian, not as a man, but as a writer. We have no right to go beyond his words as they stand. But we have every right to demand that the writer shall not take for granted certain fundamental principles that give their own interpretation to all the facts he may bring forward ; that he shall not insinuate his own party feeling along with his description of the facts, by that rhetorical process which results, according to Cicero, in building up living flesh and blood round dry bones ; and, that he shall not group his facts after the manner of a special pleader, so that true facts by an artificial order lead up to a false conclusion. Of course, the old idea of history, which Quintilian said is written for narration and not for proof, long since passed away. We are now only too thankful when the moral of an historical work, to use Mr. Lea's happy phrase, "is not obtruded upon us." But we also desire not to be cheated into accepting as true what is only the result of a juggling arrangement of facts. Gibbon wrote more volumes than Mr. Lea on a subject scarcely more vast ; and from beginning to end there is neither break nor halt in his skilful and concealed argumentation against the divine origin of Christianity. Mr. Lea, with his heaviness of style and absence of rhetorical movement, is certainly not a Gibbon ; it remains to be seen whether in his anxiety to convey a moral he has not followed the illegitimate method of the more brilliant writer. He says himself, "I have not paused to moralize, but I have missed my aim if the events narrated are not so presented as to teach their appropriate lesson."¹ So much morality and so many lessons have been drawn from the Middle Ages and the Inquisition for the special benefit of Catholics that we may well look closely into the state of mind of our new teacher.

The non-Catholic student of history is equally interested with ourselves in this examination if he sincerely desires to know the truth in the matter ; or if, as Schiller puts it in words which men of science love to quote in their own controversies,—*he prefers truth to his system.* Let him remove for a moment from his mind the ever present phantom of the Church of Rome ; for that Church is so living that she is sure to awaken either violent hatred or enthusiasm—even when there is question of ages considered dark. It is an undoubtedly dark legate of the Abyssinian Church—of which no one has any great knowledge and for which consequently no one feels any great degree of love or hatred—that claims his attention. He comes with much semi-barbaric strangeness and ceremony to complain of the injustice of historians. Neither Gibbon nor Mr. Lea can refuse to hear him on this score. But some victim of negrophobia will say to this representative of the

¹ Preface.

Ethiopic Church : " Why should I listen to you ? It is plain upon your face that you represent an odious institution. How else comes it that you and all your brethren are so black ? "

The Ethiop, in the name of his Church, simply desires to prove in the language of the spouse of the Canticles—*I am black but beautiful*—and he answers with many an apologetic salaam—*Do not consider me that I am brown, because the sun hath altered my color.*¹

The anti-Ethiop retorts—" Well, if your faith is not the cause of the black skins among you, at any rate you behaved very badly in the time of King Theodore, when so enlightened a nation as England had to send out its army to whip you into submission. It is clear your Church is an enemy of civilization. And then I have a choice set of nasty anecdotes about you and the Italians, with ' its continuance to modern times.' " ²

The oriental, imperturbable as is his race, bows low once more and protests that the Abouna and his assistant bishops ought not to be held responsible for fighting that began in English calicoes and African slaves and elephants' teeth. He even goes on to say, with a pathos that should move to thought every lover of truth : " Not all the children of the Abyssinian Church are worthy representatives of her faith ; for, indeed,—*the sons of my mother have fought against me.*" In fact, the dark-skinned legate might well protest that the historian should follow out the late Mr. Bagehot's clever turn of thought, and remember that there is a " connective tissue " of civilization, based in " Physics and Politics " quite as much as in religion ; and, he who desires to know the truth concerning the part played by a religious faith or a church in any period of the world's history, must carefully seek out what is really owing to its action on the age, and not lay to its charge results which it could not be expected to prevent or change. Keeping this view of the case steadily before us, we may profitably examine Mr. Lea's impartiality and competency as an historian.

It is comforting to notice that the Church for him is usually " It," and only on exciting occasions " She." ³ Too often, from beginning to end of some pretended historical study, the Church is nothing less than a horrid and preternatural harridan exercising her cruelty and her witchcraft through all the ages. This view, it is true, is in its way a direct testimony to the one and continuous personality of the Church, constituted, as all Catholics hold, by the ever present assistance of the same one Holy Spirit of

¹ Canticles, i, 4, 5.

² Mr. Lea's phrase of the Church's legislation " compelling the chastity " of its " ministers," i., 31.

³ As in chapter on *The Stake*, i, 536.

God. To them she is the mighty mother *whom Christ has loved—a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but holy and without blemish.*¹

The enemies of the Catholic Church who have consciously acknowledged this personality, are forced to attribute it to some spirit of evil; and for this reason the Church was so long stigmatized by them as the anti-Christ. It is curious to note, now that men of science have rejected both Christ and the devil, how all unconsciously they continue to acknowledge this personality of the Church, persevering on the same from age to age, in their bitterest attacks against her. It is this we wished to express by the word "mythology," finding it best exemplified, in this "scientific" phase, in a work of the late Prof. Draper that—professedly in behalf of science—deals largely with the same period which has occupied the leisure of Mr. Lea.

Mr. Lea devotes his first, and what for many will be the principal, chapter of his work, to the Church's position "as the twelfth century drew to a close." On the one hand, he declares that "the vicissitudes of one hundred and fifty years, skilfully improved, had rendered it the mistress of Christendom." Of her priests he says, "over soul and conscience their empire was complete." There had been "created a spiritual despotism which placed all things within reach of him who could wield it." "The papal mandate, just or unjust, reasonable or unreasonable, was to be received and implicitly obeyed, for there was no appeal from the representative of St. Peter." "The destiny of all men lay in the hands which could administer or withhold the sacraments essential to salvation." "The Church militant was an army encamped on the soil of Christendom, with its outposts everywhere, subject to the most efficient discipline, animated with a common purpose, every soldier" (Mr. Lea by this means only the members of the clergy) "panoplied with inviolability and armed with the tremendous weapons which slew the soul." "That [the Pope] was supreme over all the earth—over pagans and infidels as well as over Christians—was legally proved and universally taught by the mediæval doctors."² On the other hand, "if the Church, by sundering itself completely from the laity, had acquired the services of a militia devoted wholly to itself, it had thereby created an antagonism between itself and the people. Practically, the whole body of Christians no longer constituted the Church; that body was divided into two essentially distinct classes,

¹ Ephesians, v., 24, 27.

² It would be curious to know what Mr. Lea imagines Innocent III. to have meant by "pronouncing himself to be the God of Pharaoh." The Vulgate Bible (Exodus, vii., 1) has—*The Lord said to Moses: Behold, I have appointed thee the God of Pharaoh*—surely no great usurpation of the place of the divinity.

the shepherds and the sheep; and the lambs were often apt to think, not unreasonably, that they were tended only to be shorn."

This, put forward in an initial statement of principles to be received by the reader and for which no real proof is offered, seems wonderfully like the old Protestantism; not to say that no Catholic would admit the truth of a single one of these propositions. They can be disproved from the very mediæval doctors Mr. Lea so confidently quotes.¹ But there is worse yet to come, not once or by the way, but everywhere and to the end. His entire book is to speak of the modes "in which the supreme jurisdiction of Rome worked inestimable evil throughout Christendom." And when finally he has fully entered on his own particular subject, he declares, in a most general and sweeping proposition, that the Church "has always held the toleration of others to be persecution of itself;" and "the Church was responsible for the enactment of the ferocious laws punishing heresy with death."²

It is already plain that Mr. Lea holds a brief against the Roman Catholic Church of all ages. From her history during the Middle Ages he is to furnish the material for a studied attack all along the line; first, against her divine origin and her character as the Church of Christ;³ secondly, against the part she has played in the civilization of the world; and finally, to throw upon her the opprobrium of religious intolerance and persecution exercised by her as a Church, all to be burned into the anti-Catholic imagination by the most lurid accumulation of facts possible.

The merely apparent fairness of certain general propositions scattered through the work cannot soften this judgment of it as a whole. That the Church was pushed on in her evil courses by the spirit of the age does not do away with the charges against her. If there is a divine assistance guarding her from age to age, she cannot thus utterly fall away, even though many of her children may cease to be guided by her spirit. That the net result of all the selfish grasping and deliberate cruelty charged upon her was in sum total an advantage to the world and civilization, can also in no wise clear the Church from the fundamental accusations brought against her. Mr. Lea cannot suppose the human instruments in which the Church's authority was centred, to have foreseen the

¹ See especially the Decretal of Innocent III., *Per venerabilem* (A.D. 1202), with the comments of all canonists on iv., 17, *Qui filii sint legitimi*, under which title this stands as c. 13; also theologians on Boniface VIII. (c. 4, iii, 20, in 6).

² i., 1, 2, 4, 5, 18, 135, 536.

³ The last chapter but one of his entire work (iii., 550-615) is a disquisition on *Intellect and Faith*. Into this he has introduced a polemical tract on the *Immaculate Conception*! The choice mess he has made of it would be beneath contempt, did it not show so clearly Mr. Lea's starting point in his researches, namely, that the Catholic intellect has no rights which non-Catholics are bound to respect.

good likely to result from the evil he so exaggerates. With his hatred of even martyred Jesuits,¹ he cannot reasonably find them predecessors who, with miraculous foresight, thus insisted on doing evil that good might come.

But Mr. Lea's whole position as against the Church is so strange and, at first sight, contradictory, that it is worth while examining whether it is not aimed against the divinity of the Christian religion itself. When giving a rapid glance at the attitude of the Church from the beginning toward persecution, he finds that, "in simplicity of teaching," St. James, representing "the Ebionitic section of the Church, agreed with the Pauline branch!" This at once discloses a system that does away with all inspiration of the New Testament, even as held by the most advanced Protestants. But Mr. Lea finds in the New Testament itself "the seed scattered which was to bear so abounding a harvest of wrong and misery. St. Paul will listen to no deviation from the strictness of his teachings—'But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed' (Galat., i. 8); and he boasts of delivering unto Satan Hymenaeus and Alexander, 'that they may learn not to blaspheme' (1 Tim., i. 20). How this spirit increased as time wore on, may be seen in the apocalyptic threats with which the backsliders and heretics of the seven churches are assailed (Rev., ii., iii.)."

It is some consolation to find that Mr. Lea essentially identifies the Church of the Middle Ages with that of St. Paul and St. John, though he leaves us uncertain concerning St. James and "the Ebionitic section." We can henceforth hear with equanimity that "the process went on with accelerating rapidity;"—"Tertullian shrieks" to Quintilla;—"the Donatist heresy with its deplorable results arose on the question of the eligibility of an individual bishop;"—"when Eutyches, in his zeal against the doctrines of Nestorius, was led to confuse in some degree the double nature of Christ, thinking that he was only defending the dogmas of his friend, St. Cyril, he suddenly found himself convicted of a heresy as damnable as Nestorianism;" "he was not able to grasp the subtle distinction between *substantia* and *subsistentia*, a fatal failing, which proved the ruin of thousands;" and, finally, "those who held commanding positions in the Church and could enforce their opinions, were necessarily orthodox; those who were weaker became heterodox, and the distinction between the faithful and the heretic became year by year more marked."

After all this it is no wonder that Mr. Lea gives us many "a curious commentary on theological perversity," or what he considers "the heated wranglings over questions scarce appreciable by

¹ ii., 567.

the average human intellect.”¹ To the student this will be enough to show the true quality of these volumes whose bulk is worthy of a different learning. Even the general reader, who can pretend to no special knowledge of the case, will question the flippant tone with which Mr. Lea decides questions that have occupied men of learning for so many centuries. Where has he taken his degree in theology? Even has he read through the child’s catechism? He professes to state different doctrines on indulgences, as taught in the Middle Ages and in our own day, not missing a sneer at the “modern commercial spirit” which he discerns in the latter.² But he has understood neither the one nor the other; indeed, they are essentially the same. He is writing of a tribunal whose prime function was the judicial absolution of the innocent or the condemnation of the guilty; yet he has never learned the distinction, known to every Catholic, between absolution from sin, which concerns the conscience alone, and absolution from some charge brought before an exterior court. Of course he knows nothing of absolution from irregularities or censures.³ His mistakes, in consequence, are not less ridiculous than though he maintained that the United States Senate, in refusing to impeach the late President Andrew Johnson, thereby imparted to him absolution and forgiveness of sins. He knows no ecclesiastical immunity that is not impunity for clerical offenders, and he shamefully misunderstands the exemptions of the religious orders.⁴ He is no longer ridiculous, but blasphemous, when he discovers in the commonest Christian relations between man and his Maker what he calls “the current orthodox practices of purchasing, by prayer or money, or other good works, whatever blessings they desired, and expecting nothing without such payment.”⁵

By this time our readers have undoubtedly had enough of Mr. Lea’s theology, whatever they may expect from his history. But we must try their patience a little longer. It is presumed Mr. Lea is fully aware that there are still many Roman Catholics in the world. Although his knowledge of their past controversies is quite unlike that of all other writers, yet he must also be aware that in their ranks have never been wanting men whose intelligence and sincerity common modesty should teach him to consider equal to his own. This is the least we can demand. He may object to our belief in an infallible Church, but by what right

¹ i., 209, 210, 211.

² i., 41, 43. Alexander of Hales (A.D. 1200) has no other definition than our own.

³ See especially i., 343, 398, 437, iii., 275; but the whole work is built on like ignorance.

⁴ i., 304; a lascivious instance, as usual, and a brutal piece of ignorance.

⁵ i., 105.

does he foist on us as infallible his own ignorant, flippant, contemptuous imputations of every evil of mind and will? The instances of the "sacerdotalism" which, according to him, "formed the distinguishing feature of mediæval religion," are exemplified every day round about him. What was true then must be true now. We venture to hope that there are few, even among the most violent enemies of the Church, who would say with Mr. Lea, "the believer did not deal directly with his Creator—scarce even with the Virgin or hosts of intercessory saints. The supernatural powers claimed for the priest interposed him as the mediator between God and man; his bestowal or withholding of the sacraments decided the fate of immortal souls; his performance of the mass diminished or shortened the pains of purgatory; his decision in the confessional determined the very nature of sin itself. The implements which he wielded—the Eucharist, the relics, the holy water, the chrism, the exorcism, the prayer—became in some sort fetiches which had a power of their own entirely irrespective of the moral or spiritual condition of him who employed them or of him for whom they were employed."¹

We have now trespassed enough on the patience of our readers by these ridiculous and absurdly false blasphemies. We will only say once again that their falsehood might have been read in the pages of mediæval writers, cited by Mr. Lea when it suits his own purpose.² He is fond of repeating that the devotion of that age required no interior or "subjective act" on the part of the Christian. Innocent the Third—the great Pope for whom Mr. Lea professes respect while he does all that he can to blacken his reputation—comes back again and again in sermons, many of which were preached to the common people, on the idea of sorrow as necessary to the forgiveness of sins; so much so that the old-fashioned Protestant dogmatists, without Mr. Lea's extreme mastery over citations, might attempt to prove from them that the Pope of that age did not consider confession and priestly absolution necessary at all. We doubt not many have done so.

On more than one occasion Mr. Lea cites the sermons of Egbert of Schönaue against the Pifres and other Catharan heretics of Germany in the twelfth century. This strenuous combatant of the faith was at first a cleric of the church of Bonn, and finally became a good and holy Benedictine monk in the monastery from which he takes his name. He is far more famous from certain writings which deal with "subjective" holiness than from his sermons.

¹ i., 47; on page 100 "orthodox asceticism trenches closely on Manichæism," with St. Francis, Tauler, and the Sulpitian Olier as examples!

² Once for all, Mr. Lea is totally unacquainted, to all appearances, with the commonest Catholic practices of the present day, and when he runs across them ages ago he accurately realizes Cardinal Newman's delicious Scripture-reader at "Benediction."

They are the contemplations and visions of his beloved sister Elizabeth, who was a nun in a neighboring convent, and whose influence seems to have drawn him to the monastic calling. Mr. Lea knows in the religious literature of the Middle Ages only that which suits his own theological purposes. Yet he can hardly have failed to come across her name, since he cites that of her friend and correspondent St. Hildegarde.

A short passage from a multitude of others which this simple sister—*inerudita*, says her brother—dictated through obedience, will show whether interior and “subjective” acts of religion were unknown in that age, and whether Christian souls had no acquaintance with God, but only with the priests. These contemplations often take the character of revelations belonging to the extraordinary office of seer or prophet, which St. Paul says is *not to unbelievers, but to believers*,¹ and has always been claimed at irregular intervals in the Church of God. They regularly follow the order of the feasts of the Church’s year and show close knowledge and much pious meditation of the least particulars of the Gospel history. Of herself she speaks as follows: “I prayed our Lord with my whole heart saying: O Lord my God, behold I commend my soul and my body to Thy powerful hand, to Thee, holy and undivided Trinity; to Thee, O Lord, I commit all my troubles, for my spirit is greatly tried in those things which Thou hast wrought with me, because I know that I am altogether unworthy of so great grace. Thou knowest, my Lord, that never have I presumed to ask such things from Thee; but now, since of Thy free goodness Thou hast so magnified Thy mercy with me, I beseech Thee also to keep me so that by no sin I may fall from Thy grace.” This, however deluded we might consider the praying soul to be, is surely not the prayer of one who knows no God except the priest, nor any “subjective” act of religion. And that these high sentiments were not limited to convent walls is plain from the fact that her brother and many others came to draw from her teachings what they might say to the people. It is recorded that great good came from their preaching. This was one of her chief lessons: “Love not the world and those things which are in the world, but do penance for evil deeds because the time is near.” And again: “I warn you that you should love each other. You ought to think how God first loved you, not sparing His only begotten Son, but delivering Him up for you in sacrifice.”² Perhaps her still more practical reprobation of the vices of her day would have found entrance to Mr. Lea’s pages, had she not declared that God assured her the “life of the Catharans was abominable before Him.”

¹ I. Cor., xiv., 22.

² Acta SS. (Bolland.), 18 Jun.; also the recent critical study of Roth (Würzburg, 2d ed., 1886).

II.

In the preceding examination of Mr. Lea's impartiality as an historian, we have also applied our first three tests to his competency for dealing with the period in question. In matters of Church history we have shown—satisfactorily, we think—his lack of necessary training in theology and his strange ignorance of the piety of the age; and, not only is there not an entire absence of prejudice in him, but rather he is beset with the most narrow partisan ideas. He is a decided victim to what may properly be called the Chinese habit of mind—if we may trust the tales of travellers concerning Chinese public opinion of all that is foreign to their own immediate surroundings. Mr. Lea signs his preface from Philadelphia. With that curious rivalry which marks neighboring American cities, New Yorkers forever maintain that great city to be only “a large collection of small villages.” Surely Mr. Lea's conception of the Roman Catholic Church in general, and of the Middle Ages in particular, dates as far back as the Quaker village of Penn.

Yet all that has gone before is not a tithe of what still remains. It would require a controversy covering the entire scope of universal theology to disentangle the propositions which Mr. Lea so rashly throws out at the beginning and end of his chapters. But all Church history should be written down for him if he would correct his historical positions. His method of dealing with history is as peculiar as his theology. Properly, he does not write history at all. Under the heads of the brief which he holds against the Church, he accumulates any number of examples as striking as may be, and often taken from widely different times and places. This is especially the case in his introductory chapter on the Church, though it is true that his plan nowhere admits of a strictly chronological order. The Inquisition was a judicial organization—a means for the carrying out of certain laws. Naturally, its practical work greatly varied in different times and places, and it is necessary to write separately of its workings in each region where it existed. But it is doubtful whether the Inquisition, thus limited, is a subject of history at all. The mere enforcement of one among many laws gives no adequate presentment of any people or any time.

To understand what the workings of the Inquisition really meant to the populations among whom it was established, would require a knowledge of their general state at the time it began, and of their whole social, economical, political and religious condition during the period it was flourishing among them. A history of the Inquisition otherwise conceived must result in much the same as would a history of the death penalty in the United

States, conceived in the following manner: First, give the statistics of murders, horse-stealings and other capital crimes of a pioneer community, without any reference to what the law-abiding citizens are doing in the meantime. When the imagination is sufficiently aroused by these details, unrelieved by all that accompanied and overshadowed them in the reality, narrate carefully, region by region, all the deaths inflicted in any way on account of crime, or suspicion, or pretence, even, of crime; not only the executions ordered in the regular course of justice, but the doings of the rude, improvised tribunals of lynch law at the South, of the early Californian vigilantes, of vengeful reprisals along the Rio Grande, of the Kentucky *vendettas*, adding in by way of condiment whatever riots or duels of illustrious detail may have happened during the century. Evidently the result would be sufficiently lurid, if brought out by some bonze or mandarin, to perpetuate what we have called the Chinese habit of mind concerning foreigners for many generations. It would not be unlike the book with which Mr. Lea has regaled the American world.

In fact, Mr. Lea's mind and method are both beset with two capital sins for the historian. The first we have already seen. It is that prolific cause of error called by the scholastic philosophers the hunger and thirst after assertions—*appetitus enuntiabilis*—with or without knowledge of the subject concerning which the assertions are made. The second is a preposterous love of anecdote, especially of the unutterable sort. This, as one of Mr. Lea's often quoted authorities might have told him, is destructive of all truth of history.¹ With these two vices, it is evident that not "fifteen years," nor fifteen centuries even, will collect the material necessary for historic truth. All the material collected will be misapprehended, ill-digested, unconsciously falsified by the first vice; and whatever is of real value as a guide through the facts of history will be lost sight of while the second appetite is cramming its maw with the mass of ill-verified, one-sided and fallacious anecdotes with which the contemporary materials of history are sure to abound.

We may take another example from our own day without, we think, any injustice to Mr. Lea's peculiar methods. The history of the death penalty, of which we have spoken, would certainly give a strange idea of American civilization and law. But how would this impression be deepened and rooted in the imagination, were it to be supported by a multitude of details gathered up in police gazettes, in stories of the bandits of the Mississippi or in popular tales of Western adventure, seasoned with the most striking incidents of the Mormon massacres and the doings of the guerillas of the late war! It is true that Mr. Lea, along with the garbage he thus

¹ Potthast, on Matthew of Paris.

gathers from the whole course of the Middle Ages—and his industry as an historical scavenger we have no wish to deny—mixes for the sake of dignity many a reference to the great councils, to the decrees of the canon law and to the acts of the Holy See. But this only renders the final result yet more incongruous to the disgusted student, while it reaches all the more surely to what is perhaps the real end intended, to impress luridly and lastingly the imagination of the ordinary reader.

Such writing of history, we submit, is a crime against humanity. The men of the Middle Ages have passed away, whether to the heaven or hell which they themselves expected, and which seems so amusing to Mr. Lea, or to some infinite azure of nothingness and evolution which his pages give more than one reason to think he would prefer. Still they were fellow-men to us all, and in the name of humanity false witness is not to be borne against them any more than, let us say, against their brethren, the Roman Catholics of Mr. Lea's own day.

Mr. Lea—it is not too much to say—nowhere considers them as they were in reality. He is incapable of understanding their faith; yet faith he himself says was “a determining factor of conduct of the time.”¹ With the higher life of the age he is equally unacquainted or, what is worse, equally ignorant of its true meaning. He does not profess to have made himself acquainted with the economic life of those ages, though his main thesis is that “the Church coerces the secular power to burn heretics,”² who according to him are from the mass of the people—from among the poor and the oppressed as against the rich and powerful in league with the priests. He has given us no exposition of his ideas of the social life of the times; he seems never to have analyzed society into its elements. Obvious truths cannot, of course, escape him. He must needs recognize, here and there, that the age was cruel, that war was its natural condition, that the Church's labors were in the long run productive of good, that—“it was fortunate for civilization that Innocent the Third possessed the qualifications which enabled him to guide the shattered bark of St. Peter through the tempests and among the rocks—if not always wisely, yet with a resolute spirit, an unswerving purpose, and an unfailing trust that accomplished his mission in the end.”³

Such gifts from Mr. Lea are as much to be suspected as was the Trojan horse coming from the Greeks. He nowhere follows out the course of civilization; in his own field he does not explain the widely different aspects of crusades, of settled trials, of sorcery. He nowhere relates the heavy burdens weighing upon Innocent

¹ Vol. i., 1.

² Index of i., c. xiv. *The Stake*.

³ Vol. i., 128.

the Third quite apart from the destruction of heretics of which, says Mr. Lea, "he never lost sight to the end, amid his endless conflicts with emperors and princes." Even his own pages repeatedly contradict his own assertions. If the Church was mistress of Christendom in alliance with the powerful of the world against the weak, how came these endless conflicts with emperors and princes? If the Church consisted only of Pope and priests, all combined to shear the lambs they were supposed to tend, how came it to pass that the lambs were so eager in following after the shepherds, and that "persecution was unanimously regarded by Europe as necessary and righteous, in spite of the vices and corruption of the ecclesiastical bodies?" Perhaps it is this inextricable confusion of ideas which Mr. Lea wishes to explain by saying that "human impulses and motives are too complex to be analyzed by a single solvent, even in the case of an individual, while here we have to deal with the whole Church in its broadest acceptation, embracing the laity as well as the clergy."¹

Yet, after all that has been said, this book, substantially false in its theological assertions, only accidentally true in its patronizing admissions, everywhere lacking in a systematic exposition of the time which might be as a thread guiding us through all these ages,—at last merits a condemnation severer still, for the unconscionable anecdotes with which it has been loaded down. A tendency to laugh away purity and reverence from the minds of his readers was long since noted in Gibbon. Mr. Lea has surpassed him in the coarse, hard flippancy with which he relates the most scurrilous and salacious anecdotes, wherever there is question of the ministers of religion. Wherever a repressive law has been made against the more disgraceful crimes of mankind—and the clergy are but men, Judas being one of a chosen twelve—he gives it a prominence beyond its real significance when, indeed, he does not altogether mistake its meaning.

Our fourth test is thus applied and answered. This would-be historian presents neither the "physics and politics" nor even the religion of the Middle Ages; that is, he has missed the elements

¹ Vol. i., 208, 224.

² It is well to say a word here of one of Mr. Lea's former attempts at history—the very dirty treatise on *Sacerdotal Celibacy*. It is quoted as authority by such enemies of the Church as the Protestant Bishop A. Cleveland Coxe (in his recent *Baldwin Lectures*). In it Mr. Lea cites even late decrees, which we should naturally suppose were understood by their authors and, at least, by some few living theologians. But no! Mr. Lea, who can officiously interpret the Catholic hierarchy of past ages, is quite capable of school-mastering the Rome of the present. To speak seriously, he has, throughout his work,—

1st. Regularly misunderstood the occasion of publishing such decrees;

2d. He has nowhere understood their practical meaning, application, or result.

of the problem he sets himself to solve. His pretended competence from his researches into the jurisprudence of the age will not stand a better examination. Canon law is largely built up from theological elements, and Mr. Lea has not understood the meaning of the theological terms he uses. What idea, then, could he form of the real meaning of the laws in question? In the face of canons and canonists he declares the crime the Inquisition "sought to suppress was a purely mental one," and that "faith was not to be kept with heretics."¹ He has no idea of a united Christendom. What, then, can he know of a jurisprudence whose aim it was to preserve this union intact? He declares that the jurisprudence of a given period presents without disguise its aspirations. And he has not made himself acquainted with the aspirations of an age rooted in Catholic piety! Mr. John Morley notes that there would be some right moral point for viewing international transactions "if independent communities actually formed one stable and settled family."² Such a view of them was certainly acted on by the founder of the Inquisition; but Mr. Lea "declines to view their morality at all." Perhaps he is too much taken up with the immorality of the individual transactions, from which he draws trivial anecdotes to adorn his pages.

Our fifth test was to examine the pretensions of this new work to historical research. Wealth and the leisure of fifteen years, which its announcement allows us to suppose in the author, must necessarily have some result. So far, however, Mr. Lea's boasted access to historic material has not given the student of history the chief satisfaction he has a right to expect. He has neither indexed nor clearly indicated it for us in his confused references, where Popes and Councils too often find strange bedfellows in wandering minstrels and chroniclers of scandal to help the student seriously in his own researches. After a careful examination we are even in doubt how far much of this material is taken at first hand. If we are wrong, then Mr. Lea has often been in the near neighborhood of much real truth, as well as of much falsehood valuable for his own purpose, without recognizing it. This may, perhaps, arise from his utter incompetence to deal with the sources—the technical *Fontes*—of the canon law. We cannot, of course, accuse him of wilfully neglecting the literature of the popular piety of the age; we are obliged to conclude that his ignorance of the Catholic faith led him away from it. But along the lines where he should be best fitted to gather we find strange omissions that lead us to suspect

¹ Vol. i., 228, 400; ii., 468.

² Critical Miscellanies, i., Carlyle.

the fulness of his material, even within the narrow bounds he has set himself.¹

Mr. Lea's method of writing history properly demands nothing more nor less than the whole existing material of the age of which he writes. It is a dangerous method to follow. Without this completeness of material every judgment of the writer must be subjected to doubt; for merely to illustrate conclusions classified ready to hand is very different from proving them. A similar method has been followed, satisfactorily in the main, by Janssen, the great Catholic historian of the "Reformation," and by Taine, the infidel historian of the French Revolution. But in both cases the materials they have gathered may be considered complete; this is their chief defence against the attacks on their conclusions. We have seen that Mr. Lea's material, on account of his prejudice and his ignorance, could not be complete with regard to contemporary documents.

As to modern workers in the same field there is one class whom he so persistently neglects that we cannot acquit him of design. A brilliant succession of Catholic students—especially in Germany, the land of erudition for the Catholic as well as for the Protestant and infidel—has devoted much time and critical attention to the history of the Middle Ages. Their works have met with general acceptance and respect, even among the enemies of their faith; and they have written as men trained in that theology and canon law which Mr. Lea judges so frequently, and so very frequently does not understand. That he has seen the works of one or more of them is shown by a chance citation—and most unworthy it is—from Hefele's gigantic *History of the Councils*.² On the most important points Mr. Lea has apparently not dreamed of consulting it; he prefers sneering at De Maistre's popular letters, and holding out Rodrigo as "the latest Catholic historian of the Inquisition!"³ The works of Cardinal Hergenroether on this period were published long since. Mr. Lea must know him as the Prefect of the Vatican Archives and the editor of some of the most important *Regesta* of the Popes, but he has not found it worth his while to notice him. Yet there exists an English translation of a small two-volume work of this author, which, almost literally, contains an answer to every attack made on the fair fame of the Church in Mr. Lea's three bulky tomes. As our own purpose has been not to answer the history, but to

¹ V. g. the Bollandist De Smedt's researches in the early history of the mediæval Manichæans.

² II., 363, note, on the safe-conduct of John Huss, treated with Mr. Lea's wonted contempt for Popes' and Councils' explanation of their own actions; also, III., 319.

³ I., 540; also I., 300, note on the Abbé Douais, whose brilliant researches he uses, without attending to his conclusions.

review the historian from his own pages, we are glad to be able to refer to it all those who seek a competent dealing with the burning questions so imprudently stirred up by Mr. Lea.¹

We have but one more question to ask of him. He quotes many saints and great men, of whom he himself says that they were upright and "types, in their several ways, of which humanity in any age might well be proud."² They were on the spot, and might reasonably judge for themselves. Why are they all against him, so remote in age and mind?

It is true, he quotes them promiscuously, after his method of anecdote-telling, which can never prove anything, but at most illustrates. In a single page, to establish one of his points, he brings forward men as widely separated in time and place as would be in politics Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, and Giuseppe Garibaldi. One would hardly think the mere juxtaposition of these names could prove anything by itself as to the advancement or the decline of political freedom. But besides dealing thus strangely with the better class of his witnesses, Mr. Lea too often misunderstands the bearing of their testimony. Their denunciations of the world, the flesh, and the devil scandalize him. Has he never heard that far-seeing men at the present day look askance, or even break forth in terrible denunciation, at nineteenth-century evils? And would he have the history of our age decided solely on such testimony? The morality of American women, for example, by the book called "Satan in Society"? Even the tolerant Mr. Bagehot says that the Malthusian remedies against the supposed over-increase of population in civilized countries cannot well be discussed—*virginibus puerisque*. From Mr. Lea's anecdotes, we judge this canon would hardly deter him; but even he should be able to imagine what St. Bernard would have said of the political economists of our day.

Now that our tests have been sufficiently applied to Mr. Lea's work, we may give a distinct answer to the questions presented to us from the start concerning his true worth as a teacher of history. It has not been our purpose to review, much less to disentangle and place in their true light and order, the thousands of assertions and instances which he has thrown together in these bulky volumes.

First, then, Mr. Lea cannot have sought the truth himself—impartially—for he has gone forth to his work in all the narrowness of a sectarian and colonial village, industriously noting down whatever is unusual or repellant to his own mental habits, whatever is grotesque, and—we must say—whatever is lascivious. He is so offensive a partisan that he resembles nothing so much as a

¹ "Catholic Church and Christian State." London, Burns & Oates, 1876.

² I., 234.

party pamphleteer. This has made it possible for him to introduce into what he calls *A History of the Inquisition* direct attacks on the faith of the Church, a defence of John Huss, with tracts on witchcraft, on intellect and faith, on the beatific vision, and the Immaculate Conception. The suppression of the Templars is lugged forward at great length, and the religious orders, in their ideal and their practice, are flouted systematically. Whatever such a work may be, it is certainly in no real sense history; nor is it much concerned with the truth about the celebrated tribunals of the Inquisition. Very evidently the design of the author from the beginning has been to make a running attack all along the Church's history in the Middle Ages, not forgetting the apostolic times and our own day. He declares it to have been "the teaching of the Church that a man might lead a life of unimaginable crime and at any moment purchase his salvation." Of the practical piety of St. Augustine and his age he can only say that it was a "triumphant theurgy setting to work with remorseless vigor to extirpate its fallen rival," namely, the pagan gods. To Mr. Lea it "might appear a truism to say that belief is independent of volition;" to Jesus Christ voluntary belief appeared a condition of salvation.¹ In sum, it is hard to say whether Mr. Lea's work is not directed against the Christian religion itself.²

Secondly, Mr. Lea has undoubtedly had many sources for his historical investigation ready to his hand. He notably makes use of what has been gathered together by such bitter enemies of the Church as the two Moliniers in France, Tocco and Villari in Italy, and other shining lights of what has been styled the Masonic and anti-Christian school.³ Why he has so utterly neglected all the sources which might have given him an insight into the spiritual and higher life of the ages he so ill-treats we have no means of explaining. We think we can understand his impatience of the ordinary Catholic defences of those times; but what can be said of his policy of silence toward the conclusions of more scientific Catholic students?

As to his method of writing, Mr. Lea certainly throws no small quantity of dust from all imaginable authorities into our eyes; but where, in the midst of his arbitrary and one-sided assertions and wilfully chosen instances, can the reader find the means of checking off the judgments proposed to his acceptance? From Mr. Lea's volumes alone he could scarcely know that such judgments had ever validly been called in doubt. In saying this we do not accuse Mr. Lea of being controversial in manner; he is simply and everywhere assertive. He may be sure that serious historical

¹ St. Mark, xvi., 16.

² Vol. iii., pp. 477, 395, 573.

³ For A. Molinier, see former article, October, 1887, page 702, following Douais.

students of every kind will take his assertions for what they are worth.

Finally, Mr. Lea has proved one thing beyond all dispute: he is incompetent to deal with the material he has gathered. This material is largely theological, and he is innocent of theology. It is bound up with the applications of the canon law, and his boasted jurisprudence does not reach so far as to understand the elementary terms used by the canonists. His subject properly exemplifies the social movement of the entire civilized world during many ages, and apparently Mr. Lea's only knowledge of the course of civilization consists in certain lofty general formulas, borrowed for the most part, concerning the evolution of humanity. Of any analysis of the many elements, religious, political, social and physical, which concur in the development of the human race, of any effort to follow out their activity and assign to each its own special part in the total result, Mr. Lea is quite guiltless. History is to him an immense pudding, where all must be taken in the lump with the exception of the unsavory anecdotes which he pulls out in triumph like so many plums. Even a pudding has an order of top and bottom and sides. The order of heaping together historical material round the commonplaces of the subject is somewhat similar—undigested and indigestible. It is the order in which Mr. Lea places before the student this most disappointing and most exasperating of recent attempts at history. "Quarrels over Burials," "Sexual Disorders," "Clerical Immunity," "The Monastic Orders," "Simony," "Demoralization of the Church," "Morals of the Laity," "Materials for the Improvement of Humanity;"—are two specimen groups of titles taken at random from the first and last chapters of the entire work. True, all this can easily be made blazing with scandal, and then—such plums of nasty detail! But is such competency the result of any trustworthy historical science?

Last of all, our tests have come to naught if they do not forcibly remind the reader that not only speculative history is sinned against in these three volumes, and the men of a past age grievously misrepresented, but, practically, a serious injustice is thus done to a large body of his fellow-citizens. Mr. Lea has done all that in him lies to revive and to perpetuate the Inquisition mythology. His volumes will not live except as they support partisan attacks on the great Roman Catholic Church. Non-Catholics will judge whether this is in the interests of truth. We Catholics may feel some natural distress at the renewed odium thus cast upon us; but by this time we are used to this kind of religious persecution. We are not ashamed of our brethren of the Middle Ages, whenever they were faithful to our Holy Mother the Church. She was infallible then as now. It is our own beloved Pius IX. who canonized St. Peter Arbues, the third of their martyred Inquisitors.

ART AND RELIGION.

Annual Lecture of Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy. London.

The Decline of Art. By Francis Turner Palgrave, Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

THE literature of the fine arts is written and being written in several languages and many books. In recent years no theme has been more popular or prolific. Numerous quarto, royal octavo and octavo volumes (generally illustrated) on the subject may be found in all the large libraries, and every year adds to the number. The higher class of periodicals give it as much space as they give serious social and political questions. Indeed the fine arts have periodicals of their own, almost always enriched with engravings of every kind which are veritable *livraisons de luxe*, exquisite productions of the arts of the engraver and printer. The biographical branch of the subject is also cultivated with assiduity. If the movement goes on, and there are no signs of its slackening, the "lives of the painters" will soon outnumber the "lives of the poets," and both together the "lives of the saints"; for though art is dying (so we are told and we fear truly told), artists and poets are multiplying. Their name to-day is legion, and to-morrow, or at least in the proximate future, will be legions on legions, while the saints are fewer and fewer in each generation.

All this would imply that the fine arts occupy an important place in modern thought and enlist in their service a large share of the activities of civilized man. Such indeed is the case. Art schools, academies of art, picture galleries, art museums, etc., exist in the principal cities of Europe and America. With us these institutions are of recent origin and, of course, much inferior to those in the European capitals; but they are rapidly increasing in numbers and especially in the quantity and quality of their contents. There are also annual exhibitions of the new works of the studios, while extraordinary occasions are signalized by extraordinary displays. An exhibition or exposition of arts and manufactures is the chief means now employed to celebrate the anniversary of a great event in the history of a nation. The Philadelphia exposition was the chief feature of our centennial *fête* of the Declaration of Independence. Republican France intends in the same way to celebrate next year the hundredth anniversary of the sack of the Bastille, though a black fast in sackcloth and ashes would be a more appro-

priate commemoration. We need not argue that the great attraction of these immense shows are the picture galleries, and consequently that the managers and artists make every effort to give them all the splendor and *éclat* possible. The desire to behold works of art—a desire which has been much stimulated by the exhibitions—is well-nigh universal, and the desire to possess them a passion with the wealthy and refined. The production of them, of paintings especially, has naturally assumed enormous proportions. If quantity could compensate for lack of quality, we should hear no lamentations over the decadence of art. There are probably a hundred thousand pictures turned off the easel every year in Europe and America. These productions are not perishable in the sense that furniture, machinery and even houses are perishable, and therefore are increasing beyond computation. Not a few of them sell for high prices and some of them for very large sums—tens and tens of thousands. Modern French pictures have sold at auction in New York for forty, fifty, sixty and seventy thousand dollars. Ownership of those costly canvases is the badge of the millionaire. In these days, Art for the most part ministers to luxury, fashion and sensuality, and her guerdon is gold. She has forgotten her native language and the glory of her youth, and serves gladly in the temples of Mammon and the Cyprian Venus; but though her hand has not lost its cunning, her soul has lost its inspiration. This brings up the question we propose to discuss: Is there a vital and necessary relation between religion and art?

As both are as old as historic time, and as relics of both are found in many countries and of many epochs, the data for answering the question are not wanting. Indeed most of those relics or remains, those shattered but message-laden monuments of antiquity, seem to show that the two sprang up together in unity and indivisibility, and long remained inseparable. Prehistoric and historic ruins from China to Peru, and from Egypt to Thibet, are temple ruins or mausoleums. The mausoleum was also a temple and the temple a mausoleum. The buildings erected in honor of the gods, and consecrated to their worship, are the only memorials left of many vanished empires, forgotten dynasties and dead though not forgotten theocracies—the only works of man in far distant ages which time has not been able utterly to destroy, as if the tutelary deities, when they abandoned them, cast upon them as a parting gift the last ray of their own immortality.

The genesis of art is found in man's consciousness of the supernatural, and the irresistible impulse of his spiritual nature to give it objective reality, that is, to give it external form and expression.

We are told of the reindeer etching of the prehistoric man on a bone, and of Giotto, when a shepherd boy, drawing sheep on a rock; but all antiquity testifies that the temple or the tomb (the latter was always a shrine and the former almost always a mausoleum) was the first architectural creation and the birth-place of sculpture and painting. Nor is the evidence less strong in favor of poetry and music being primitive and spontaneous expressions of religious feeling and adoration. The æsthetic principle is twin-rooted with the sense of the supernatural—that profoundest as well as loftiest sentiment of the soul. In the sphere of the supernatural the arts have reached their highest perfection. In their strivings to express the supernatural they have created that beauty in divers forms which is the most precious and delightful of the works of man, and is worshipped even by those who scoff at the spiritual ideas of which it is the glorious rhythmic utterance in the audible, or the bright consummate flower of expression in the visible world. The beauty of holiness preceded and produced the holiness of beauty. Of old, and for ages, art was the Iris-winged messenger between the visible and invisible world—the chosen interpreter of the oracles and ordinances of Heaven, and the bearer in return of prayer and the odor of sacrifice. Hence in the ancient world all great art was religious art, pure and simple, or heroic art, which was a blending of the natural and supernatural—the human and divine. In the beginning the sky-born Muses sang of Zeus the Supreme, and next of the inferior deities. Later they swept the chords of the heroic harp and breathed through the shepherd's reed. They told of gods, demigods, heroes and fair women whose bright eyes set fire to walled cities; of the joys and vicissitudes of battle, the glory of victory, the dark decrees of the inexorable fates; of the blessings as well as the tragedies of life, the tender as well as the warlike virtues, and lastly of the golden age and sylvan pomp of Arcadia, and the calm pleasures of the pastoral life. The poet, being of their kindred and in communion with them, was able to see and hear them one summer night as the "glorified train," led by Apollo, streamed over Thesalian hills and vales, on their way to Olympus their "endless abode":

"Whose praise do they mention?
Of what is it told?
What will be for ever,
What was from of old,

"First hymn the Father
Of all things and then
The rest of immortals,
The actions of men,

"The day in his hotness,
The strife with the palm,
The night in her silence,
The stars in their calm,"¹

The celestial sisterhood are heard and seen no more; their voices are hushed, but the goat-footed Pan, who is not dead but very much alive, is still piping with great vigor, and the songs that we hear are the songs of the sirens and the satyrs, who continue to load the air with bacchanalian minstrelsy and erotic madrigals.

The decadence of ART, that is, of the arts in space, or arts of design, to which we shall now confine ourselves, is confessed on all sides with much speculation and eloquent discourse as to the cause or causes of it. Indeed, the investigation of the influences and circumstances which brought the arts to perfection in ancient and mediæval times, and of those adverse influences "rigged with curses dark" which wrought their downfall in both periods, especially those which blighted Italian painting and sculpture, constitute no small part of the volume of art literature. One of the essays cited above, Professor Palgrave's, deals with the whole subject, but only in a cursory way, and several of his generalizations are open to criticism. The other, the last annual lecture of the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Frederick Leighton, confines itself to Italian painting, and his *rationale* of the subject embraces questions which he does not answer, though he asks them, but doubtless which he will answer, or attempt to answer, on a future occasion. In many respects we think he shoots wide of the mark. Meantime we proceed to offer an answer to the main question on these pages because, to the best of our knowledge, no satisfactory elucidation of it is to be found in English art literature, which, for the most part, is vitiated by anti-Catholic prejudice.

We may say at the outset that the authorities all agree that religion has had a great deal to do with the development of the fine arts—a mere truism, by the way—but none of them, as far as we know, give it the paramount place in the catagory of æsthetic motives, nor dwell in any detail on the purposes which called its creative energies into play, now in one field, now in another, in the wide domain of art. Some tell us that a happy conjunction of circumstances, together with qualities of race, accounts for those marvels of architecture, sculpture and painting which signalized the age of Pericles, and Phidias, and their immediate successors, and made Athens and Olympia the most beautiful cities in the world. Similar reasons are given for a still more wonderful

¹ Matthew Arnold.—Apollo Musagetes.

phenomenon—an ampler revelation of the beautiful—Italian painting and Gothic architecture of the prime. These explanations are insufficient and quite superficial. The conditions necessary to the production of great works of art are many. First of all comes the artist himself, of whom we must not only postulate genius, but genius quickened by fervid feeling and exalted by sublime ideals. Of necessity he breathes the spirit of the age, which is the bequest of all the past to the present, and which is as inevitable in its workings as the law of gravitation. If great ideas are in the air, he inhales them and reproduces them, with the element of his own personality added. If that spirit be inimical to high art, that is, to religious and ethic creations, as it undoubtedly is in these days, the light within him burns low and his magistral hand is crippled. Then genius is the gift of nature to the individual, not to the generation or the race, although at certain rare epochs it is lavishly bestowed on groups of contemporaries, while at other times it is not vouchsafed at all. The tide of poetic inspiration ebbs and flows. Other conditions may be mentioned. The traditions of the schools handed down from one master to another, until the professional secrets thus communicated became the property of the whole profession; the severe technical training which the old apprenticeship system enforced and which compelled the apprentice to travel from city to city to perfect himself in his art. To these must be added the peace and prosperity of the land, and the patronage of princes, nobles and ecclesiastics of all ranks, of which the modern equivalent is the indiscriminate but profuse patronage of the public under the law of supply and demand. Most of the treasures of the museums have been taken from churches and monasteries, and these works have lost much of their meaning and power by their removal. Torn from the buildings to which they belonged, and from associations which hallowed their charms, and having no relation with their present surroundings but a numerical one, they suggest, in the vulgar light in which they are now seen, nothing so much as Samson making sport for the Philistines.

We are told that Evolution, including the "Reformation," is the great irresistible cause of the decadence of the fine arts, which movement of decadence has been going on ever since the Parthenon was rebuilt and the Acropolis and Athens restored, after the Persian wars, with the exception of a season of reaction or revival towards the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern history. The Greeks were the chosen race to endow the human family with beauty in art, and the Italians, who were partly of their blood and taught by them, took up the mission at a later day, but carried the torch only for a space before it died out in their hands. The Greeks, directly or indirectly, were all in all! Christian art

was but the after-glow of a sunken sun, and the "Reformation" simply imparted velocity to the downward movement which had begun two thousand years before. We venture to say, contrary to all this, that art was flourishing and advancing when struck with blight by the "Reformation," and that the sole cause of its progressive decline and degradation since is not evolution or dearth of genius or want of technical skill, but PROTESTANTISM.

If all monumental art in Egypt, Greece, Babylon, Nineveh, Phœnicia and the regions sacred to Mohammed, Buddha, Brahma, and Confucius in the east, and to the deities of the Toltecs, Aztecs and Peruvians in the west, was an expression of the supernatural or heroic, all Christian art, with exceptions too slight to notice, down to the "RENAISSANCE," was purely religious. Christian painting and sculpture began in the Catacombs, and this fact is one of great significance. Although it is not questioned, we may as well cite De Rossi, the first of Roman archæologists, as the latest authority for it, with whose name we will couple that of Rio, author of the celebrated work, "*De La Poésie Chrétienne*." When God, in the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, appeared among men, the commandment forbidding the making of images and human likenesses for religious purposes ceased to have the prohibitive character it possessed under the Old Law. In fact, it was practically repealed, like much else in the Jewish system. Symbolic and emblematic representations of the mysteries and miracles of the New Faith began to appear round her altars, and especially on the walls and ceilings of the cubicles in the Catacombs as soon as the persecuted Christians began to bury their martyrs, hold their prayer meetings and celebrate the eucharistic and other sacramental rites in those subterranean cemeteries and chapels. Nor were the wall-paintings limited to the representation of symbols and signs. The SAVIOUR appears in various guise, sometimes as a shepherd wearing a Phrygian cap and carrying a lamb on his shoulders, sometimes as Orpheus, playing on the lyre and taming savage beasts, sometimes with a rod in his hand restoring Lazarus to life or performing some other miracle. The Blessed Virgin with the Infant Saviour, and Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Saints and Angels are depicted without disguise. The parallelism of the Old and New Testaments—the figure and the thing which it pre-figured—the type and ante-type are also delineated. In fact, every path which sacred art pursued in after ages was opened up in the Catacombs, and all the great themes, with the exception of one or two, were treated there long before the first ecclesiastical basilica was decorated with mosaic paintings. The principal exception was the Crucifixion, which was too solemn or awful a subject for the early Christians. The veil of centuries had to be thrown over

that stupendous event before it could be approached from the side of art.

The sculptures found in the Catacombs and other cemeteries, and in the burial vaults in the precincts of St. Paul's and St. Peter's, correspond in subject and treatment to the frescos. The sarcophagi, of which a considerable number have been disinterred, are covered with reliefs, representing, for the most part, scenes and personages in sacred history. The statuary of the Catacombs, of which but little has been recovered, is of the same character. The statues of the Good Shepherd and of St. Hyppolytus in the Lateran museum may be mentioned as the best specimens. These precious sepulchral monuments and remains, as well as the sepulchral inscriptions on the marble fragments of the tombs, and a thousand objects of Christian archæology, such as terra cotta lamps, glass chalices, etc., are housed in the Lateran and Kircher museums and in the crypt of St. Peter's, where they give ocular proof that the primitive Christians had no antipathy even to "graven images," and that hieratic writing on stone and hieratic art on stone were each the complement of the other.

Thus the relation between Christianity and Art dates from the earliest days of the former. When our HOLY RELIGION emerged from her hidden sanctuaries into the light of day in the time of Constantine, her handmaid, Art, accompanied her and shared her prosperity and proclaimed her triumph in many a noble monument. New altars rose on the crests of the Seven Hills, and on the spots sanctified by the blood of the martyrs. The form of the pagan temple was not suitable for the new system of worship; that of the basilica was, for it afforded accommodation to the public. The temple was constructed for the convenience of the priests, augurs and magistrates; the CHURCH, which opened wide its portals and invited the laity to assist at the sacred ceremonies and participate in the sacrament of the altar, required the broader plan of the hall of justice and market-house. The new basilicas were majestic structures of large dimensions. Their inner walls and arches soon began to glow with pictorial compositions in glass mosaics of the same purport as the catacomb paintings and sculptures. Mosaic painting is the most enduring form of pictorial art, and lasts as long as the walls on which it glistens. Soon the vast interiors exhibited a panorama of sacred history—a luminous unfolding of the successive scenes, events and characters of the wondrous drama of the doom and destiny of the human race from creation down. Without this epic splendor, this radiant symbolism, this imperial robe of many shining colors, the Church were an unfinished and unfurnished house—the Spouse of Christ were without her wedding garment. The craft of the mosaicist was no

new one, but the new religion infused new life into it and elevated it in a literal as well as a moral sense. It was lifted from the floor to wall and arch. Hitherto it had been employed almost exclusively as a decorative pavement for the Roman villas, palaces and baths; but now, cubes of dyed glass of every shade and tint were substituted for the dull tesserae in which the floor designs were executed; and walls and entablature, apse, arch and dome—the whole rotunda of the baptistery, the vast rectangular area of the basilica, were clothed with spacious compositions of grand design, in the new brilliant material.

It soon became apparent that the form of the basilica as a sacred edifice demanded modification. Transepts must be added to realize the figure of the cross and make that type the fundamental one in all church architecture—an idea that has been fully realized. The altar was a new feature, and the most important of all. It was the centre of the system, the heart of the organism, as it were, of which the lofty roof was but the canopy. The church was the House of God in no metaphorical or hyperbolic sense. He dwelt there visibly, though in mystery as in the darkness of excessive light. The altar was His throne and special place of abode. His oracles, in which there was no ambiguity, were delivered from the amboes that rose, the one on the right side, the other on the left. The winged emblems of the four evangelists looked down on the readers of the gospels and epistles,—Oh! you whom He has called and chosen, to whom He has promised everlasting life in the mansions of His Father, whom He feeds from that altar with the “bread of life” which is Himself, build Him a tabernacle like that which Peter proposed to build on Mount Tabor. Array and adorn it, clothe it and crown it with all the magnificence, splendor and beauty your genius, your skill and your earthly riches can compass. From of old you know the appropriate elements to use. Let precious stones and gold and silver and ivory be employed. Let the colors be purple, scarlet, blue and orange. Let chalice, pyx and paten, lamp and candelabrum, crozier and mitre be studded with diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, and further enriched with figured representations of divine persons and things. Let the sacrificial robes of the priest be of purple and fine linen and gold embroidered tissues from the Orient and flowered silks from the looms of Greece and Sicily and far Cathay. Let stole and cope and chasuble be also sown with gems, and shimmer and shine as he moves in front of that tabernacle celebrating the august mystery of the Mass. Let the *TE DEUM* and *MAGNIFICAT*, in Ambrosian chant, accompanied by “flute and soft recorder,” rise through the thick mist of incense to the echoing rafters, filling every soul with gladness. And to crown all, let the majestic

figure of the Saviour, with the golden nimbus round His head and His right hand uplifted in benediction, overshadow priest and altar like a cloud of fire. So it was, "and the House of the Lord was filled with Glory of the Lord."

The churches were thus great repositories of art work, in one sense like our modern museums, but in many respects very different, for every picture, statue or other thing in the former was placed in relationship with every other, so as to give unity to the whole, while each owed much of its significance and impressiveness to its situation and surroundings. Very many of the productions in which the churches abounded were *ex-voto* offerings. No offering was more acceptable to the patron saint than a picture of him or her, subscribed with a prayer for his or her intercession. No memorial of a deceased parent or child, husband or wife, was so much esteemed as a mortuary chapel, or at least a statue or a picture. The CHURCH was the nursery of all kinds of artists, because it was the patron of all kinds of art. Not merely the architect, the sculptor and the painter were in requisition, but the workers in metals and glass, the wood carver, the enameler, the illuminator, the musician and musical instrument maker, and not the last or least, the lace makers, embroiderers and tapestry weavers. The works of the needle and the loom—what may be called the feminine arts—took rank with the works of the goldsmith, the enameler and the mosaicist, and justly retain that rank.

The primary purpose of this infinite art exuberance was not merely to please the eye and ear or attract the crowd, but to glorify God, and next, to honor the Blessed Virgin and saints, instruct the laity, touch all hearts with sentiments of piety and devotion, and especially to strike the souls of sinners with the terrors of Judgment, Purgatory and Hell. But æsthetic considerations were not overlooked. On the contrary, they had great weight, and in many instances were supreme, as the following inscription on an *ex-voto* in St. Clement's would indicate: "That this picture may outshine the rest in beauty, behold the priest, Leo, studied to compass it!" The artist worked as he had been taught in conformity with the æsthetic canon which was of Pagan origin, but the ecclesiastics who ordered the work (the priest himself was often the artist) and under whose superintendence it was carried on, took good care that he also conformed to the sacred canon.¹ With them,

¹ All through the Christian epochs down to the modern times a great many ecclesiastics of all ranks were artists. We quote the following from Rio, "Formes de l'Art—Peinture": "L'alliance des hautes dignités ecclésiastiques avec la prééminence dans le culte des beaux-arts fut encore plus fréquente dans le onzième siècle, époque d'activité redoublée pour les imaginations que l'attente de la fin du monde avoit engourdis. Heldric et Adélard, l'un Abbé de St. Germain d'Auxerre, l'autre Abbé de

probably, beauty *qua* beauty was but the secondary motive. They were intent on higher things, thus pluming ART and preparing her way for higher flights than any she had yet achieved. The artist may, and, it is earnestly hoped, will express the new ideas with all the brilliancy, grace and elevation that he may, but he must in no degree depart from the traditions of the Church, nor reject the ethical standards or physical types that have grown up in her bosom. There was much wholesome restraint and reticence in early Christian art, owing to the contiguity in time and place of idolatry and the irreverence and profanity of the Roman populace and other Pagan communities. The morbid fear of idolatry which gave rise to the Iconoclasts—a sect which in after times inflicted great damage on the CHURCH and irreparable disasters on ART, was not felt in the Apostolic age. But of that hereafter.

The rapid decline of the Rome of the Cæsars involved the decline of Roman art. Paganism as a vital form of worship had virtually died out, and so had the old Roman virtues. An era of military tyranny and violence set in, and worse evils followed. The city and social life, from the highest to the lowest, were inundated by a flood of inexpressible corruption, licentiousness and depravity. The last breath of poetic inspiration had mingled with the air. Technique fell away. This is plainly visible in works still extant. But though technique was failing, the Christian ideals, or rather the types and figures which represented them, continued to grow in number and ethical power. In fact a new style of pictorial art, which gave promise of a vigorous life, appeared at this time. Later, when Rome became the prey of Goth and Vandal; when the Western Empire was overthrown, and ruin marked Italy for its own, nothing remained firmly standing and broadly visible, above the succession of cataclysms, but the Church. It was now the sole sanctuary of art, which fled before the face of the barbarians and took refuge, with what remained of classic culture and literature, in the cloisters. The Popes, always the guardians of arts and letters, were able to save the basilicas and some of the older buildings from the general wreck. Power and virtue went out from their right hand and the outstretched fingers of their right hand, and checked the architects of ruin. To the pontiffs we are indebted for such memorials of ancient and early Christian Rome as have escaped the thousand years of catastrophes from Alaric to the Connétable de Bourbon.

Passing by the revival in Ravenna under the Exarchate and the Arian Goths, with the acknowledgment that the church mosaics

St. Tron, étaient célèbres de leur temps comme peintres de miniatures, et ses fonctions épiscopales n'empêchaient pas Saint Berword, évêque d' Hildesheim, de peindre lui-même les murs et les plafonds de son église et de former des élèves."

there surpass all others in magnificence, if not in beauty, and outnumber those in Rome itself, we find that the next great epoch in the history of art was ushered in by the edict of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian against the "worship of images." An iconoclastic taint, contracted originally from the synagogue, had long infected the Eastern Church; but it was not until Leo ascended the throne that it became the policy of the State, and took the shape of a formidable persecution. Mohammedanism had rapidly risen to glory and dominion in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Northern Africa and Spain. The ominous shadow of the Prophet fell broadly on Europe, as well as on Asia and Africa, and spreading westward threatened to wrap the Christian world in darkness. The Caliphate was a conquering and seemingly irresistible power, that had subjugated in one brief century various kingdoms, tribes and tongues, and now ruled an empire nearly as extensive and populous as the Roman in its palmy day. The conquest of Europe, with its corollary, the extirpation of Christianity, was the supreme object of Moslem ambition, and this it ostentatiously proclaimed and audaciously attempted. The Moorish power in Spain with its Egyptian and African allies poured its fanatical myriads through the passes of the Pyrenees who, winged "with fiery expedition," never stopped until they watered their horses in the Loire. More than half of France was overrun, and scourged and blasted with fire and sword. His battle-line there, on the plains of Tours, was, however, the high-water mark of the Saracen's power and progress in the west. There he was met by the Franks and their German allies under Charles Martel and driven back with great slaughter. The prestige of invincibility, which hitherto had attached to his banner, and the prestige of Mohammed as *the* Prophet of God, were eclipsed forever in the eyes of the northern nations.

But in the East the Caliph exalted his horn higher than ever. Persia and part of Asia Minor were added to his realm, to be followed later by larger additions in both directions. The wars of Islam were holy wars—a ruthless physical-force propagandism. The destruction of the Infidel, if he refused to be converted, was enjoined by the Koran, and rewarded by the joys of Paradise. Where Mohammed prevailed the churches were despoiled or demolished, or eviscerated of their artistic contents and turned into mosques. The ruins of four thousand religious edifices marked his progress in the Orient. The cross was pulled down and supplanted by his standard, which, "fanned by conquest's crimson wing," waved defiantly in the skies of Asia, Africa and Europe. Bagdad's and Cairo's shrines of fretted gold, but exempt from the hated likeness of living thing, now more than vied with those of Rome and Constantinople.

This terrible propagandism, with its absolute proscription of pictures and statues, profoundly affected opinion among the Greeks. Success is supposed to be the sign of Divine favor, and the worshipers of success belong to every creed and clime. The Moslem triumph gave a new and powerful sanction to the Iconoclasts. The Iconoclastic spirit was abroad; it was the spirit of the age. The fanaticism spread through the Greek world and swayed the untutored mind and dictated the revolutionary policy of the Isaurian. He put all the powers of the State in motion against the clergy and laity who adhered to the ancient practice. His edicts and the bloody enforcement of them vitally affected Byzantine art, and more than art. Then and thus began that conflict which detached Rome and Italy from the empire and developed the schism which ultimately separated the Greek from the Catholic Church. The remote cause of the conflict was doubtless the contrary opinions of the Greek and Latin doctors of the Church on the personal appearance of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin. The latter maintained that they were the most beautiful of human beings, while the former maintained they were insignificant in figure and ugly in face. St. Augustine was the leading champion of the Roman doctrine on this question, but was re-enforced by St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, and also by St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nyssa, of the Eastern Church. St. Cyril, following Tertullian, was the chief exponent of the Byzantine theory—a theory which would have proved fatal to Christian Art if it had not been condemned by Pope Adrian I., who pronounced Jesus Christ the new Adam and perfect in face and form. Evidently the Byzantines were out of line in more things than in the doctrine of the Trinity. But our concern is with the consequences of the artistic feud. Steam, we are told, is susceptible of a triple and a quadruple expansion, and is, therefore, capable of exerting power a third and a fourth time. The proscription of images by the Moslems was the chief cause of the ascendancy which the Iconoclasts at last obtained among the Greeks; and this in turn exercised a pernicious influence on Christian art far beyond the confines of the empire. The emperors were still, in the eyes of men, the greatest and grandest of human figures. Constantinople was the capital of the world, and shone with the blended majesty of Rome and Athens, with the lustre of ancient and contemporary renown. When the imperial government anathematized "image worship" and proceeded to destroy the painting and statuary which had illuminated the churches for ages, the blow resounded far and wide, and was felt as a disaster in the work-shops and art-centres of Italy and Gaul. But Gregory II. and his successors were equal to the crisis, and boldly confronting Leo and his successors in the purple, with all their pomp

and prestige, saved the cause of art by maintaining intact the ideas, usages and traditions of the Roman Church. This victory of the Popes over Iconoclasm and Cæsarism brought about, in the course of time, the greatness of the mediæval Papacy and the mediæval Church, but the immediate influence of the schism on art was a detrimental one. The monumental remains of the period show a rapidly growing degeneracy—a wider and wider departure from the ancient standards. Other causes contributed to this deeper decadence. The tides of barbarian invasion had not ceased to flow. Pagan tribes from beyond the Danube and the Volga and the Scandinavian shores of the Baltic, continued to pour into Europe. The savage Bulgarians and Hungarians, Mongol nations, and the Slavonians, an Arian nation, followed in the steps of the German barbarians, and gathered the gleanings, if gleanings there were, of the field which had been long shorn of the golden harvest of Greek and Roman civilization, or swept, as the case might be, with the besom of destruction. The fiercer Northmen, sea and land robbers, worshippers of Thor and Odin, carried the raven banner through England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and round the shores of the Mediterranean for over two hundred years, proving themselves deadlier enemies of monasteries, churches, and Christianity in general, than the fanatics and nomads of the east. These were what are called the “Dark Ages,” but perhaps they were not quite as dark as they are painted. In the depths of the darkness, such as it was, another form of Christian art sprang up and flourished. In the shelter of the cloister, where it was cherished, it attained to rare excellence. This was the adornment of manuscripts with illuminations and miniature paintings. Like mosaic painting, it was no new invention, for it was known to the Egyptians, as the Book of the Dead in the Turin library shows; but it now received a development far beyond what Egyptians, Greeks or Romans had given it. Christianity exalted and refined whatever it touched. The monasteries had kept alive the embers of ancient learning, and preserved the masterpieces of the Greek and Roman poets, philosophers and historians, which were preserved nowhere else except in Constantinople.

But the Holy Scriptures were their chief treasures, and on these and on Missals, Books of Hours, and kindred works, they lavished a wealth of illustration and ornament of such quality that miniature painting rose to an equal rank with other branches of the pictorial art. The whole cycle of Biblical subjects and “Lives of the Saints” was once more reproduced in brilliant and fascinating colors, on the parchment pages of the chief books of the Old and New Testament, the Mass books, prayer books, hymn books, and all kinds of religious works. The classics were adorned in the

same way, with subjects taken from Greek and Roman mythology and the historical legends of both nations. In these classical illustrations may be discerned the dawns of that mythological revival in art which burst out so luxuriantly in the *cinque cente* and the following century. The illuminations, though of small dimensions, far excelled the mosaics in variety and range of expression. The latter were architectonic in design and effect, and the expression of feeling and emotion was beyond their scope and foreign to their nature. On the other hand, the soul of the cloister-artist, who spent much of his time in meditation and prayer, passed into his work. His purity, his asceticism, his mysticism, were reflected in it. All the noble and tender emotions of the heart, hushed in a divine calm, all the spirituality of the higher life, and of an imagination in habitual communion with the skies, found expression in a goodly number of those monastic productions. One may discern in them the first faint rays of that celestial beauty, the meridian splendor of which beams in Fra Angelico's and Raphael's Madonnas. The uncial letters and majusculæ were such marvellous combinations of curves and colors that caligraphy in the hands of the monastic scribes become also a variety of fine art. The crucifixion as an art theme makes its first appearance in an illumination. Irish miniatures show the pointed arch two hundred years before Abbé Suger of Cluny began to build St. Denis'. Apropos of Ireland, it is impossible to speak of miniature painting without dwelling for a moment on the work of the Irish artists in that line, and in decorative penmanship as exhibited in grotesques, arabesques, borders, majusculæ and uncials. The Irish artists and scribes, often the same persons and in addition workers in gold, silver, bronze, glass and copper, held the foremost place in all branches of the illuminating art during the "Dark Ages," and taught it to the Scots, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, Switzers, Northern Italians, and, in short, all Christian Europe. Many specimens of their illumination work, bright as ever, and displaying a fertility of fancy in the creation of inter-linear combinations and grotesque forms, unrivalled in the whole range of art, and also examples of their unique and inimitable decorated metal work, may be seen in the public collections of Dublin, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Rome. The Irish monks were the principal missionaries of the time to the heathen, and practised art as well as preached the Gospel. It was then that Ireland won the peerless title of the Isle of Saints and her sanctity flowered in art as well as in missionary enterprise and miracle. The development on the æsthetic side was naturally commensurate with the development on the religious side.¹

¹ MARGARET STOKES: *Early Christian Art in Ireland*. Miss Stokes's book (1887) is an invaluable one on the subject of which it treats.

Before quitting the "Dark Ages" let us bear in mind that they bequeathed inestimable legacies to later times. Let us not forget that they synchronised the birth throes of the modern nations and the modern languages, and that the illustrious names of Charlemagne, Alfred, Brian Boroihme and Duns Scotus Erigena belong to them. Along their sombre paths we pass into higher regions, where, though everything is on a grander scale, we find a strong family resemblance to the scenes we have left behind. We enter now on what may be called the world's heroic age. Every nation has its heroic age either in fact or romance, but the mediæval cycle was the actual heroic age of Christendom at large. The thousand years of prophecy had passed, and summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, still returned in regular order. No portents in the skies announced the speedy consummation of the world. The normal condition was one of peace, not of war. Men sowed and reaped, planted and built, started industries and united themselves in communities. The Caliphs were no longer formidable and the Ottoman Sultans had not yet become formidable. The Saxons, Lombards, Danes, Normans, and other Northern nations, following the example of the Franks and Goths, had embraced Christianity, and established settled governments. Political, social and industrial customs and land tenures had solidified into the feudal system, which coincided with the boundaries of the new Romano-Teutonic States, and which was absolute in those immense areas. That system, in conjunction with Christianity, developed a complex and in many respects a noble civilization. Chivalry appeared accompanied by the Muses, "like another sun risen on mid-noon." Woman was idealized and revered partly in honor of her native charms and partly in remembrance of the Virgin Mother of God. Her beauty was celebrated by the harp of the minstrel and the sword and lance of the knight. Tournaments, jousts and "courts of love" were the pastime of kings and queens, lords and ladies. On the serious side the manifestations were infinitely more wonderful. Apparently the heart of man never beat so high. Never was his imagination so creative. There was an outpouring of the divine afflatus unprecedented since the days of the Apostles. Miracles ceased to be wonders; saints and saintly warriors were thick as stars in the sky, and their achievements streamed like meteors in the August night. Poetic inspiration was also at the flood, and poets and trouveres, troubadours and bards of high and low degree, trod the dewy lawns and wandered from bower to hall; singing as they went, and knights-errant, bent on righting wrongs, rode through the land; and, lo! the land itself was Arcadia, and the age after all was not the heroic, but the Golden Age! At least so it seems, for the potent spells of its enchantment descend

from generation to generation, and we see it still through a faery light and the glamour thrown over it by the Wizard of the North.

The period, we may assume, began with the great Hildebrand, Gregory VII., and ended, let us say, with Leo X. What is called the age of the Renaissance—a movement which followed the sun from South to North, and visited one place after another like the spring—finds a place in Italian chronology only, and even there only by figure of speech. The time was really the closing of the mediæval and the beginning of the modern era, between which, no more than between any other two contiguous eras, can a line of demarcation be drawn. The river of time which flows forever cannot be cut in twain. The Mediæval Age was the age of the Gregory already mentioned, of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Catherine and St. Bernardine of Siena, St. Thomas of Canterbury; of Dante, of Cimabue, of Giotto, of the two Pisanos, of Fra Angelico, of Petrarch, the day-star of the Renaissance, of Peter the Hermit, of Innocent III., of St. Dominic, of St. Louis, of the Cid, of the two Alphonsos, of Joan of Arc, of Savonarola, of Chaucer, of Roger Bacon; it was the age of the great monastic and military orders of knights, of the mendicant orders, of the schoolmen, the age when hospitals, schools and universities were founded in large numbers and richly endowed. It was also, as will appear in the sequel, the age of Perugino, of Raphael, of Bramante, of Michael Angelo, of Francia of Bologna, and of Titian of Venetia. Above all it was the age of the Crusades! Then, but never before or since, did whole nations, acting as one, pour out their blood and treasure for ideas, or rather for an idea. Then were performed such feats of valor and heroism as are rivalled only in legendary lore. Then, and never before or since, did the States of Europe constitute one great confederation, recognizing in the person of the Sovereign Pontiff the authorized expositor of the higher law and the appointed international arbitrator.

It was also the age when artists and artisans, following the example of the monastic orders, who had done great things, and were in the zenith of their repute, organized themselves into guilds, which became powerful agencies for the advancement of art and civilization, and which were in a measure religious confraternities, having many features of the monastic system. The glory of those free Masonic brotherhoods and Knights of Labor was not the observance of mysterious ceremonial rites which have lost their meaning, or the promotion of selfish class schemes, but the erection, equipment and adornment of those great civil and religious edifices to which pilgrimages will be made while religion or civilization endures. In those days the master-mason was also architect and sculptor, and often painter, representing in his own person the

several arts of which the cathedral was the embodiment ; and this unity of artistic power in variety, in the mind and hand of the individual, lasted to the time of the great decadence.

Gothic architecture, with the painting and sculpture kindred to it which accompanied it, was the expression in form of this Dædal epoch. The loftiness of its pointed arches and ribbed ceilings, of its shooting spires, pinnacles, finials, triangular gables and massive towers, typified and were made to typify the exalted religious feeling and heroic temper of the time. The cathedral or minster was a translation into stone of the spirit of the age. The vast translucent windows, emblazoned with lustrous images, commanded vistas of heaven, so to speak. The light that carpeted the inter-columnar spaces of the broad nave with "sky robes woven of Iris's woof," and dimly lighted the shadowy aisles, streamed through the glorified bodies of the saints. The painted glass, with its jewel-sheen, reproduced in brighter colors than ever the time-honored familiar scenes and personages of sacred history, now a larger volume. Nor was the painting confined to glass. Every vacant wall-space (there was but little left) was covered either in fresco or mosaic.¹ Nor was even this enough. The new style called imperatively for plastic art, to articulate its ideas, and emphasize its symbolism. The spirit that laid the solid foundation, and soared in spire and tower, generously responded. The building within and without was peopled with marble figures and faces. The stone everywhere started into life, assuming human shape, or burgeoning into leaf, flower and fruit. Grand visages looked out from the corbels, crockets and capitals. Angels' heads, smiling with the exhaustless *naïveté* of childhood, spread their tiny wings continuously along the cornices and mouldings. The richly carved pulpit rested on the backs of lions. The wood-work of the choir and stalls was also covered with carved panels. The domain of church sculpture and painting was extended into the fields of science. The artists passed from the Bible and the Lives of the Saints, from St. Thomas Aquinas and Dante, into allegory and the personification of the virtues and vices, and thence into profane learning. Astronomy especially furnished them with numerous themes. The whole constituted an encyclopædia writ large in signs and figures, and blazing with richest color, for all the sculpture was brightly tinted after the manner of the Greeks. The exterior also teemed with statues and reliefs, the façade especially, and the portals more especially. There all the might of the

¹ Jules Simon says: "La religion Catholique est la seule qui ait parfaitement compris la nécessité d'avertir les âmes et de les arracher à la matière par des signes matériels. Elle ne laisse pas une place dans ses temples sans les couvrir de tableaux, de statues, d'images, de sentences tirées de l'Ecriture, ou d'ex-votos."

mædieval chisel was seen and still may be seen, where the work has escaped the Iconoclasts of the "Reformation" and subsequent revolutions. Immense compositions of the Resurrection and Last Judgment and other scenes in Revelation overhang the doorways and climb the front. And high up on the eaves, where the prince of the powers of the air has dominion, the weird fancy of the north has found a realm which it has peopled with creatures of its own. There, jutting from the wall, squat the monstrous gargoyles—brutish forms of vampires, ghouls, goblins damned and other low-caste denizens of the nether world. They serve the Church as water-spouts, for devils also must serve, however unwillingly, in carrying out the great plan. One other thing was yet wanting. The finished structure yearned for a voice to translate its sublimity into sound, and utter its aspirations in accents commensurate with the architecture, painting and sculpture. The bell-chimes from the tower, sweet and far-reaching though they might be, were not prayer—only a call to prayer. The organ, for centuries the favorite instrument of the sacred choirs, now enlarged its proportions and multiplied its powers. From its size, columnar front and lofty height, it became one of the architectural features of the interior. Vaulted roof and clustered column, and storied wall, and crypt and tomb below soon resounded, matin and vesper, with divine strains—psalms, litanies and hymns. On *fête* days, which were many, when ten thousand voices intoned the *Gloria* or in penitential seasons the *Dies Iræ*, and the stringed instruments and the organ mingled in the song, which rose as on the wings of the winds through the overarching forest of pillars and curved mouldings to the stone ribs of the roof, the symphony of sweet sound was mightier than the mingled anthem of ocean and tempest in Staffa's pillared cave or where the Atlantic breaks in loudest diapason on the basaltic colonnades and cliffs of Antrim.

Once more we see that all the arts harmoniously worked together to produce the effect sought; all united in one "cosmic" expression, if we may be permitted to use the term. The cathedral with all its accessories and contents constituted an organic whole, though adapted to the performance of various functions. In its infinite diversity of detail the Gothic cathedral was a miniature representation or microcosm of heaven, that is, of the heaven of the mediæval imagination. On special occasions, when it was temporarily converted into a theatre, for the performance of the awful tragedy of the Passion, or some other Mystery or Miracle Play, before a rapt and tireless audience, it became a representation of both worlds. Heaven, hell, earth and purgatory were the shifting intermingling scenes of that tremendous and tumultuous drama, which, transcending the boundaries as well as the unities of time

and place, exhibited the Fall and Redemption, and foretold the ultimate condition of the human race, divided into good and bad, in the next world. Needless to add that the *dramatis personæ* included all kinds of supernatural beings. The Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, Lucifer, Beelzebub, etc., trod the boards with Adam, Abraham, Moses, Judas, Elias, St. Peter, Pontius Pilate, etc. There were also, as in the paintings and sculptures, allegorical characters in the plays, and personifications of the virtues and vices. Even God the Father Himself and the Trinity were brought on the stage. Heaven was nearer in those days than in these.

The Parthenon with its Phidian marbles, including the colossal statue of Athene herself; the Temple of Diana in Ephesus; the Hypostyle Hall in Karnac, and other temples in classic lands, have unquestionable claims to beauty and grandeur; but none of them could compare in sublimity or artistic power with such a building as the cathedral of Notre Dame, or that of Rheims, or that of Amiens, or that of St. Ouen in Rouen, or Westminster Abbey, or the cathedrals of Chartres, Cologne, Vienna, Seville, and Milan, or many others in England, France, Germany and Spain. Egyptian architecture is impressive, because of the scale on which it is constructed; but the impression it makes is that of mechanical power and prodigious physical labor, not of mental power. The proportions of Greek architecture are perfection itself, but it loved too much the horizontal line and never rose far from the ground. Gothic architecture soared sublime and shows incomparably more imagination and intellectual energy—more of the vision and faculty divine—more amplitude of plan and plenitude of adornment, and more constructive invention and intrepidity than the Greek. The Egyptian architecture it excels in every quality but mere magnitude, and probably in that, too, if we leave the pyramids out of account. The most poetic testimonial ever raised by man to his Maker, the sublimest prayer ever offered up to heaven, is the mediæval cathedral. Even that arch-enemy of Christianity, Comte, says: "The ideas and feelings of man's moral nature have never found so perfect expression in form as they found in the noble cathedrals of Catholicism."

Gothic architecture had its origin and purest development north of the Alps; but it spread into Italy, where it underwent modifications not congenial to its character. Nevertheless, nothing is more charming than Italian Gothic, impure though it may be. The upper church of St. Francis, in Assisi, was the first in the new style erected in that country, and was the work of a German architect. Assisi, as all authorities now admit, was the fountain-head of that bright river of art and poetry which, for three centuries, impara-

dised northern Italy, and filled churches, convents, palaces, and public buildings with those wonderful paintings, never equalled before or since, and with statues and all kinds of sculptures and other art-work of perhaps equal merit. We will not dwell on these wonderful productions, because many of them are still *en evidence* to prove, as it were, that all eulogy of them is inadequate and vain. Their fame is universal. The new era of mural painting was introduced by Cimabue, who executed several large frescos in the upper church of St. Francis. He was followed and excelled by Giotto, who has left noble monuments of his genius in churches and monasteries all the way from the Arena Chapel in Padua to San Chiara in Naples, but who can be best seen in the upper and lower churches in Assisi. He was preëminently the painter of St. Francis, and full of that inspiration which flowed in ample but varying measure down to the time of Julius the Second and Leo the Tenth. Neither religion nor art long maintained the lofty level of Giotto's day; but they sank and rose together. Apparently, it is not given to man to keep the heights he sometimes reaches. Our limits forbid us to single out either the names or works of even the first magnitude, which shed lustre on the long interval; nor is it necessary, for they are copiously written in art-literature and history. We must stick to our text, which is the dependence of art on religion; and in pursuance of this, we return for a moment to the religious movement originated by St. Francis, and the powerful creative impulse it gave to Italian art.

The preaching and example of that pure, gentle, and heroic spirit kindled the souls of earnest men, not only in the green valleys round Perugia and Assisi, but throughout Italy, and awakened the nations beyond the Alps and the Adriatic. When his majestic shrine arose on that steep eminence, within view of his native city, pictorial art in the form of fresco promptly appeared at it, with new splendor and with the combined merits of the illuminations and the old mosaics. The two currents were now united, and thenceforth flowed on together. Delicacy and variety of expression were added to breadth and dignity of design and largeness of scale. But neither miniature nor mosaic work ceased. On the contrary, miniature painting began to flourish more luxuriantly, until it culminated in the ineffable creations of Fra Angelico and Clovio.

Carried away by the enthusiasm of the Franciscan movement, men and women were but too eager to exchange the world for the higher life of the cloister. Churches, monasteries, oratories rose on all sides. Every altar must have an altar-piece; every chapel must be painted with illustrations of the life and miracles of the

saint to whom it is dedicated. Every refectory must have a picture of the Last Supper. The churches, especially those of Tuscany,—birthplace of modern sculpture—must have statues. Their doors must be of bronze, empaneled with reliefs. The epic, of which our Saviour is the hero, meets our eyes once more on the gates of baptisteries and cathedrals. The marble altar must be carved like the marble pulpit, and enameled if made of metal; and even when the metal is precious, "*materiam superabat opus*" might be written on it. The high altar in St. Mark's, Venice, vouches for this. Necessarily there was a great deal of employment for artists, and emulation and rivalry among them. There was rivalry and emulation between the Franciscans and Dominicans, between the abbots and the bishops, between the secular and the regular clergy. Thus were created and developed both the material and spiritual conditions essential to the maintenance, progress, and perfection of Art. Naturally, technique progressed, until it reached the highest state. Art production of all kinds was a great industry in Florence and other places, and technical skill and the chemistry of colors were so generally understood and practised that when a great genius, like Michael Angelo or Raphael, appeared, he was very soon able to give full expression to his conceptions. New colors were discovered. Chiaroscuro was invented by Paulo Uccello, and perfected by Leonardo Da Vinci. Perspective, aerial and linear, was also invented, or reinvented. Mantegna, if not the founder of geometrical perspective, is the most conspicuous name associated with it; and aerial perspective was an open secret of the studios in the days of Perugino and Francia; and, it is said, began with that same Paulo Uccello, the greatest *naturalist* that preceded Leonardo. Thus, "light and shade," foreshortening, and perspective of both kinds, were brought to a state of perfection unknown to the ancients by the science of successive generations of artists who worked almost exclusively for the Church. In like manner the continual repetition of the ancient themes was productive of nobler designs and compositions, and the individual types approached nearer and nearer to the ideal standard. The Virgin continued to grow more divinely beautiful, and the saints more godlike, as each master strove to surpass his predecessors and contemporaries. Then oil as the medium of the palette-pigments came into use through the Van Eycks, of Bruges, illustrious in sacred art, greatly enhancing the power of the brush and the magic both of color and chiaroscuro. When the great minds of the *cinque cento* appeared in Umbria, Florence, Sienna, Venice, all heaven and happy constellations smiled on them, and the Pontiffs crowned them with wealth and honor. True, the work of Perugino, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Titian, and

their contemporaries and immediate forerunners, was not exclusively religious. The antique had been revived before—but not long before—their advent. Squarcione, full of zeal for antiquity, had collected a museum of antique marbles in Padua, and Montagna, his pupil, painted the triumphs of Julius Cæsar, and other Roman subjects, in the old Roman style. Statues in marble and bronze, and sculptured tombs, had been dug up in various places, and Rome abounded in such subjects, or rather in their fragments and *débris*. The excavations in the Baths of Titus revealed all the secrets of ancient mural painting, and new and beautiful decorative forms, to Raphael. The summer of the Renaissance had come with the fall of Constantinople and the hegira to the west of Byzantine artists and men of letters, who carried with them medals, enamels, illuminations, engraved gems, and manuscripts in Greek, Latin and Arabic. The great wealth of the house of Medici enabled them to gather into Florence much of this artistic and literary spoil, native and foreign, and the City of Flowers became thenceforth the capital of the neo-Paganism and neo-Platonism.

The worship of classic literature and art, and the poetical revival of the classic mythology, produced results that neither Dante nor Petrarch foresaw. The movement carried corruption, egoism, and cynicism into politics, social life, city life, and letters in the higher circles, and tainted the moral atmosphere generally with the heavy odors from the newly opened grave of Paganism,—a system which, in its final stages of decomposition, reeked with a licentiousness so vile that Nemesis had buried it ages ago under the mountain ruins of an empire. Art did not wholly escape the contagion. The immediate effect on it was the glorification of mere physical beauty, especially in the female form, and the rehabilitation of those episodes in mythology which recounted the amours and gallantries of the Olympian deities, and which on that account afforded a choice field for the display of the nude. Jupiter and Danae, Jupiter and Io, Jupiter and Leda, Jupiter and Europa, Pluto and Proserpine, Mars and Venus, Hercules and Omphale, Paris and Helen, Æneas and Dido, nymph and satyr, and a whole cycle of such subjects employed part of the time of the great masters of the Renaissance. These gods and goddesses lived again in all the beauty of the Parthenon marbles, but they were now conceived under the inspiration of the Muse of Comedy, and, of course, were destitute of their pristine sincerity and grandeur. The artists had tasted of the Circean cup of which the princes and nobles had drunk deep, and ministered nothing loth to the fantasy which was all the rage, and which was certainly the most artificial and shadowy *cult* the imagination of man had ever devised. But despite the popularity of goddess and nymph, of the muses and the

graces, religious art maintained its ascendancy. The rulers and the ruling class, the Borgias and the Medici, the Malatestas and the Estes, the Sforzas, the Viscontis and the Gonzagas, the Colonnas, the Cenci, the Orsini, the Savelli,—the men for whom Machiavelli, Pulci and Aretino wrote and Marc Antonio plied the burin, might call for glowing sensual forms in the nude to decorate their chambers, but the churches and abbeys were still the chief patrons of the painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, bronzists, embroiderists, and tapestry weavers. The ethical element still predominated in art and art industries. The juxtaposition of great art and great crime in Italy at this period has given rise to the theory that there is no necessary connection between the former and the moral condition of the people among whom it flourishes. In other words, fine art may be produced in a spiritually degenerate age, and by men of immoral lives. This theory rests on a few superficial generalizations which the study of Italian history dissipates. It is true that artists and poets, like monks and priests, may fall and often do fall from grace; but their youthful inspirations never wholly abandon them, and their manual skill and science remain. True, Raphael and Cæsar Borgia were contemporaries and acquaintances, as the alleged portrait of the latter by the former in the Palazzo Borghese would appear to demonstrate. True statecraft, at that time Cisalpine as well as Transalpine, put falsehood, treachery and assassination in the category of permissible political expedients. True, the festal cup might be loaded with death and the dagger of the bravo might be hired. But these things were confined to narrow spots and few, and to a class numerically small—to the courts of certain dukes and counts, descendants for the most part of condottieri and Ghibelline adventurers whose rule began in violence and robbery. The people comprising the agricultural population, the clergy, the monastic, artistic and industrial associations, were free as yet from the contagion of the *cinque cento*. The poison from above works slowly, though it works surely, through the body politic. The coexistence in time of high-art production and high crime in Italy is no more paradoxical than the coexistence in time of the judicial murders, wholesale spoliation and atrocious tyranny of Henry VIII. and his minions on one side, and the saintly lives and heroic deaths of Sir Thomas More, Fisher and the other martyrs of that reign, lately beatified, on the other side. The holy hills of Umbria were still alive with the fire St. Francis brought down from Heaven. The artists, their ecclesiastical clients, and the people were yet in sympathy. When the artist meditating a great work essayed to climb the highest heaven of invention, and clothe his forms with godlike grandeur or the ideal beauty of the angelic world, he rose on the wings of Faith, and contemptuously spurned

the shadows and the shades of the Pantheon. There is no extravagance in believing that inspiration from the highest source may have sometimes dictated the plan or the design and nerved the master's hand. The idea that religious masterpieces were achieved through special gifts of grace was not unfamiliar then, and does not seem improbable now, though we are all so skeptical. Vittoria Colonna, the noblest woman of her age, thus writes to Michael Angelo: "I had a profound belief that God would grant you a *supernatural faith* to paint this Christ; and I found it so admirable as to exceed all that I had been able to imagine: and, animated by your miracles, I wished for that which I now see marvellously fulfilled, that is, that it should be perfect in every respect; more could not be desired or even hoped for. I must tell you that I rejoice that the angel on the right hand is so beautiful, for the Archangel Michael will place you, Michael Angelo, on the right of the Lord on that new day." Michael Angelo himself, anticipating Milton's celebrated saying about the poet, declares "that in order to represent our Lord it is not only necessary for the artist to be a man of genius, but also holy, so that he may be inspired by the Holy Spirit." These ideas were not confined to him or his illustrious correspondent. They were in fact traditional; and not he only, but many another great architect, sculptor, and painter, could say with the Psalmist, "O Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy House, and the place where Thy glory dwelleth!" Not a few of the most celebrated artists of the time were themselves priests and monks, and spent their lives in the cloister. "Sacerdos et Magister" was not an uncommon title. This is especially true of the miniaturists, who now raised miniature painting to the highest pinnacle of Christian art. We return to them for a moment. Their importance is not sufficiently salient in art literature. Shut in from the world, the world was shut out from their works. The choral books, missals, and other manuscripts contained in the public collections of Europe, are interleaved with ideal compositions that may be justly called the flower of purely Christian art, that is, of the art which expressed the purely Christian virtues without any admixture of the secular or "humanist" element. The works of the Siennese school and of the school of Fra Angelico are steeped in divine mysticism. The Annunciation, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, Paradise, St. Francis in ecstasy, St. Catharine in ecstasy, "her rapt soul sitting in her eyes," St. Bernardine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and all those whose souls took seraph flights to Heaven, and sojourned round the Holy Mount while their bodies yet walked the earth, are the favorite themes. Christian art in the ethic sense reached its apogee in the illuminations.

We pause for the present with the following brief summing up:

The poetic inspiration, which is the distinctive quality of great art down to the "Reformation," came from Christianity; the science, the taste, the skill, in brief, the technique, by means of which genius was enabled to body forth the forms of things unseen, and without which the figures on the vault of the Sistine and in the Stanze della Segnatura might have remained mere images in the minds of their authors, was the creation of the Catholic Church, which imperatively demanded art from the beginning, and gave artists a never-failing field for their labor, and kept the loftiest ideals before their eyes.

JOHANNES JANSSEN, GERMANY'S GREAT HISTORIAN.

TO the student of history it is gratifying to note the present interest of non-Catholic peoples in the scientific school of historians who have done, and are doing, so much to diffuse a dispassionate knowledge of past fact. The attempt of the tyrannical State-churches,—fabricated by the politicians who manipulated the so-called reform movements of the sixteenth century,—to impose themselves permanently upon communities, great and small, was a fruitful cause of the Protestant obscurantism, which has long retarded progress in the higher walks of the intellectual life, to the deep regret of the informed and thinking men of to-day. When the shibboleth, "Religion," failed to effect the purposes of dynasties and parties, the watchword, "Education," was substituted as a rallying cry for those whose lease of power depended on the success of a policy of retrogression, backed by qualified ignorance. The State-school and University replaced decayed churches as agents in the work of limiting or misdirecting inquiry, and of systematizing falsehood, thus shackling the human mind, and depriving coming generations of a mass of real knowledge, painfully acquired. So insidious were the workings of both the older and the newer system, that the Protestant populations, who were being injured by the one or the other, remained wholly unconscious of their benighted condition. Even to-day—and among our progressive and sagacious countrymen—there is a remnant of well-meaning and intelligent non-Catholics, who, by their amusing assumption of supereminent and incontrovertible

knowledge, serve as witnesses to the density of the lingering vapors which still befog a rapidly decreasing minority of fairly educated men. Shall we not rejoice that the fog is lifting, speedily lifting, and that there is good reason to hope that the people, who have been crowded into the valley of darkness, will soon see the glorious light, and feel the vital glow of the sun of truth?

Among the enthusiastic workers in the cause of popular enlightenment, no one, of late, has been more conspicuous than Johannes Janssen, and, probably, no work, since the so-called Reformation, has done more to awaken inquiry among Protestants than the "History of the German People since the Close of the Middle Ages." The interest excited by the first volume has grown with each succeeding volume. Fourteen editions, twenty-eight thousand copies, of the fifth volume, which came from the press in the autumn of 1886, had been issued and sold before the end of the year. A like demand for so large and serious a work was unheard-of in Germany, and has been seldom equalled in any other country. And it is a noteworthy fact that, in North Germany—non-Catholic Germany—the History has had a larger circulation than in the Catholic districts. A masterpiece in its line, it has commanded praise from scholars of every shade of political and religious thought. Von Holst, whose "History of the Constitution of the United States" has made him favorably known to American readers, publicly expressed the opinion that "Janssen's work was a power among the German people, indeed, a formative factor in the development of their civilization;" and Janssen he pronounced "the most learned and best read man in his special line of studies—a man who has done an immeasurable service to history, the inaugurator of a new era in the science of history." Nor have English or French critics been less prompt in paying tribute to the learning, originality and scientific method of the German historian.

A good, as well as great, scholar, the story of Janssen's life, and a review, however imperfect, of his writings—for he had given varied proof of a wide and liberal training, of broad and deep thought, of a rare power of analysis, and of a clear and flexible style, long before the publication of his master-work—may serve as example and as spur to our own youth, and cannot but prove useful to those who have read, or who may be led to read, his able history.

Johannes Janssen was born on the tenth of April, 1829, at the old town of Xanten—home of the Niebelungen, birthplace of Siegfried—where his father, Gerhard, a simple burgher, who had been a guardsman at Potsdam, under Blücher, earned a living by keeping shop. Johanna Gertrude Remmen, his mother, a pious and

charitable woman, lived to love him and to train him in good ways only till his thirteenth year. After her death, the father married the daughter of one Lahaye, a coppersmith, and young Janssen was forthwith apprenticed to the trade. He had shown an early fondness for books. The first to awaken in him a love for history was a good aunt. He was just eight years old when she made him a present of a volume of Annegarn's "Universal History." They were on a pilgrimage to famed Kevalaer, when she picked it out from among the treasures of an old book-stall, whose shelves she was rummaging. Constant reading of this odd volume supplied Johannes with many wondrous stories about the latter part of the Middle Ages, and these he was accustomed to rehearse to a willing audience of Xanten boys. To the smith's shop he brought books and stories. When he could escape the master's watchful eye, he dropped the hammer and read the books, or instructed and distracted his fellow-workmen with tales of mighty men and deeds. Master Lahaye was a judge of more than pots and pans; "I like John very much," said he to a friend, "but he will never make a coppersmith, and a scholar will be lost into the bargain." Happily, there were others who saw that the boy was not made for a coppersmith. At the Rectorat-schule, where he had spent two years, he attracted the notice of the rector, who now prevailed upon his father to take him from the smithy and send him back to school. Time justified the rector. Devoting himself especially to history and literature, Janssen proved not merely an apt but a painstaking student. In the autumn of 1846 he was sent to the Gymnasium at Recklinghausen, where, not neglecting other studies, he diligently enlarged his view of the world's history, under the historian, Heumann. Leaving the Gymnasium in 1849, he entered the Münster Academy, and began a course of theology. Thence he went to Louvain, in the spring of 1850, where he followed the lectures on theology and philosophy. But history was not put aside. Among the many able men at the University were Möller, the historian of the Middle Ages, and Feye, the canonist, a Hollander, who had made a special study of the history of the Netherlands. To these teachers Janssen attached himself, and under each of them he worked effectively. As the result of the year's studies, he published "The Genesis of the Revolution in the Low-Countries," which first appeared in the German edition of the *Civiltà-Cattolica*. His health, never vigorous, now failed him; and, believing himself unequal to the care of souls, he gave up theological studies, and devoted his time to linguistics and history. In the fall of 1851 he went to Bonn, where—under Joseph Aschbach, who had already established a reputation by his works on the West-Goths, the Heruli and Gepi-

dæ, and the Emperor Sigmund—he made further progress in the science of historical inquiry. After two years at the University, having, meantime, taken the degree of Ph.D., he returned to his father's house at Xanten. There he completed his first important work, a biography of "Wibald, of Stablo and Corvey." (Münster, 1854.)

In this scholarly study, Janssen, besides doing justice to a great man and leader of men, revived the troublous, pregnant age in which he lived. The twelfth century holds a forward place in the history of philosophy and theology, on account of the labors of Abelard, Roscelin, Anselm, Peter Lombard and Gratian. But the influence of the great clerics of the time was not limited to schools of learning. It extended over a far wider sphere. Thomas à Becket, Suger of St. Denis, and St. Bernard, were not only honored directors of men in things spiritual, but the trusted counsellors of kings, and at times even the real governors of kingdoms. History, while popularizing their names and deeds, has treated their great German contemporary and friend, the monk Wibald, with scant courtesy. Skilled in the liberal arts, as well as in theology, canon law, medicine and agriculture; well-read in sacred and profane literature; a student of the classics, a clever writer, a masterly orator, a trained philosopher, and, what was rare in his days, a Greek scholar,—“the most learned man of his time,” Wibald was, throughout his life, a forwarder of learning. The monks under his charge copied books and wrote chronicles, while he was active in improving the schools and in founding libraries. His piety and ability fitted him especially for the work of monastic reform which he early took in hand. The disordered condition of Germany, due to constant wars within and without the Empire, the constant friction between Church and State, and the greed and ambitions of spiritual as well as temporal princes, had proved doubly hurtful to the religious life. Not only was the spirit of monasticism weakened, and the rule neglected, but the property of many monasteries was seized, revenues were confiscated and buildings destroyed. Wibald fought force with force, directed armies, put down robber knights with the one sword, and rebellious monks with the other; rebuilt abbeys and churches, built protecting fortresses, founded towns, and established industries. As Abbot of Stablo, in Lorraine, he ruled over sixty-three churches, towns and bishoprics. So successfully did he administer this great trust for sixteen years that the monks of Corvey, in Saxony, famed for its schools and its charities, elected him Abbot in 1146. From that time until his death in 1158, he struggled manfully under the double burden he unwillingly assumed. Nine years before his election to Corvey he had been chosen Abbot of Monte Cassino;

but King Roger of Sicily, who preferred a churchman more to his own liking, overran the abbey lands and besieged the monastery. For peace sake, not through cowardice, Wibald resigned the office and fled. It was Henry V. who first called Wibald to court, in 1122 or 1123. His powerful personality, his patriotism, his broad views, thorough acquaintance with the science and art of contemporary diplomacy, and quick and true measure of men and circumstances, made a deep impression on the Emperor. The Abbot's influence was quickly felt in Church and State affairs, and this influence grew year by year until his death. Under Lothair III., Conrad III., and Frederick Barbarossa, Wibald was a power in the land; an adviser, a mediator, an ambassador, a military leader, but always, and above all, a "prince of peace," as Lothair called him. When Lothair descended into Italy (1136) he made the Benedictine admiral of the imperial fleet; when Conrad, moved by the fire of Bernard's eloquence, went to the crusades, in 1146, he placed the reins of government in Wibald's hands, and for three years the whole diplomatic activity of Germany was centred in the monk. The fiery Frederick, "the lord of the world," as he loved to call himself, whose "will was law," as he boasted, was held in check by the same monk, his friend and trusted counsellor, who died in his service. It was only after the great Abbot's death that Barbarossa, misled by less prudent advisers, definitely adopted a policy of opposition to the Papacy; a policy which aimed at "the total overthrow of the spiritual power, the complete separation of the Church in Germany from the Church of Rome, and the establishment of a German Pope as against the Pope of Rome." It is a fashion of some of the literary *cordons-bleus* of to-day to serve up a hodge-podge of "Reformers before the Reform," compounded out of the bones of blessed saints and unblest heretics. Why has Frederick been left out of the dish?

Serving Germany well, and honored by his temporal sovereigns, Wibald was no less a faithful servant of the Church, and no less honored by her rulers. Five successive Popes, Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Anastasius IV., and Hadrian IV., esteemed him as a friend, and carried on important negotiations with him and through him. Confident of his loyalty, they freely called him to their aid, when the rights of the Church were endangered. With tact and firmness, he sought to harmonize the frequent differences between the Empire and the Papacy, and to determine the practical limits of the civil and the spiritual power. Janssen's life of Wibald was a helpful contribution to the study of the civilization of the twelfth century, as well as of the course of political events in Germany, France, Italy and the East. Not only were students made acquainted with a forgotten man, who had

played a great part in the world's history, but they were directed to precious sources of exact information—to Wibald's letters and literary remains, which are invaluable to the historian, as well as to statesmen and jurists. To the young student, a review of the notes and appendices will be instructive; and here, in America, where the study of history is so neglected, and the College Historical Society is generally more effective in fixing bad methods than in teaching good ones, the reading of this small volume, or a correct translation of it, might prove more beneficial and more fruitful than a year's "essays."

Having seen his book through the press, Janssen went to Berlin, where he passed the summer of 1854, attending the lectures of the more famous professors at the university, and making good use of the great libraries. Later in the same year he returned to Münster, and took a position at the academy as *privat-docent* in history. Shortly afterwards he was called to the Catholic professorship of history in the Frankfurt Gymnasium; and finding the place agreeable, he retained it until 1860.

Frankfurt was at this time the home of a number of gifted men, whose varied tastes served to bind them more closely in social intercourse. The young professor was gladly welcomed to a circle which included Johann David Passavant, Beda Weber, Edward von Steinle, August Reichensperger, and Johann Friedrich Böhmer. Passavant, a studious artist, whose "*Le Peintre Graveur*" is in every print collector's library, was known over Europe, rather by his literary work than his paintings. The "Life of Raphael and of his Father Giovanni Santi," and the "Christian Art in Spain," had given him a deserved reputation as an original inquirer and thinker. Weber, a poet, had, in earlier life, sung the beauties and the hopes of his own peaceful, lovely Tyrol; but was now engaged in the more practical work of historical writing. Von Steinle, friend and pupil of Overbeck and Cornelius, and one of the most able and thoughtful painters of the century, was teaching at the Städels Institute. He had already found encouragement in his efforts to fix the good traditions of fresco and of a truly decorative Christian art, which his able masters had revived; and which he so worthily continued at Castle Rheineck, in the Imperial Hall at Frankfurt, the cathedrals of Cologne, Strassburg and Frankfurt, and St. Egidius, at Münster. Reichensperger, so widely known of late years as the founder of the "Centre" party, and as one of its ablest leaders during the darker days of the *Kultur-kampf*, had been a member of the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, and was not without reputation in the political world when the young professor of history met him. He had, however, been less a student of statecraft than of Christian art and architecture, subjects to which

he is to-day devoted, though in his eightieth year. His writings on these subjects had helped to renew an interest in the grand works of the Romanesque and Gothic periods, and to incite his countrymen to seek in them a larger science and a higher inspiration. Through Frau Schlosser, in whose *salon* these bright, serious men were often brought together, Janssen formed a life-long friendship with Wilhelm Molitor, the Dean of Speyer cathedral, whose finished verse and charming closet-dramas have fixed his name in German literature.

It was, however, with Johann Friedrich Böhmer, then in his sixtieth year, who had been the Librarian at Frankfurt for a quarter of a century, that Janssen entered into closest intimacy; an intimacy based not only on a common interest in the study of history, but on a mutual appreciation of each other's character and abilities. Lord Acton, in a learned article which he contributed to the first number of the "English Historical Magazine" (January, 1886), hits off Böhmer smartly in these few words: "Among the historians of that epoch"—the second quarter of this century—"the most eminent, though he never wrote a page of history, was Böhmer. Of him it can be said that he raised drudgery to the rank of a fine art." Drudgery, a word implying ignoble toil, is most unfortunately applied to one of the noblest workers and highest minds of this or any other age. Johann Friedrich Böhmer was born at Frankfurt, April 22d, 1795, of a Lutheran father and a Calvinist mother. His grandfather had been, in his day, a Kammer-rath at Zweibrücken in the Palatinate; and there Johann's father had studied and practised law until the French invasion compelled him to seek a more secure home at Frankfurt. Through his mother, also, Böhmer was connected with a family of lawyers, the Von Hoffmans, of Wetzlar. From his earliest years, both sides of the house set purposeful study before him as a duty he owed his Maker and mankind. Having enjoyed the advantages of the best education Frankfurt afforded, and the disadvantages of a hard, narrow, though well-meaning home, he was sent to Heidelberg, in 1813, to study jurisprudence; a profession he had chosen not from any special liking, but "for want of a better." While conscientiously following his course, he gave much time to the study of philology, and read over a wide range of literature, "pen in hand, so that the reading might serve him." From the modest heights of the Königs-stuhl and along the Neckar's banks, he caught his first glimpse of the beauties of nature; and a new-born enthusiasm made him forever her lover and poet. After a year at Heidelberg, he went to Göttingen, where, though working honestly and methodically, he grew less and less interested in law. He took up history, physiology, natural history, art, early German poetry,

—indeed, every study that could help him to an “*all-seitige harmonische Bildung*.” When, in 1817, he received the degree of doctor of laws, he had already resolved to use his acquirements for high aims. His father's death, within a month after graduation, and his parting injunction: “Fear God, keep His Commandments, and be a man!” rather strengthened than weakened this resolve.

Left in comfortable circumstances, Böhmer set about finding worthy occupation. On a visit to Heidelberg, in 1818, he saw the Boisserée collection of early German paintings, and received from it a new revelation about art, and a glimmering of the meaning of the words “Christian art.” Later in the year he journeyed to Rome, where good fortune brought him into friendly relations with the band of serious and gifted painters who had grouped themselves around Cornelius and Overbeck. During his five months' companionship with these many-sided men, he studied painting, architecture and engraving; and acquired new views not only about art, but about history and religion. His good parents thought they had a religion, and they gave him what they had. He found out that instead of “teaching him truths, they had merely given him riddles.” Up to this time he had no real conception of a Church, beyond that of a building which covered a dull preacher. The religious teaching and philosophy of the Universities had made him a free-thinker, a disciple of Spinoza and Goethe. But the study of the Christian art of the Middle Ages carried him back into the stream of Christianity; more than that, it made him see that the conditions under which such an art had flourished, and the ideas that inspired it, must be far other than teachers or books had thus far told him.

Returning home, he consecrated his life once more to useful work. In the study of art he thought he might be able to do best service. He travelled over Germany to acquaint himself with its architecture, painting and sculpture. His notes, systematically arranged, rapidly grew to such proportions that he planned a *Catalogue raisonnée* of all early German works of art. This was to serve as the introductory volume of a history of architecture. Unfortunately, he was appointed one of the Administrators of the Städel Art Institute, in 1822, and the notes were never edited. In accepting this position, he hoped to be able to establish an art-school which should rightly influence both the national and religious life. Experience taught him, however, that his colleagues' ideas and his own differed radically. Time brought them no nearer together, and at length, after six years of vain effort, Böhmer resigned. This was the turning-point of his life; he determined to give himself up wholly to history. The careful study of early German art had given him a closer view of the Middle Ages, and

convinced him of his countrymen's ignorance of their past. Henceforward his life-aim was to be the acquirement and the spread of a true knowledge about that past. As Catholic art had made him Christian, so Catholic historians taught him how to be an historian. His models were Baronius, Muratori, Mabillon and the French Benedictines. Just as the old Benedictines devoted their lives to seeking out the truth of history, so would he devote his life. *Vitam impendere vero*, written in letters of gold, stood ever before his eyes. With Mabillon, he believed that "the true roses of knowledge bloom only for the humble inquirer." Love of country, the conviction that a right knowledge of the past should be helpful for the future, the hope that truth might lead to good, these high motives, and not curiosity, fancy or ambition, determined his work and its direction. The main thing to do was to seek out and uncover the "Sources." He became one of the founders of the "Society for the Study of Early German History;" served as its secretary, and assisted in compiling and publishing its archives and in editing Pertz's "*Monumenta*." He was pleased to call himself "an historian's apprentice;" he was trying "to lay good foundations, and to gather stones wherewith others might build." In February, 1829, he began the "Imperial Regesta," which he published in 1831. A second volume, "Regesta of the Carolingians," appeared in 1833. The "Frankfurt Roll-book" came out in 1836; the "Regesta of Louis of Bavaria" in 1839; a first volume of a new work, "*Fontes rerum Germanicarum*," in 1843; a first volume of a second series of "Imperial Regesta" in 1844; a second volume of the "Fontes," in 1845; another volume of the "Regesta," in 1846; a third, in 1847; a fourth, in 1848; a fifth, in 1849; a third volume of "Fontes," in 1853; and a sixth volume of the "Regesta," in 1854. Probably we can best estimate the character of these works from Wattenbach's review of them in his learned "Sources of German History" (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 1885). "In the more recent editions, the Regesta received an ever-widening extension; the short extracts from the records were made more full, and were connected by means of extracts from the history-writers and the Annals. The whole of the historical material of a period is placed in order before the eye of the historical inquirer; and in the 'Prefaces,' the original authorities are discussed and appreciated." "In addition to this work of such exceeding service to historical studies, Böhmer, on account of the careless editing of the later Chronicles, and the valuable manuscript material he had gathered, was prompted to publish the '*Fontes rerum Germanicarum*' in three volumes; a special collection of original authorities, which is of exceptional value for the

period between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries."

Himself no dilettante, Wattenbach says that, "alone, Böhmer did more than most societies ; and from him the most stimulating and vivifying influence was radiated in all directions." During the twenty-five years he gave to his great works, he travelled almost yearly, in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, France or Italy, that he might make more extended and exact inquiries among the libraries and archives. He also kept up a wide correspondence with learned fellow-countrymen and foreigners. Everywhere and in every way he sought to spread a love for truth, and modest devotion to the study of the past. His purse was open to aid less fortunate men, whose work halted for lack of means. There was no German of rank in any literary walk, who did not know him ; yet, he sought especially the companionship of young men, not merely to keep his own mind fresh and open, but also that he might interest them in study and lead them to labor for truth's sake.

The more he pushed his inquiries, the more Catholic he became. His countrymen's views of the Church he boldly pronounced the result of ignorance. He seriously considered a plan for establishing a fund, to be controlled by Catholics, so that German history would be written as they would write it ; he contributed of his means to the publication of works helpful to a history of the Church ; he encouraged bishops and churchmen to cultivate and forward the study of Church history ; and, what is still more noteworthy, he maintained that our hopes for the elevation of the human race and the reunion of Christendom can be realized only through the agency of a more generally educated and a highly educated priesthood. Böhmer might be described as an " historical Catholic." He never joined the Church, but he declared that he had never protested against her. So fervent a Catholic as Clemens Brentano said of him : " He is as Catholic as I am." Many of his friends were converted. He applauded them all. Their courage, the sacrifices they necessarily made, called forth his admiration. Reason, as well as history, made clear to him that the Church could be but one, and must be visible. " An invisible Church was as nonsensical as an invisible painter." He looked and hoped and worked for Christian union. Had any number of those of his father's denomination, the Lutheran, gone over in a body to the Church, he would have gone with them. And yet he was no Lutheran. While he felt secure in the Church's position, on the historical side, he thought his study of her doctrine had been too slight to justify him in formally uniting himself with her communion. During his last illness he was nursed by a Brother of Charity, and again and again did he testify how much he had

learned from him as to what true Christian charity was. In emulation of the monks he so much admired, he had led a simple, sober life; a life of self-denial, filled with charitable actions, and regulated by a severe rule; a life of labor devoted to a single aim. A true historian, his "drudgery" was the rare sacrifice of a conscientious student, who sweats in untilled fields that others may reap full ears after him.

Janssen's views of history and historians were quite those of the great scholar whose pupil he had become. It is easy to conceive how helpful Böhmer's direction and suggestion must have been to him. He had already planned his life-work: a history of the German people. Böhmer had been the first to applaud his purpose and to encourage him in the undertaking. Acknowledging a copy of "*Abbot Wibald*," in 1854, he wrote to Janssen: "There is no nobler or more useful task than a recital of the history of the Germans, popular in a high sense, which, making as much use as possible of existing researches, and condensing the essentials, speaks to the cultivated circles of the public in vigorous language; and I honor him who, still a young man, sets such a noble task before himself. By high and noble aims must we lift ourselves upward, and from them must we draw strength, courage and self-denial." Under Böhmer's eyes, Janssen worked at the "*Imperial Regesta*" from 1854 to 1857. Then, having determined to limit the scope of his history, he turned his attention almost wholly to the study of the closing period of the Middle Ages, and to modern times. Meanwhile, his sense of vocation to the priesthood had not been weakened; and, health permitting, he quietly withdrew from Frankfurt in 1860, and went to Tübingen to prepare for ordination. Here he was again fortunate in being associated with such an able man as Karl Josef von Hefele, who, nine years later, was made Bishop of Rottenburg, and who, having contributed so largely to the right knowledge of Church history, archæology and liturgy, had made scholarship for all time indebted to him by his great "*History of the Christian Councils*" (1855-74).

On March 21st, 1860, Janssen was ordained in the Cathedral at Limburg, and from that day onward he has been as devoted to the duties of his priestly office as to his favorite study. The Church offered him honors, but he declined them: they would interfere with his life-work—from his fixed aim nothing should distract him. Having given much time to the Frankfurt Archives, he now undertook the publication of "*Frankfurt's Imperial Correspondence and other Related Documents*" (2 vols., 1863-1873), which covered the period from King Wenzel (1400) to the death of Maximilian I. (1519). The original researches, of which these volumes were the result, and the wholly new material they con-

tained, made their value permanent. A critic in the "Historisch-Politische Blätter" paid them a deserved tribute in saying that "no historian of the end of the Middle Ages will conclude a chapter of his book without consulting Janssen's 'Reichs-Correspondenz.' It is as indispensable to the historian as the Breviary to the priest." Reference to the more recent works on this period will show how serviceable it has been, and the high estimation in which it is held.

In the very same year in which he printed the first volume of this important contribution to historical science, Janssen published a work of no less practical service to the cause of historic truth: "Schiller as a Historian" (Freiburg, 1863). Among German writers who have helped to spread a wholly false view of the history of their own country, and indeed of history in general, no one has been more harmful than Schiller. His poetic power, the popularity of his ballads, of the "Song of the Bell," of the "Hymn to Joy"—which Beethoven made immortal by his use of it as a choral climax to the grand Ninth symphony—his affiliations with the "idol" Goethe, his brilliant prose style, his dramatic works, and a general feeling that he was a well-meaning man, gave a repute to the history of the "Revolt in the Netherlands," and of "The Thirty Years' War," of which they were quite undeserving. The German originals and the Bohn translations have served to misinform more than one generation of credulous readers, and the harm done has been all the more effective because of Schiller's large and continuous influence among the classes that assume to be "cultivated." No one better than the poet knew how unfitted he was to write the truth about history; but his very want of training, the peculiar notions he entertained about literary art, and above all, material necessities, made him blind to the requirements and the serious obligations of the man who would write history. The poet's literary friends knew his ignorance; he openly regretted it, or joked about it; contemporary critics spoke of it. Serious historians, long ago, rated him as he deserved, and pointed out his most flagrant errors or misstatements in foot-notes, or transiently referred to them in their pages. As long ago as 1809 Niebuhr wrote: "This autumn I read Schiller's 'History of the Thirty Years' War,' and again and again did I clasp my hands in amazement, not carried away by the work—oh! by no means, but astounded at the possibility that a book like this, which is not even tolerably well written, and whose narrative halts and stumbles, should be stamped as a classic. Time will do justice, and smother the thing." Unfortunately for the cause of truth, justice is often slow. For more than fifty years Niebuhr's prophecy was not fulfilled, and the imaginative pot-a-boilers which Schiller threw off

for the entertainment of the readers of the "Mercury," the "Hours" and the "Ladies' Calendar," bound in well printed volumes, still furnished the cultivated public with what they assumed was history. But Janssen's thorough study of "Schiller as a Historian" at last did Schiller and the public justice, and "smothered the thing" and the historian. Janssen always comes to his work with full hands. Whatever his subject, you see that he has provided himself with every bit of principal and accessory material needed to develop the subject fully. He may not say the last word, but he has certainly given you the facts from which to frame that word. The Schiller study is as lively and suggestive as it is complete and convincing. In his letters the poet tells the story of his historical education, of how and why he became a writer on historical subjects, of his ideas about history, and of the methods he pursued in the manufacture of history. It is an amusing and instructive story. Simply ignorant, always poetic, fanciful, constructing history "out of himself," not above a little charlatanry, disliking his compelled work, carried away by every wind of so-called philosophy, filled with false conceptions concerning the facts and the ideas of the past, Schiller is a type of the "historian" who has served and still serves to mislead youth and age in every country, about many important facts of history, ancient or modern. In Janssen's hands, Schiller dissects himself. Not content, however, with the self-convicting result of this operation, Janssen critically examines the poet's unhistorical works, thoroughly and authoritatively corrects them, and in addition gives a clear and close statement of the true causes and the actual progress of the Revolution in the Netherlands and of the Thirty Years' War. Nor does the value of this little book end here. It is filled with suggestive details about the Weimar coterie, the scope of education at the German universities in the beginning of this century, and the scholarship, ideals and methods of modern French and German history writers,—subjects on which Janssen, both here and in a later volume of essays, has shed "more light" than Goethe or his school can well bear. The honest student, and the honest reader of history, will thank the author for his admirable statement of the principles which underlie all right historical work; a statement positively helpful to the formation of a true critical judgment.

The "Schiller as a Historian" was, in one respect, only an appendix to work already done. In "France's Craving for the Rhine; and her anti-German policy in former centuries" (Frankfurt, 1861; 3d ed. Freiburg, 1883), published two years before the Schiller study, Janssen laid a heavy hand on the whole school of writers who had indoctrinated the people with the false and harmful notion that the Thirty Years' War was "a war of the Lord,"

and for "the freedom of the Gospel." Of this book Böhmer said that it had clearly shown, "even to Protestant democrats, that the Thirty Years' War was much more a political than a religious war." This, indeed, it showed conclusively, and with admirable method. These hundred pages are replete not only with well-selected facts, but with practical instruction in the art of clear, analytic presentation; an art not easily acquired, and much neglected in the schools. The title of the book discloses its scope and the writer's patriotic spirit. Among the canting phrase-makers of "real, original" modern politics, and we have as many of them in the United States as they have in England, France, Germany or Italy, there is a common agreement to charge Catholics with a radical want of patriotism, due to the teaching and organization of the Church. History is a sufficient answer to this childish accusation. Those who will not read history, would certainly be convinced, even if they were not silenced by Janssen's book, which is marked from beginning to end by a deep, warm feeling of undivided love for the Fatherland, and by a hearty indignation against French policy and rule. Considerable light is thrown upon the present strained relations of the two countries, and upon the important Rhine question, in this finished sketch. An enmity of seven hundred years is not to be healed in a day; and France, which first sought a lodgment in the Rhine-land nine hundred years ago, has been a recognized enemy of Germany since the eleventh century. The French policy has indeed been discreditable, and often contemptible. Nevertheless, even before the religious divisions in Germany, that policy found numerous purchased supporters within the Empire itself. When the Empire was torn asunder by the "Reformation" troubles, the German "Reformed" princes hastened to throw themselves into the arms of the traditional enemy, and were proud of betraying their own country in return for booty, power or pay. The great ambition of the French kings was to wear the Imperial crown; failing in this, they adopted a policy, whose object was the destruction of the Empire itself. Francis I., Henry II., Charles IX., Henry III. and IV., and Louis XIII. and XIV.,—that is to say, Richelieu and Mazarin—worked to the same end by the same immoral means. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) sealed the fate of the Empire, and handed over to the French long coveted Alsace. To the Catholic student of history, Janssen's narration of the part played by the "eldest son of the Church," during the "Reformation" period—a subject which he has more fully elaborated in the history of the German people—is doubly valuable; as a warning against the insidious influence of time-honored catch-words and parrot rhetoric, and as a help to an independent, intelligent study of the history of so-called Catholic state-craft in its

dealings with religion and the Church. And more especially in those high-schools and colleges where Fredet is still the text-book, would Janssen's vivid analysis of the great Cardinal Richelieu's policy aid in forming a juster estimation of the man and of his history than was current among a goodly body of Catholics, outside of France, less than thirty years ago, and may be current still. Rightly does Janssen claim that the moving idea of Richelieu's life, to raise France to the rank of the first power in Europe—an idea to which he sacrificed the lives and happiness of millions—has not helped mankind forward in the attainment of its great aims, nor the French people in the attainment of their great aims. "Revolutionary in his methods, he unsettled all the guarantees of public right, and turned 'reasons of state' into 'principles of law.'" "The founder of that 'liberal' absolutism, which knows neither freedom nor law," "he used with devilish skill all the means which the Roman Republic looked upon as lawful in its dealings with other states," and speciously covered his lawless schemes with an embroidery of fine phrases: The re-establishment of German freedom; protection of friendly princes; free trade, and the national right of the peoples. To the Church, and that is to say to the deepest and best interests of the people, the policy of France for a hundred years before Richelieu's day did incalculable injury. The German princes could never have whipped their subjects into the new sects, were it not for the ready and powerful assistance of French intrigue, French money and French arms. But France was not only a powerful force in fastening Protestantism upon an unwilling people. Under Richelieu, she maliciously hindered the progress of the Catholic reaction, which promised to unite the people once more in religion, and to give them longed-for peace. The Swede, the Dane, the Italian, the Bohemian, the Hungarian, the unspeakable Turk, were by turns used as means to make division more certain. To the lasting injury of Frenchman and German, and indeed of mankind, success crowned Richelieu's ignoble efforts, and Protestantism was given a new lease of life. The traitorous, hypocritical, grasping princes ruled over a ruined, blasted, poverty-stricken land, whose bare fields reeked of good warm German blood. It was not the first time that "religions" were used to cover policies inspired by lust of "regions"; but if the people once learn to read the past aright, there will be an end of traditional policies, which rate the citizen's life and happiness of no account in comparison with vain ideas of national or personal glory, or with the gratification of personal spites. That a Cardinal Richelieu and a Cardinal Mazarin, men high in the Church's offices, should have stopped at no means to establish a hateful and hated despotism, is a sad fact in history: sadder still, that, while posing as the

protectors of the Church, they were actively undermining her power and influence. Not without reason does Janssen claim that their double crime moved the minds of men in opposition to the whole priestly order, to the Church, and Faith itself. This book is more than a masterly compendium of clearly stated facts, and a model of a popular historical sketch. Like all the author's works, it is a help to broad and original thought on the great moving questions of the past and present.

Seeking health and a wider experience of men, and at the same time intent on making a careful examination of the great manuscript collections, Janssen went to Italy in December, 1863. At Rome, he resided with Cardinal Reisach, whose friendship he had gained soon after coming to Frankfurt; and who not only held him in high esteem, but also gave him a large place in his affections. Pius IX. received the historian graciously, showed a particular interest in his work and conferred an especial honor on him by giving him permission to make free use of the Vatican Archives, then in charge of Theiner. The learned librarian had just published the fourth volume of the "Materials for the History of Poland," a work which excited the liveliest interest in Janssen, and led him on his return home in May, 1864, to make an original and thorough study of all the earlier and later documents and authorities which throw light on the division of Poland. The effects of this division were, to his mind, far-reaching; and they are active even to-day. "It made the Revolution an integral element in the new state organism." With more than ordinary zeal, therefore, did Janssen labor to provide the material for a just estimate of a memorable epoch. As the result of his studies, he published "The Genesis of the first division of Poland" (Freiburg, 1865); a work of primary importance to the student who would have a right understanding of the circumstances, and a correct measure of the persons connected with this fateful piece of politics.

Affection and admiration for Böhmer now prompted him to write a life of his friend and teacher, who had died October 22d, 1863. No one better knew, or could better appreciate, the great historian's character, work and aims; and no one could pay a higher tribute to friendship than Janssen did in "The Life, Letters, and Smaller Works of J. F. Böhmer" (3 vols., Freiburg, 1868). The "Life" was received with hearty praise, and at once took rank as a model biography of a learned man. So considerable was the interest it excited, that Janssen was led to publish a popular abridgment: "J. F. Böhmer's Life and Views" (Freiburg, 1869). In this octavo volume of three hundred and fifty pages, he skilfully traced the development of Böhmer's mind and heart and labors.

The book is one to be read of all men who would learn how to widen their own thought, and how to convey an honest estimate of another's mind and views; and no reader will lay it down without feeling that he has gained in breadth of patriotism, in love of learning, in admiration of study. Youth will learn from it how to study; and the historical inquirer, grounded in true principles and the methods of intelligent experience, will be spurred to better doing and greater diligence.

Neither these thoughtful, toilsome works, nor feeble health, nor the ministrations of his sacred office, nor uninterrupted historical studies, hindered Janssen from measuring and discussing our many-sided modern world, wherein old ideas are so active under new forms, and new men are so precipitate in doing and undoing old things. Between 1868 and 1876 he contributed a number of essays to the "*Historisch-Politische Blätter*," and to other periodicals, which were later on gathered together, and published under the title: "Pictures of Life, in Past and Present" (*Zeit und Lebensbilder*, Freiburg, 1876, 3d edition, 1879).

The rational ideas underlying the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century were not new, but their material force gave them a body, and a form, and a centre of action which they had not had before. To trace the actual development of these ideas and their effect on modern civilization would be a mighty labor, but one surely helpful to the reflecting, and perchance to the unreflecting men, who, from sense of duty, or from ambition, or as hereditary rulers, seek to lead or govern mankind; and even more helpful to the masses who are so simply led or constrained. In the absence of a comprehensive work, every honest contribution to the study of particular periods, and of especial phases of thought and life, is valuable as an aid to the measure of the present and the future; to right thinking, and to right living. And for this reason these essays of Janssen deserve more than a passing word. Brimful of information and of thought, they give a suggestive sketch of somewhat more than half a century of a certain kind of German philosophy, science, religion, literature, morals and politics; and they are illustrated with faithful portraits of many of the clay idols that have been lifted up and worshipped on the altars of modern culture.

The influence of the men of the "*Aufklärung*," whose divinity was Goethe, has been, and still is, powerful not only in Germany and throughout the continent, but in England and America. The Emersons, like the Carlyles, are mere weak echoes of the more logically illogical minds that dominated Germany at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century; and our cultivated American society is thoroughly indoctrinated with the

unchristian and immoral teachings which, under a pleasing disguise of classic prose and verse, the master of form made so insidiously effective. To the not wholly corrupted mind no better corrective could be offered than Janssen's study of "A Woman of Culture, and her Friends." The cultured woman is Caroline Michaelis, who was born at Göttingen in 1763, her father being professor and *Geheimer Justizrath*, Johann David Michaelis. Though she feared she had lost her good name at fifteen, Caroline found a husband at twenty-one—a Dr. Böhmer. He died in 1788, but she lived what is sometimes called a merry life, until 1809. As the mistress or temporary wife of Johann Georg Forster, the traveller and naturalist, of August Wilhelm Schlegel, poet, critic and Sanskrit scholar, and of Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, the philosopher, she enjoyed whatever advantages there could be derived from friendly association with all the noted men of the day. From the authentic story of her life, from her letters, and from the biographies and correspondence of contemporary heroes and heroines, Janssen has selected material for a lively sketch of society in the days when Goethe lorded it over women, men and princes—the days of free-love and art for art's sake; when Herder, Forster, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Alexander von Humboldt, Schiller and the two Schlegels, competed with each other in undermining Christianity, in panegyriizing paganism, in preaching the glory and the duty of revolution, in decrying nationality and patriotism, in prophesying the coming brotherhood of man, in abusing Catholicity, in glorifying nature, and in living loosely. The times were so out of joint that kings and princes and churchmen were eager to honor these worst enemies of the throne and the altar, and even to further their extremest doctrines. A prince-bishop, Von Erthal of Maintz, who was not too sure as to what he believed, not only gathered the leaders around him, and appointed them to offices of trust, but proved himself in somewhat a practical follower of their ideas. When Adam Weishaupt, the ex-Jesuit and professor of canon-law at Ingoldstadt, organized the Illuminati, he found ardent supporters not alone in Goethe, Herder, and Karl August of Weimar, but also in Von Dalberg, Bishop von Erthal's coadjutor. And yet the religion of the Illuminati was free-thinking, and the tenets of the order were distinctly opposed to the dogmas and the ritual of Christianity. With the coadjutor a Mason, as well as a Perfectibilist, as the Illuminati originally called themselves, it does not seem strange that the Canons of Maintz took down the crucifix from the walls of their rooms and set up Voltaire's bust in its stead; or that the writings of Helvetius and the treatises of the Illuminati replaced books of devotion and theology on their side-tables. In the Bavarian government the men of the "Auf-

klärung " had a firm friend. The Catholicity of Bavaria was to be liberalized ; the " thick darkness " in which it was enveloped was to be dissolved ; liberalized Bavaria was to become a centre of light for the whole of Germany. And to effect these great ends rationalists and doubters of all shades were gathered in from far and near, to fill the chairs of theology and philosophy. With the pulpit, the lecture-hall, the press and the stage united in the cause of " Humanity, Enlightenment, and purified Religion," there was every encouragement to thinkers of novelties, to destructive critics, to realistic or naturalistic poets and romancers, to pantheistic or atheistic teachers of a religion which was glossed and accepted as Christian. Schleiermacher, preacher at the " Charité " and at Trinity Church in Berlin, university preacher and professor of theology at Halle, and later at Berlin, a free lover, a man who looked upon marriage as an unnatural bond, and whose theology was as little Christian and as wholly personal as that of our own Beecher, was one of the most honored religious teachers of the day. His writings on " Religion " and on " The Christian Faith " were the guides of Evangelicals who wished to be up to the latest fashion of approved modern intelligent thought. It was a day for and of adventurers. Many a bitter or amusing page has been written on the Italian Humanists of the sixteenth century, and many a fine moral has been drawn from their lives and works. Janssen's study is suggestive of material much nearer at hand, quite as curious, and no less full of lessons for the modern man—which he who runs may read. Where the fine words of poet, philosopher and preacher are printed side by side with the record of their lives, the reality is painfully amusing when it is not shocking. Faithless in the animal relation they call love, treacherous in friendship, selfish to the utmost depth of egotism, vain, jealous, envious, restless, dissatisfied, flatterers, blasphemers, haters of God and men and themselves—thus they have carefully portrayed themselves with their own hands. The peculiarities of advanced German thought, its progress in this century, and the characteristics of a Godless science are emphasized in Janssen's essay on Alexander von Humboldt. At the celebration of von Humboldt's hundredth birthday, in Berlin (1869), one of the speakers proclaimed him " the incorporate ideal of a Saviour of Mankind," and still another boasted that " he had freed the human mind from every delusion concerning a so-called revealed religion." This latter statement may be prophetic, but for the present it is safe to qualify it as slightly exaggerated. The " Encyclopædic Cat "—as Minister Ancillon, a not too partial admirer, nicknamed the great naturalist,—had the will, and did what he could ; but there are powerful counter-forces to contend with, and faith in a revealed religion is

too scientifically rooted to be uprooted even by the writer of a "Cosmos." Von Humboldt's early affiliations with the "son of the gods," Goethe, with Schiller, with the Weimar and Jena cliques, and with all the men of advanced thought; his relations with Niebuhr, Bunsen, Stolberg, Tieck, Varnhagen von Ense, Cornelius, Von Reumont and Strauss; and his high position at the Prussian court, where he was long chamberlain and intimate of Frederick William IV., assured a plenty of evidence as to his character and ideals. This evidence witnesses to one great fact; that high intelligence, and power of concentrative thought, and desire for knowledge do not necessarily ennoble man. The world's heroes have one terrible enemy—their own letters. Von Humboldt's correspondence and the reminiscences of contemporaries, as Janssen here interweaves them, present a sad though instructive picture of a great deformed mind. Believing neither in God nor in the immortality of the soul, he necessarily despised Christian morality, religion in general, Catholicity in particular, and political order. The revolution is the logical outcome of atheism; as dynamitism, nihilism and anarchy are the logical conclusions of the scientific philosophy of the Von Humboldts. All the weaknesses of the men of enlightenment the "prince of German culture" developed in a high degree. Victor Strauss described him as "a monster of hate." Prince Bismarck in a pleasant way tells of his insufferable egotism; his own letters are the witnesses of his duplicity. There is no reader of Janssen's brief sketch, who retains a shred of Christian belief, but will be tempted to exclaim with Edmond Jörg: "May God preserve us all from such culture, and most of all the princes and the great ones of the earth."

To this type of the atheistic German scientist of the century Janssen adds a type of the atheistic philosopher, in the person of that highly gifted half-madman, Arthur Schopenhauer; and thus brings to a close his study of the irreligious schools. Now and again some well-intentioned youth is carried away by what he imagines to be a more rationally constructive or destructive system of philosophy than any into which he has thus far had a peep. Indeed, the method of the schools where ideas are dealt with quite independently of persons, may be in somewhat chargeable for these mishaps. If the light-minded were led first of all to know the character and the practical life of the pretended philosophers, he would have some surer check on his own wandering mind. No sane man will deliberately seek wisdom from a fool, or a knave, or a sensualist. It seems improbable that any serious mind, knowing even as much about the great "Nihilist" as Janssen tells of him, could go to Schopenhauer's pages in search of the secret of life. After tracing his somewhat romantic story

from the cradle to the grave, his vagaries, the growth of his ideas, the development of his unlovely character, and the sources of his speculations, Janssen completes the study of this unhappy pessimist by an analysis of his teachings and a sketch of some of the peculiarities of those other lights of modern philosophy, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Feuerbach. It has been the fashion to abuse St. Thomas and the schoolmen ; and they deserve abuse if these modern sophists are worthy of praise. Like the poets and preachers and scientists with whom we have just parted, they hate each other ; and their personal relations and mutual criticisms suggest a wholly new conception of the "philosophic mind." If possible, they are more egotistic than their unprofessionally philosophical brethren. Witness Hegel, who began his lectures on logic in the summer semester of 1820, with the words: "I might say with Christ: I teach the truth and am the truth." The others had not said this, but certainly it was not because their egotism was above blasphemy. As atheistic and as immoral as Von Humboldt or Goethe, and more irrational in some respects than either of them, Schopenhauer, who "had no need of Christ," assumed that "he had lifted more of the veil than any other mortal before him!" That anti-Christian, like reformed, culture should sneer at the "superstition" which canonizes the pure, the patient, the ascetic, is not to be wondered at, when the same culture finds its incorporate ideal of a Saviour of mankind in Von Humboldt, and divinities worthy of a temple in Feuerbach and Schopenhauer.

The healthy, elevating influence of religion on science and literature is strongly brought out in Janssen's essays on Karl Ritter, the founder of the science of comparative geography ; and on the Russian poet, Vasily Andrejevitch Joukoffsky. Though educated in the school of Rousseau, Karl Ritter (1779-1859) felt the need and the worth of Christianity, and early turned away from the infidel thought by which he was encompassed. A life of patient, intelligent work, passed in the close study of nature and of men, was inspired by love for science directed to the honor of God. Contrasting his life and ideals with those of a Von Humboldt, the comparative pettiness of the ungodly scientist will force itself on all but the blind admirer. Like most non-Catholics of his and our time, Ritter had no true insight into Catholicity ; and hence many of the misconceptions which he began to imbibe at the breast are set down as facts in his writings. So simple and honest a character could not knowingly have told untruths. It is, indeed, to be regretted that prejudice should have so rooted falsehood in systems of education that the best intentioned men are innocently made to violate the truth they so much love. Besides the moral

lessons it conveys, this essay of Janssen's supplies many interesting facts about the progress of geographical science in Europe, and adds new details to the previous studies of German life at the beginning of the century. Ritter was a keen observer, with a wide experience of men; and from his letters much that is new may be learned about society in Frankfurt, Geneva, and Berlin, and about the standards of professors and students at the German universities.

Joukoffsky (1783-1852), the father of Russian romantic literature, leader of "Young Russia," patriot-poet, whose songs united a whole people, and who first gave Homer to the Russians in their own tongue, serves as fitting contrast to Goethe, or Schiller, or Voss. Deeply religious, filled with noble ideas about the true aim of poetry and the relation of art to morals, he was never untrue to his ideals. Constant in the endeavor to undo the work of the school of "art for art's sake," whose false notions have been so widely propagated among poets and people, he never tired of teaching that the aim of poetry was rightly to educate men, and not merely to please the imagination. The poet's motive, he maintained, should be sense of duty, not pay or fame. He gained both fame and honors. Maria Feodorowna called him to the court and appointed him instructor of the wife of the Grand Duke Nicholas, and of the young prince who, as Alexander II., the emancipator of the serfs, was to bear such strong testimony to the liberality of Joukoffsky's training. Neither life at court nor the flattery of the great altered his character or ambitions. "Faith, energy, patience"—in these he found the secret of a happy life. Just now the Russian novel is in fashion, and closely competes with the French article, whose filth makes it popular—to paraphrase Mr. George Saintsbury. The prophets of a school of false art, marked by a false realism and false sentiment, false morals, false politics and false religion, are Tourgénief, Dostoievsky, Tschernuiskevsky and Tolstoi, of whom a recent writer makes bold to say that "it would be hard to disprove that he had got closer to Christ's idea of life than any man since Christ's time!" A comparison of the work, lives, influence, and ideals of the new lights with those of the high-minded and Christian Joukoffsky, could only bring out in stronger relief his superior art, learning, merit, and genius. Literary men, young and old, may rather turn to him if they would seek a thoughtful, original, intelligent and ennobling companion or teacher.

In another group of studies on "Christian Carl Josias Bunsen;" "The Political and Ecclesiastical Views of the Prussian diplomats, Nagler and Rochow;" "Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann," and "The Political and Religious Views of Frederick William IV.," Janssen

surveys the field of German politics and the political leaders from 1820 to 1860, and thus affords an opportunity of measuring the effect of irreligious thought in literature, science, philosophy, and religion, upon government. Whether under democratic or monarchical forms, the people are the willing or unwilling tools of those whom fortune, revolution, or the meaner arts of men have lifted into office. Now-a-days, the man who has been made according to an official pattern in the State school or university is simple enough to imagine himself an exemplar of reason uncontrolled and free thought. In a higher civilization this would seem surprising; but it cannot surprise any one who considers the present civilization of continental Europe, where even the soldier slave has been educated into the idea that he is a freeman. To be the subject of a government in which a Bunsen (1791-1860) played a leading part was to deserve commiseration. By turns a student, a preacher, a teacher, an unsuccessful diplomat, a romantic statesman, his one ambition was to make his own way. A rattle-pate without religion, a great part of his life was spent in contriving pseudo-religious schemes, church reforms, creeds and rituals. Though he believed neither in Christ nor God, he was one of the leaders of evangelical thought, one of the founders of the "Evangelical Alliance," and a writer of prayer and hymn books. His idea of a church was that of a real Cæsaro-Papism; a political church under a Pope-King; a church controlled like the army and serving the same end—the security of the government. As great a prophet as Carlyle, he constructed a "Christianity," on whose adoption the future of religion depended. Pantheist, if anything, he was careful to qualify all his notions as Christian. He hated believing Protestants, for there were old Lutherans who opposed his teachings, and yet he was in one respect as Lutheran as Luther's self. Persistently, from the beginning to the end of his life he was an abusive hater of the Catholic Church. Whether in office or out of office, at home or abroad, he was ever active in attempts to injure "the old anti-Christ at Rome"; a real Pope-eater, with an insatiable appetite. The anti-Catholic machine is well oiled these days, and worked by skilful hands. An insight into its management fifty years ago may be of service to the unsuspicious. Bunsen's masters, Frederick William III. and IV., felt their obligations as heads of a church organization, and dabbled more or less in matters of conscience affecting their Catholic and Evangelical subjects: The two kings saw that there was something wrong with Protestantism; but if they knew what was amiss with it, they were careful to keep it to themselves. They saw the family life weakened, the Christian tenets losing their hold, immorality spreading, so they concluded that there ought to be a

return to apostolic forms, a bishopric at Jerusalem, and missions in California! Frederick William IV. had a lively conception of the necessity and power of religion and a serious acquaintance with Lutheran Christianity. About Catholicity he was worse than ignorant; he was filled with the traditional false notions concerning it. Of the helplessness and decay of Protestantism he was strongly sensible. He attributed the power of the Church to its unity; he dreamed of a united Protestantism; but he saw that he was powerless to effect anything among ten thousand sects, when he could not even unite the churches of his own domain. A better prophet than Bunsen, he foresaw that in the near future the Church would make even more rapid strides than in the past, especially in the East. "It is, indeed, God's ordinance," said he, "that truth should conquer in a beggar's clothes, but not in a fool's dress."

The politicians all felt the weakness of a divided Protestantism. Nagler, who held high office under the Prussian Government from 1824 to 1846, and who had no more religion than Bunsen, could not but lament that they were cut up into so many sects: "Lutherans, Reformed, Evangelicals, and all sorts of Pietists." But his regrets were only those of a hard-headed bureaucrat, whose whole life was haunted by the spook of Catholicity and those "devils," the Jesuits! Theodor von Rochow was not so easily frightened. He had studied the question more coolly, and came to the conclusion that "the Jesuits were less dangerous to Protestantism than its own theologians." Events have proved the correctness of his judgment as to the dangers Protestantism had to fear from its theologians; but we may better appreciate the grounds on which he based this judgment after reading "The Recollections of David Strauss," by William Nast, in the *New Princeton Review* for November, 1887. Mr. Nast was a fellow-pupil of Strauss, at Tübingen. The acceptance of the students in theology depended, he says, on mental proficiency, *without reference to moral or religious considerations*. In his class, Mr. Nast was "the only one who professed religion, in the sense of an experimental faith in the divinity and atonement of Christ." There was no spiritual instruction; and though the old and new Testaments were read in the original tongues, it was "not as the inspired word of God, not for edification and theological instruction, but as an exercise in linguistic criticism." The dangerous theologians of the eighteenth century had evidently made sure of worthy successors in the nineteenth; and, however dangerous the Jesuit may be to Protestantism, Rochow might well have greater fears of Baur and Schweigler, and Zeller, and Volkmar. As General in the Prussian army, and ambassador to Switzerland, Würtemberg and

St. Petersburg, Rochow, who was a man of much higher character and intelligence than Nagler, gained a larger view of men and of the contending currents of thought. His letters, written between 1830 and 1851, are full of facts concerning the growth of Radicalism on Swiss and German soil, the policy of Prussia towards its Catholic subjects, and the position of German Catholics towards their respective rulers. Rochow felt the necessity of political unity between Austria and Prussia in the interest of external and internal peace. On the other hand, Nagler, who wished to be in the front rank of the forwarders of modern culture, hated all governments other than his own, and all men other than himself; and dreamed only of undermining Austria. With this end in view, he kept in his employ a number of adventurers, paid to organize a system of agitation upon Austrian soil. It is interesting to compare the utilitarian methods of the Prussian politician of fifty years ago with those of the great Minister of to-day. The mighty Bismarck controls not Prussia alone, or the Empire, but Europe by means as far below those of an ideal civilization as were the expedients of the petty police-detective diplomat, Nagler.

It is a sad fact, but one which excited Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann's pride, that "the basis of the Prussian State rests on Martin Luther." The existing German Empire may be said to rest on the same uncertain foundation. Whatever their external show of force, both Prussia and the Empire are radically, necessarily, weak. The Lutheran principle is destructive, not constructive. Could we wholly exclude from our view the one saving factor, the Catholic Church, it would not be difficult to predict the Empire's future, the course of its politics, and the inevitable conditions of its civilization. Dahlmann's own experience presents a telling instance of the defectiveness of the Lutheran idea, and of its total inadequacy to satisfy the intellect of the reflecting man. Though brought up as a rationalist Protestant, the thoughtful study of history led him to recognize Christianity as the greatest gift of God to men. When he examined the tenets of Protestantism, its practical life, its preaching and worship, he found it wanting in every requirement of man's intellect and heart. He saw clearly enough that a church could not be built on the bare idea of Christian morality. In time the divine Christ, as he knew Him from the distorted Lutheran representation, ceased to satisfy his soul's aspirations. He sought relief in the company of the carpenter's son. The need of religion he felt deeply. Like Niebuhr, he could not find it in the sects; and, like him, he came to the conclusion that "we require a new religion." Dahlmann's ideas, opinions, work and failures serve to extend our view of a half century of German politics and civilization. An active student throughout

his life; widely informed by his experience as a pupil or a professor at Copenhagen, Halle, Kiel, and Göttingen; by his residence at Hanover, Leipzig, Jena, and Bonn; and by his studies on the historical development of European politics; an author of considerable works on European history, and a prominent actor in the "German Constitution" movement of 1848-49, he looked at politics from a higher plane than a Nagler or a Bunsen. He was a consistent antagonist of that monster tyrant, the modern State; opposed the systems of education which would deprive the parent of his natural rights, limit the freedom of education and enslave the soul; and protested against the State Church, and the current liberalism which, liberal only in words, oppressed the right, the individual, and society. How different would have been the story of the present Prussian Empire if its leaders had but learned the force of the truth that Dahlmann stated so well: "God's throne stands high above that of the king!" Not the least interesting portion of Janssen's essay on Dahlmann is that which treats of the historian-politician's relations with Frederick William IV., and of their dissenting views upon the question of a new German Empire. The idea of such an empire had long been working in the minds of German theorists, patriots, bigots and politicians. To Dahlmann the time seemed ripe for the realization of the idea. He approached the king, and by written and spoken word pressed him to allow himself to be named emperor. The argument presented to him was, that Prussia, the one purely German State with a definitely Protestant mission, should be the leader of a new German Empire, counteracting Austria, and exercising due power in the world. But the king, who knew something of German history, and had a strong sense of patriotism and of justice, as well as a keen appreciation of the dangers that must threaten a German Emperor who was not Emperor of Germany, declined to enter into the scheme. In the light of later political events Frederick William's moderate and sagacious views are doubly instructive. The title which seemed to him so vain his successor was pleased to accept, in the face of German tradition, if not of hereditary right. The great Minister's conception of the German Empire was less exacting, less logical, possibly less statesmanlike, than that of Frederick William, who valued words only as they rightly expressed real things.

The actual effects of Bismarck's policy on Prussia, the Empire and the rest of Europe, as well as the probable consequences of that policy, are ably discussed in Janssen's review of Gervinus's "Posthumous writings," which, on their publication in 1872, made such a stir in Germany. The author of the "History of the Nineteenth Century" was for more than thirty years an active maker

of public opinion on questions of German politics, through the daily press, the pamphlet, the more labored history, and in the professor's pulpit. In early life he would have been a poet if he could; in his new calling he showed that he was not wanting in imagination or power of fervid expression. His patriotism was always at white heat. The aim of all his work was to make Germans more German, and to raise their ideals up to his own. Like his friend Dahlmann, he had the courage of his opinions, and occasionally suffered for them. Though never a practical politician, he was long looked up to by conservatives as a leader and adviser, and there was no bolder or more honored champion of Prussia or of Protestantism. The Prussian, the Protestant, the patriot, who, in the light of the actual present, reads Gervinus's judgment on the development of events between 1866 and 1871, will be tempted to acknowledge that time has proved the keenness of his observation and his correct foresight—and, perchance, to doubt whether Frederick William IV. was not a wiser statesman and a truer lover of his country than the mighty Bismarck. The war with Austria—"a war of brothers"—was certainly not in the interest of German unity; on the contrary, it gave the death-blow to the Imperial idea, and definitely divided German from German. The so-called unification under the pseudo-empire meant in fact that free States had been deprived of their independence, and that the principle of federation, which formed the basis of the polity of the German State, had been overturned. Forgetful of its own history, Germany, moved by a mean spirit of imitation, had been a mere thoughtless follower in the footsteps of Italy. The fatal consequences of this policy moved Gervinus to grief and indignation. He saw a people, naturally intellectual, pressed out of the way of civilization, driven back into that of barbarism, and brutally made to serve the low interests of might and force. "A nation of civilizers had been transformed into a nation of soldiers; poets and thinkers into bullies and braggarts; idealism into greed of gain and the pursuit of enjoyments wholly material." To effect this retrogressive, this fatal policy, Bismarck had been compelled to ally himself with Radicalism, and thus had dealt another blow at civilization. The Democracy had been used as a mere temporary, serviceable instrument; but, using it, the government had put its seal upon it, confirmed its power for evil, and hastened the decomposition of the fermenting elements of society. It is more than fifteen years since Gervinus questioned whether the government would be able at will to undo its baneful work and bring health out of disease. Looking back at the events of fifteen years, and examining the immediate political conditions, we can see that time has not freed the State from its complication with the Revolution.

Bloody Democracy has been supplanted by bloody Anarchy, and the same statute-books that legalize socialism are crowded with laws for the suppression of the Socialist and his teachings. Have Gervinus's doubts been answered, or may we further question?

The world lies down at night fearing war, and rises still fearing. What else can the world expect? says the spirit of Gervinus. There stands Prussia, a permanent military power, frightful in her pre-eminence, surpassing the most extravagant of Napoleon's giant conceptions when he was master of the Continent. She is an ever-present hindrance to peace. Her's the reproach that Europe is one vast military camp, and that every European state was compelled by the war of 1866 to increase its army, transform its armaments, and burden itself with war expenditures. And her's, too, the reproach that the honest aspirations of mankind for liberty and peace have been smothered by this universal "Militarism." Will it be possible to revive these noble aspirations in that "new variety, or rather new kind of people and State," which military discipline is bound to develop?

Certainly, this indictment of "the one purely Protestant State with a purely Protestant mission," of the State "whose basis rests on Martin Luther," is still worthy the notice of thinkers, be they Protestant or not. Added years have not weakened its force. The abuses it decries have increased, not decreased; the dangers it foresees are not less pressing. That empire which promised peace to gain its end, now looks to war as its appointed mission; and a Von Moltke tells the representatives of the people that victory imposed upon the nation the duty of living fifty years in a condition of constant readiness for war. In the black night of the un-Lutheran tenth century, coming from some monk-ridden despot who could neither read nor write, this would have been a terrible speech. Is it the less terrible now that mankind have been freed in part from the tyranny of Rome—in part, from that of the Jesuits --and that Reason, and Enlightenment, and "Humanitarianism," and philosophy, and rational religion, and "Science," have full sway? And will these modern means of grace bring peace to the souls of the seven million Prussians who eke a living for themselves and their families out of a paltry thirty cents a day, waiting meantime the uncertain hour when they will be served up as food for powder? The events of the month of February, of this year of Our Lord 1888, have substantiated the truth of Von Moltke's cruel words. They but indicated a deliberate policy—compulsory only in as much as it was self-compelled. Bismarck, "the only man appointed by God to be His vicegerent on earth in these days"—according to the revelation granted the pre elected Carlyle—demands still more soldiers and still more taxes. Three-

quarters of a million of men have been added to the monster army in the interest of a peace which has not even the security of an armistice. By means which the incarnate Providence of Germany has not as yet suggested, seventy millions more of money are to be coined out of the brawn of the nation yearly, until sudden, bloody war compels the peace of exhaustion.

Oh, Civilization, what crimes are committed in thy name! A half-starved people, taxed, year by year, closer to starvation only that it may pay for its uniform and move like an automatic machine; an enslaved people, whose "ideals, education, consciences, depend on a ministry, and change with the minister"—such a people is a standing protest against the modern school of politics. There have been Americans who could not find words enough to glorify a system so radically opposed to ours; and this very fact may well suggest serious thoughts to those Americans who would not lose the rare and real liberties they now enjoy.

Janssen's pictures of our life and times attracted the general attention of thinkers and of literary men. They showed, not only a wide range of reading, but an intimate acquaintance with modern society, and a firm grasp of the problems of the age; and they proved the variety of his talents and the fertility of his mind. Always moderate in expression, he lacks neither courage nor force; and he has those rare gifts—a nice sense of form, and an agreeable style. The reader has already learned that he is endowed with two other great qualities—the love of work, and the power to work. Neither the essays, nor his laborious studies of the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had satisfied his love or exhausted his power. He found still another subject worthy of his mind and pen, and gladly took it up in the interest of religion and the Fatherland.

If we recall the emotion with which the news of John Henry Newman's conversion was received throughout England, we may, perhaps, the more readily imagine the wave of excitement which passed over Germany when, in June, 1800, Count Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg laid down all his honors, at the age of fifty, and, with his family, returned to Mother-Church. A poet of taste and feeling, whose name had been closely associated with that of Klopstock, Goethe, and Voss, his ballads ranked with Schiller's and Bürger's, and many of his odes and hymns were cited as models.

The "Timoleon," "Theseus," "The Nursling," and "Apollo's Grove," had established his reputation as a dramatist of originality and power—the first who had succeeded in blending German thought with the classic forms of the Greek play. An accomplished classical scholar, his translation of the *Iliad*—the first version of a Greek poet in the metre of the original—gave him larger and deserved fame. A prose writer of rare quality, he had exer-

cised considerable influence on the thought of the time, concerning himself with a wide range of questions, political, religious, literary, and artistic. Having genius, he was none the less a practical man; and a good part of his life had been passed in administering government affairs, and in the diplomatic service. As ambassador at the courts of Denmark, Prussia, and Russia, he had not only gained a large experience of men, and insight into the current political movements, but he had commanded the respect and esteem of his associates, of the sovereigns whom he served, and of those to whom he was accredited. During the last nineteen years of his life, he used his learning and talents in the interest of the Church. By nature a singer of love and truth and beauty, his soul was filled with higher ideals than of old. Not content with moving the imagination of men, Stolberg sought to stem the flood of infidelity by an appeal to right reason and the realities of fact. He became a historian. Besides the "Life of Alfred the Great" (Münster, 1815), he published the "History of the Religion of Jesus Christ" (15 vols., Hamburg, 1806-1819), a work conceived on a large plan, and full of learning as of thought. More than one life of Stolberg had been written. In 1862, Menge published a lengthy and careful, though somewhat heavy study, entitled, "Count F. L. Stolberg and his Contemporaries" (2 vols., Gotha). Like the others, this was but the life of a dead man. No one had, thus far, revealed the real Stolberg to the world; the warm-hearted, honest-minded, deeply-religious Christian, whose soul burned with love for all good and hated all evil; the earnest patriot whose enthusiastic love of country was only equalled by his love of liberty, and whose love of liberty was limited only by respect for law; the dutiful husband and father, whose love of family was second only to that he had for God and the Church; the scholar who loved all learning, but loved it only as a means to inform and elevate mankind.

Janssen's work as a biographer had shown that he was gifted with rare powers of observation and analysis, and with a peculiarly sympathetic nature which readily merged itself in the personality of another. As pupil and tutor he had passed many happy days in the old Westphalian town of Münster, where Stolberg had lived the greater part of his new life, and where his name and fame were still fresh among the people. Everything pointed to Janssen as the fitting biographer of the brother-historian who had been animated by a spirit so like unto his own; and, though busied with exacting studies, he generously undertook the work. Stolberg's private papers were placed in his hands, and in 1876 he published the life of "Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg" (2 vols., Freiburg). The favor with which these volumes were received prompted him to prepare a new and smaller edition, on a modified plan, which,

sacrificing no important detail of the original, utilized new material so as to give a more complete view of Stolberg's character. This later volume shows Janssen's constructive skill at its best. We lose sight of the biographer and see and hear only Stolberg's self. He it is who lays bare for us his own manly, tender heart, and the aims and strivings of a noble soul. The story of his life and of the development of his mind is instructive and stimulating. As a member of the famed "*Hain*," an association which played an important part in the politico-literary history of Germany during the latter part of the eighteenth century, he had, in youth, been carried away by the false enthusiasms of his fellow-poets, and with them dreamed of liberty glorified by the revolution. Only a good Providence saved him from casting his lot with Goethe at the court of Weimar. A clear and strong intellect kept him Christian while the weak and restless minds around him fell into paganism, or so-called rationalism; and a burning love for freedom led him at length, after seven years of bitter struggle, into the Catholic Church; where, as he recognized—and where only—man is free indeed. He knew all the foremost men of the "*Aufklärung*," had seen into their minds and hearts, and watched and measured the effect of their work upon society; hence, his testimony as to their character, and the condition of society under the influence of their godless teachings, is particularly impressive. The reader of Janssen's essays on this period will gather from Stolberg new facts and ideas, helpful to a just estimate of a past whose false ideals control so large a part of mankind in the present. On the Church in Germany, as well as on Protestantism and atheism, Stolberg's conversion produced a remarkable effect. Protestants were for the moment stunned; still the man's ability and honesty were so well established that his action received more of regretful sympathy than abuse—though abuse was not wanting. His old friend, Voss—"the Christian poet"—pursued him bitterly to the very edge of the grave. In the atheist's eyes, he had betrayed liberty. Ministers of the gospel reasoned with him, and found him only too reasonable. Impressed by his acceptance of Catholic doctrine, many were led to inquire into the Church's teachings, and the conversions that followed, among the most intelligent laymen and churchmen, were numerous. The "*History of the Religion of Jesus Christ*" made a stir at the universities. Friedrich von Schlegel bore witness to the effect it produced at Heidelberg, and to the change wrought by its argument in the prevailing atheistic thought. He was not the only advanced thinker won over to the Church by Stolberg's presentation of the justice of her claims to lead mankind, and of the beauty and security of her teachings. German Catholics gained new courage in their trials, when they saw the loved and honored Stolberg return to the fold. They were moved to

greater activity; and he was ready to help or to lead. Inspiring people and clergy, he sought, by word and example, to raise both one and the other to higher aims and nobler lives, in the interest of their country and their countrymen. Janssen's admirable book giving new life to the great convert's words and works, is worthy the attention not of Germans only, or of students of history, but of men of every country who would be lifted out of the narrow circle of material thoughts which so confine the ideals and actions of young and old to-day.

In the same year in which the first edition of Stolberg's biography appeared (1876)—after twenty-five years of such rare training, and of so varied yet single-minded study, having utilized every published work and document of value, and a number of hitherto unprinted manuscripts, and having examined the archives of Frankfurt, Treves, Mainz, Lucerne, Zürich, Wertheim (not to mention other German "Sources"), and the Nunciature reports in the Vatican—Janssen issued the first half of the first volume of the "History of the German People." This volume was completed in 1878; the second appeared in 1879; and the third, fourth and fifth volumes have since been sent to press, as health allowed. If we knew nothing of the man, his education, powers or purpose, the list of the thirteen hundred and fifty manuscripts and printed works he has consulted would suffice to assure us of the broad and solid foundation on which he has builded. The use made of the material at command testifies not only to its extent, but to its value in helping unprejudiced inquirers fully to understand the deformation which some uninstructed writers still qualify as a "Reformation." Janssen is no polemist, neither defender nor opponent of individual, party or sect. Without passion, without one word of criticism, with no single expression of personal opinion, he records the facts; facts substantiated by credible witnesses and stated in their own words. Every page supports his simple statement of the purpose of his work, as given in the preface to the sixth edition of the first volume: "My endeavor is plainly to expose the truth of history, as well as I can gather it from the original authorities; from any other 'tendency' whatever I know myself to be free." The success of this endeavor and the force of plain truth have been practically illustrated by the effect of Janssen's history upon non-Catholics. Through reading it many have been brought back to the Mother-Church; and no less than fifty Protestants, including ministers and teachers in public institutions, sent congratulatory letters to the author on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination.

Among those who cannot believe the truth, because it is so new, Janssen has spread consternation. Other weapons failing, the standard dictionary of bad language has been greatly enlarged and flung

full at his head. "The enemy is 'under our walls. The Reformation is once more about to enter on a deadly struggle with Rome. Gird up your loins and stand as one man. *The Lord fill you with hate against the Pope!*" Such is the appeal of one Martin Rode, a theologian, of course. Professor Hans Delbrück, of Berlin, not satisfied with associating Janssen with the "Prince of Darkness," and Judas, denounces him as a "coiner," and wants to have *his ears cut off!* In America the Lutheran *Familienblatt* and the St. Louis *Abendschule* have been quite as scientifically critical. Professor Walther, of St. Louis, having probably run out of epithets, republished some of Cranach's wood-cuts, ridiculing the Papacy, with the original Luther-text—certainly a powerful answer, though inordinately abridged, to Janssen's five volumes of solid text, without illustrations. The *Evangelical Church Advertiser*, of Berlin, wants some one "to draw out of its scabbard the sword of the heroic age of reform and hit the insolent enemy on the head with it;" and some one else to inflame "the holy Protestant scorn of apocalyptic Rome." The *Advertiser* proudly announces that a number of learned Germans have at length founded a "Reformation" History Society, in Magdeburg—ominous name! Indeed, a cry has gone up for an Anti-Janssen; a history written in the Protestant sense, and which shall at the same time undo Janssen's work. How useless such a pseudo-history would be now, how unimpregnable is the simple, though novel, method of massing fixed fact on fact, of letting men speak for themselves and of the scenes in which they played a part, Janssen has made clear in his two admirable little volumes addressed "To My Critics" (Freiburg, 1882-1883). Models of polite, incisive controversy, they are the most unanswerable refutations of the ill-provided critics, who had learned to look upon their text-books as a part of the Gospel, and they are an equally complete defence of the facts by the facts. He himself had made his task easy.¹

Catholics may be proud of having given to England a John Lingard, and to Italy a Cesare Cantù. Giving to Germany a Johannes Janssen they have no less reason to be proud. But not content with pointing to the works of these great men, they should be moved by a noble ambition to do like service in like ways. The

¹ The following extract from a long, and on the whole fair review of Janssen's History, by M. Paul Bourdeau, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April, 1888, is worth quoting: "In fact, it is much easier to get angry with M. Janssen, and even to abuse him, than it is to refute him. It will not do to put up against him M. von Ranke, a rather vague historian, who excels in unravelling diplomatic affairs, in pointing out the movement of opinions, in drawing historical portraits, but who never gets down among the masses. All this history would have to be made over again, with the immense labor, and the realistic exactitude which M. Janssen has consecrated to it." —When the folks who think they are reformed have reformed their history-books, they will have taken the first practical step in the way of intelligent, honest reform. Reformer, reform thyself!

aim of the true scholar is not personal. Seeking not fleeting or uncertain honors, his strivings are directed by the love of truth and the hope that he may become the intellectual father of a progeny of truth-lovers. Still, the true scholar deserves to be honored in his lifetime; and Janssen has received worthy recognition at the hands of Catholics. Würzburg conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Theology, Louvain that of Doctor of Laws; the Archbishop of Freiburg appointed him one of his councillors, and our sympathetic Pope, Leo XIII., who has spoken such moving words to students of history, raised the historian to the offices of Prelate and Apostolic Prothonotary. But his greatest, most lasting honor is his masterly history.

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY COMPARED.

Problèmes et Conclusions de l'Histoire des Religions, par l'Abbé de Broglie, Professeur d'Apologétique à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris, 1885.

Le Dictionnaire Théologique de Bergier, Approprié au Mouvement Intellectuel de la Seconde Moitié du XIXe Siècle, par l'Abbé Le Noir: article *Bouddhisme*. Paris, 1876.

OF all the religions now or ever professed by men, only three are universalist, that is, calculated by principle and by dogma to be received not merely by a portion, but by all of mankind. These religions are Christianity, Islamism, and Buddhism. This fact alone would render a comparative study of these systems an interesting and profitable one. But Christianity and Buddhism present, in their origin, history and teaching, so many points of resemblance; they both, though in a different degree, so far excel all other systems in the tone of their morality, that a special comparison between them is almost forced on the attention of all who are interested in the great problems which every religion claims to be able to solve. It is strange that, until a comparatively recent date, so little should have been known concerning a religion professed, according to the most moderate of trustworthy estimates, by two hundred and fifty millions of beings, and dating from at least the sixth century before our era. Of course, even in the Middle Ages the Lamaism of Thibet, the Fo-ism of China, and the

Buddhism of Ceylon, had been described by Catholic missionaries; but no one seems to have surmised the unity of these systems, or to have apprehended the real nature of their morality, before the year 1820, when an English governor of Ceylon and an English resident in Nepaul almost simultaneously gave to the scientific world two collections of Buddhist sacred books, one in Sanskrit, and one in Pali. About the same time, a famous Hungarian orientalist, Csoma de Koros, found in a Thibetan monastery a similar collection which was, for the greater part, a translation from the Hindoo books. In later days translations of the same works have been found in the Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese languages. With the discovery of these books there arose on the part of many, an exaggerated admiration for the beauties of Buddhism, and the atheistic world gleefully acclaimed the supposed fact of entire nations contradicting the testimony of the human conscience in favor of the existence of a Supreme Being. Referring to this unmeasured enthusiasm for Buddhism, the Abbé de Broglie remarks: "If this religion was so beautiful, so ideal, and nevertheless so contrary to the general sentiments of humanity, how happened it that, until its sacred books were unshelved, such curious and striking characteristics were unknown? If Buddhism was really so different from the gross polytheism with which missionaries and travellers had confounded it, how did the mistake originate? There are only two ways of explaining this anomaly. Either we must suppose that modern Buddhism has so degenerated, that it in no way resembles the system inculcated in its sacred books, or we must admit that in practice it never accorded with its theoretic doctrine. In either case, the importance of Buddhism is much lessened, and so also is the gravity of the atheistic objections drawn from it."

The legendary and the real Buddha are so confused, that a satisfactory separation is nearly impossible. The life of Sakya Muni is known to us only by means of biographies written many centuries after his death; and much of it is not only legendary, but mythological. Senart demonstrates the existence of solar myths in this legendary life; of myths similar to those found in the story of Krishna, and analogous to the Greek fantasies concerning Hercules.¹ Some authors assign the birth of the Indian reformer to the eighth century B.C.; but De Broglie, following the chronology of Eugene Burnouf, Neve, and Pillon, certainly the most untiring of investigators in this matter, gives the year 557 B.C. as the date. His proper name was Siddhartha, his family name Sakya, and he came of the royal race of the Gautama, sovereigns in central India.

¹ *Essai sur la Légende de Bouddha.*

The title of Muni, or "solitary," was affixed to his name after he entered on the ascetic life. The title of "Buddha," which in Sanskrit signifies "one who has attained to perfect knowledge, *Bodhi*," was assumed by himself; and it must be remembered that this title was not personal to Sakya Muni, for he bore it in his quality of universal doctor, and in the Buddhist doctrine there are many Buddhas. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should not talk of "Buddha"; we may say "a Buddha," or at most "the Buddha."¹ In China, the name Buddha became Fo, which signifies, according to the Chinese encyclopedist, Ma-Touan-Lin, "pure intelligence," "absolute knowledge." In Siam, a Buddha is known as Phot; and in Japan he is called Chaca or Xaca. Following the "Lotus of the Good Law," a Buddhist *sutra* (discourse of Buddha) translated into French by Burnouf, we shall give a succinct narrative of Sakya's career. A wife of king Suddhodana, by name Maya or Mayadevi ("illusion"—a name assigned to her because of her ravishing beauty), while still a virgin, gave birth to the new religionist, and died seven days afterward, that she might not be pained by her son's sufferings as a mendicant monk. Before his birth from Maya, the new Buddha had passed through five hundred and fifty existences; he had been an ascetic, a brahmin, a merchant, a king, a parrot, a lion, a monkey, etc. But at his last birth, he immediately took four steps toward the four cardinal points, and cried: "I shall never be born again. I am the greatest of beings." His childhood was passed in study and meditation, and while yet a mere boy his tutors could teach him nothing. Happily married to a worthy girl, and surrounded by a harem of 80,000 others, Siddhartha was always occupied in serious thoughts, of which the following are samples: "All these worlds—that of the gods, that of the Asuras, and that of mankind—are afflicted by disease, by the miseries of old age, and by the fire of death. Like a mountain torrent, life runs with irresistible swiftness. By the facts

¹ Certain sanctuaries possess relics of Buddhas who were anterior to Sakya Muni. These Buddhas came at unequal intervals, the later ones having a duration of 2000 or 3000 years. The next Buddha, called Maytreya, is now in the heaven of Toocita, and he will descend 5000 years after the *Nirvana* of the present one. In the Buddhist books a Buddha is often variously designated. A *Tathagata* is one who has run his religious course, after the manner of preceding Buddhas. The title of *Baghavat* or "Happy One" is given not only to a Buddha, but to him who is about to become one. *Bodhisattva* signifies "one who has the essence of *Bodhi* or omniscience"; a *Bodhisattva* is an incipient Buddha, and a Buddha is a perfected *Bodhisattva*. To become a Buddha, a *Bodhisattva* must apply his intelligence to the salvation of men. *Arhat* means "venerable," and the Buddhist monks of a superior grade are so called. When given to a Buddha, this title signifies "the venerable one of the age."

of existence, of desire, and of ignorance, all creatures, whether in the home of the gods or in that of men, are subject to the three evils. Desire, always accompanied by fear and misery, is a source of grief. Every composite thing is perishable; it is by turns effect and cause; every being comes from another, and hence the apparent perpetuity of substance. But the wise man is not deceived; he perceives that every composite, every aggregate, is merely a void. Everything revealed by our senses is a void, within and without." Under the influence of such reflections, Siddhartha, at the age of twenty-nine, took to the woods, and commenced an ascetic life. Now and then he frequented the Brahmanic schools, but they did not show him "the way which leads to indifference for things of earth, to freedom from passion, to the *Nirvana*." That he might find this way, he retired from human society for six years, and at last, having conquered the temptations of the demon Mara, he went to a place called Bodhimanda, "the seat of knowledge," and seating himself under the fig-tree where preceding Buddhas had rested, he vowed that he would not arise until he had acquired supreme knowledge. After he had spent a day and a night without any movement, he found the "absolute," and was a perfect Buddha. The great heart of Sakya Muni would not allow him to reserve the possession of truth to himself: "Whether or not I teach the law, it will not be learned by those who now are involved in error; they will know it, who are following the truth; but as for those who are in doubt, they will embrace it if I teach it, and if I do not, they will never know it." Therefore pity for the doubting decided the mission of the new Buddha, and he resolved to inculcate the "four sublime truths"—grief, its cause, its destruction, and the *Nirvana*—all of which were connected with the then dominant doctrine of the transmigration of souls. "My law," said he, "is a law of grace for all;" for kings and subjects, for brahmins and the ignorant, for friends and strangers, for men and—with some modifications—for women. A unity of duties must ignore all Brahmanic prescriptions of caste; there must be no barriers of class, race, or nation. And although the new law subverted the very foundations of Brahmanic power, its simplicity—so different from the difficulties met by the student of the Vedas—attracted many of the brahmins, as well as many kings and princes who were glad to escape from the yoke of a tyrannous priesthood. But it was among the lower classes that Sakya Muni had the most pronounced success, for they regarded him as their liberator. He suffered some persecutions, but he died a natural death, and one which gave the brahmins an opportunity of charging him with gluttony. One of his disciples brought him a large mess of pork and rice, and a fatal attack of indigestion ensued—a

very prosaic exit for a Buddha. Sakya Muni is now in the *Nirvana*, and is the object of a certain kind of love on the part of Buddhists. But this love is very different from that which Christians feel for Jesus. The Christian's love for his Saviour is an efficacious sentiment, and it manifests itself in sacrifice; but no Buddhist would dream of any act of renunciation for the Buddha's sake. And why should he? Even before his death, Sakya had attained to the *Nirvana* of the passions, to an absence of all feeling; and now, if not annihilated, as many hold, he is in the very "perfection" of indifference toward everything in the universe.

Sakya Muni left no writings, but his discourses were collected by his disciples and afterwards rearranged by various Buddhist councils. Immediately after the reformer's death, a council of five hundred members assigned this task to his three most illustrious followers, Ananda, Kasyapa and Upali; a hundred and ten years afterward, in the reign of the famous Asoka Pyiadasa, whose inscriptions are yet preserved for the instruction of orientalists, another council revised the work; and four hundred years after Sakya's death, a third council definitively determined the canon of the Buddhist scriptures, which consist of *Sutras*, or discourses of the Buddha, of the *Vinaya*, or books of discipline, and of *Adhidharma*, or metaphysical theories. According to De Broglie, who follows the opinion of Eugene Burnouf,¹ Pillon,² Albrecht Weber,³ Hardy,⁴ Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire,⁵ and of many other grave authorities, Buddhism admits no first, fixed and absolute cause in the origin of things: "The prime characteristic of this doctrine is atheism, or, to speak more precisely, an absence of the idea of God. Buddha cares not to know whether there be a first cause; such a question is, for him, a superfluous and insoluble problem. As to this matter, he is in a state of mind like that of those who are called positivists in France and agnostics in England. Hence there is no prayer, no gratitude towards a Supreme Being, no mission from on high, for Sakya. All that he is, he is of himself; and he has acquired it in previous existences. We find no trace of any idea of grace, of divine help, in his doctrine. He does not pretend to be a god, or even an envoy from heaven. He is a man, a sage, and all his knowledge is the result of his own efforts. In his own opinion, Sakya is the first of beings, acknowledging no superior." De Broglie, therefore, and all the orientalists who call Sakya Muni an atheist, would have us believe that two hundred and fifty millions of Asiatics—the most spiritualistic minds on

¹ Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, 1845.

² L'Année Philosophique, 2me Année, 1868.

³ Indian Studies—German Review, October, 1858.

⁴ Manual of Buddhism, 1850.

⁵ Bouddhisme, 1855—Le Bouddha et sa Religion, 1859.

earth—were led away from a theistic doctrine by a promise of poverty and mortification in this life, and of nothingness—not an absorption into Brahma, but absolute nothingness—in the future. Such a supposition is not acceptable to the Abbé Le Noir, one of the best polemicists of our day. Had the very valuable work of De Broglie appeared before Le Noir prepared his article on Buddhism, the latter author would certainly have tendered it that courteous but uncompromising consideration which he ever manifests toward those from whom he feels obliged to differ. However, De Broglie may find the refutation of his theory already developed in Le Noir's thoughtful pages. In the first place, Le Noir asks Eugene Burnouf, who was the first to charge Sakya Muni with a denial of God and an annihilation of the soul, on what is this accusation based? Not on the discourses of the Indian reformer, for Burnouf admits that they do not furnish one word in proof of the allegation. And it is certain, insists Le Noir, that brave as Sakya was, he never attempted to interfere with the dogmas of Brahmanism: "If he did not accept the ancient creed of Brahmanism, why did he not attack it? Why did he content himself with a contradiction of the Brahmanic moral system, and utter no word in denial of Brahmanic dogma?" And the adepts of Sakya Muni followed the same course. Had the Buddha found fault with Brahmanic theology, the second Buddhist council, which degraded ten thousand priests on account of heresy, and the third, which degraded sixty thousand for the same cause, would have warned the faithful against that theology. Again, not one Brahmanic work can be cited as condemnatory of any heresy in Sakya's reformation of the ancient system. During the first years of Buddhism, the Brahmins did not disturb its followers. It was only when the pampered priests of Brahma realized that Sakya's notions of future equality and fraternity menaced the social fabric of which they were the head, that they determinedly confronted the new doctrine. Many Brahmanic priests entered the Buddhist priesthood, for Sakya had not abolished the priesthood any more than he had abolished sacrifice—other than that of animals. Finally, the Buddhist scriptures are profoundly theistic. In the *Guna-Karanda-Vyuka* we read: "When no other being as yet existed, Sambhu, who exists of himself, was; and as he preceded all other beings, he is called Adi-Buddha. He wished to be no longer the sole being, and therefore he multiplied himself." *A-se-itas* is plainly indicated in this passage, as well as the unity of a first cause and an explanation of creation.¹

¹ While De Broglie contends that Buddhism is atheistic "in the sense that it does not admit a Supreme Being," he avows that "it is polytheistic, inasmuch as it accords divine honors to the Buddhas and the Bodisattvas. And it must be noted that the Buddha's doctrine does not exclude that polytheism which was older than itself. It

A fundamental doctrine of Sakya Muni was that of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls—a doctrine taught not only by the Brahmins, but by Empedocles, Pythagoras and Plato by many of the ancient Egyptian philosophers, and probably held by the Jewish Pharisees and the more modern Cabalists. According to both Brahmanism and Buddhism, this transmigration is effected not only from one human body to another, but to the body of a brute, or even to a plant. A fatal and inexorable law compels all beings to a new birth, again and again, that they may expiate the faults committed in their previous existences. The Buddha did not make this law; he cannot interfere with it. But Sakya Muni was privileged to understand this law better than any other human being, and to show men how they could be freed from suffering. According to him, and, to a certain extent, according to Brahmanism, every existence is an evil; even the life of the demi-gods, who inhabit the heavens, is an evil. And why is existence an evil? Because it must terminate. Happiness ensues only after deliverance from existence, and that deliverance is the *Nirvana*—the most obscure, as it is the most important, point of Sakya's doctrine.

What is the *Nirvana*? The Buddha does not tell us. Buddhist philosophers represent it under the figure of a lamp which gives no light, because of want of oil. It is certain that the Buddhist scriptures, if not all Buddhist hearts, dwelling more on the evil than on the bright side of life, are filled with a passionate hatred for all mundane existence. When, under the fig-tree, Sakya attained sovereign wisdom, he cried: "Principle of human life, constructor of this tabernacle of the human body, I have sought thee during my many existences. It is a terrible thing to be ever reborn. Now I have found thee, and I have conquered thee. Thy chains are broken, and thou canst not cause me to be born again."¹ And when dying, the reformer insisted that every changeable thing is destined to destruction, and he urged his disciples to therefore "struggle bravely"; that is, he taught that men cannot escape that universal law of death which is above gods and men, but they

preserves, under the style of *devas*, the gods of the Indian Pantheon. Brahma has multiplied himself, and is replaced by a number of beings having the same name, whose chief is the Great Brahma, *Maha-Brahma*. And in addition to these gods, we find a hierarchy of supernatural beings, good and evil, angels and demons, having forms of birds or of serpents, and living on earth, in the air, or in the ocean. All these beings, even the greatest, are inferior to the Buddha; they form his court, hearken to him, and are converted to his doctrine. Some have not yet entered on the road to perfection; some become *arhats*; some arrive at once at the *Nirvana*. Their position as inferiors to the Buddha does not deprive them of their natural power, and men may worship them and invoke them."

¹ Dhammapada, ch. XI. (Collection of Max Muller, Sacred Books of the East).

can escape, by virtue, that other law according to which death must be followed by another birth. What, then, is this *Nirvana* which Buddhism promises as man's recompense hereafter, and on which it erects its moral edifice here below? Those who regard pure Buddhism as atheistic, tell us that the *Nirvana* is absolute nothingness. They derive the word from *nir*, a euphonic form of the negative particle *nis*, and *va*, "a breath," and insist that its meaning is "extinction." But cannot the *Nirvana* be an absolute, simple and permanent existence, ending the painful and indefinite metempsychosis? Can it not be, as Obry, Foucaux and Colebrooke interpret it, very similar to that eternal repose which the Catholic Church begs for her children in her funeral prayets? *Nirvana*, contends Le Noir, is not, as Pillon asserts, an almost meaningless word. *Nir* is the negative particle; *va* means "a wind," and therefore the term signifies "no wind," or an absence of tempest—in fine, a calm. Calm is not annihilation. The *Nirvana* is something. It is a deliverance from torment; it is a non-torment, which implies a comparison with the preceding torment, and is therefore a joy, and is experienced by a conscious being. Perhaps the meaning of this term may be illustrated by a consideration of the words sometimes used by nearly all sects of Indian origin when they wish to indicate man's final happiness. According to Colebrooke, nearly all those sects, Buddhism included, use the term *mukti* or *moksha*, with some differences of interpretation, such as emancipation, deliverance from evil, a riddance of earthly things, exemption from subsequent transmigration, etc. There are certain synonyms of *mukti*, e.g., *apavargya*, completion; *niksreyasa*, perfection; *katvalya*, solitude; *ananda*, imperturbable apathy; none of which imply annihilation. We are led, therefore, to believe that a discontinuance of individuality is not a condition of entrance into the *Nirvana*, and that this state is one of incessant apathy. And how can one be happy unless he *is*? "A child," says Le Noir, "would not be guilty of such a contradiction, and we are told that Sakya Muni, who was one of the greatest geniuses who ever exercised a religious influence in the world, fell into it; and that after his death, two hundred and fifty millions did the same. If primitive Buddhism was what our positivists say it was, if Sakya Muni taught an atheistic doctrine which assigned nothingness as the only hope of man, how is it that we find a precisely contrary doctrine professed by all the Buddhists of our day, who cherish all the superstitions naturally following a teaching which has God and the soul's immortality for a basis, when it is not upheld by a force more powerful than man's passionate nature? Certainly the average Buddhist of our time has no conception of a *Nirvana* such as the positivists imagine. His future abode is in one of the many

heavens placed one over the other, in which he will live for ages in the enjoyment of both intellectual and sensual pleasure.

Touching the moral doctrine of Buddhism, we must first observe that the mendicant monk, the *Bhikkhus*, was the principal object of Sakyas' prescriptions, for the monk alone can become an *arhat*, that is, he alone can arrive at the perfection which leads to the *Nirvana*. In reality, the monkish assembly is the Buddhist church. In Christianity the ascetic life is an exception ; in Buddhism monasticism is the rule. The Buddhist religious is vowed to celibacy, and his perseverance is aided by public opinion, which, in all Buddhist countries, is very severe on this point. Like our friars, the Buddhist monk can possess nothing ; he lives on alms. But in one matter the Buddhist religious differs from the Catholic monk, especially from the ideal of that monk, as conceived and concretized by St. Benedict. The Buddhist monk does not work. No Buddhist Montalembert would ever find, among the ascetics of his religion, material for such a glorification of the monastic system as the French publicist gave us in his " Monks of the West." The Buddhist religious passes his life in meditating on the nothingness of the world ; that is, in a species of laziness. The monks, however, do not form the totality of the Buddhist community. The hearers, or *Upasakas*, receive precepts of pure morality, such as not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicating beverages, not to kill any animal. The last prescription, founded on the doctrine of metempsychosis, is not observed to the letter, but it has produced a state of things in all Buddhist lands which would encourage the late Mr. Bergh. The principal duty of the *Upasaka* is to support the monk and nun ; but no matter how well he fulfils it, he never can become an *arhat*. Nevertheless, after a number of new existences, the masculine *Upasaka* may enter the *Nirvana* ; as for the women, not even nuns can attain this happiness, until they have gone through at least one more life in the masculine sex. As to the positive side of Buddhist morality, what we call charity, there would seem to be little of it, for the Buddhist appears, at first sight, to be profoundly egotistic, desiring even the *Nirvana* only as a means of escape from suffering. However, the system proposes the good of our fellows as a motive of action, and Sakya Muni set the example. He had been an *arhat* during many centuries, and could have entered the *Nirvana* long before he did enter it ; but he preferred to go through many painful existences, in order to enlighten mankind. This charity, however, is very different from that of Christianity. " The language of Buddhism," says Oldenberg, " has no word to express the poetry of Christian love, of that charity described by St. Paul. The realities in which that poetry has been actuated in the Christian world,

have no counterpart in the world of Buddhism." This system produces no hospitals (unless for animals), no orphanages, etc.; the only alms inculcated is that given to the monks.

Coming now to the principal object of our article, it must be admitted that there are striking resemblances between Buddhism and Christianity. Probably, popular Buddhism has been affected by the missionaries of Nestorianism, which, from the very days of its founder, has exercised an active, though not very successful propaganda in the East. "There is, indeed," remarks De Broglie, "a Chinese Buddhist ritual, which seems to have been copied from an Oriental Christian liturgy. Modern atheists insist much on the similarities which they find, and on others which they fancy they discover, in the principal religions. They tell us that Christianity cannot be of Divine origin, for a Divine religion must be entirely different from all others. In Buddhism, as well as in Christianity, we find the idea of a universal religion, and that of a Redeemer of men. In the Buddhist scriptures we read of a counterpart of the penitent Magdalen, in the person of the courtesan converted by Upagupta. The touching conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman is reproduced in an interview between Ananda, the favorite disciple of Sakya, and a woman of the despised caste of the Chandalas. Like Jesus, the founder of Buddhism retires to the desert, and there suffers the assaults of the demon. The Buddhists practise confession, and Holy Communion is represented by a participation in the sacrificial victims. From these and many other resemblances agnostics deduce, to their own apparent satisfaction, an equal value and authority for Buddhism and Christianity. But is it true that the true religion must differ entirely from all religions of human origin? As well ask, whether there can be, and are, any similarities between the lives of civilized men and those of barbarians? Heresy may exaggerate the effects of the fall of Adam, and may teach that man's nature is so deeply vitiated as to be capable of no moral good. It may insist that, outside of the household of faith, every action is a sin; that, outside of the true Church, there is no grace; and that God gives means of salvation only to a limited number of predestined souls. It may, therefore, be incapable of understanding how paganism can produce a Marcus Aurelius or a Sakya Muni. But Catholic theology distinguishes the natural from the supernatural order, and it admits that natural good may exist among pagans, for it holds, with St. Paul, that even these unfortunates have the law of God engraved in their hearts. Every man, without faith, can discern good from evil, can believe in future retribution, and can try to conquer his passions. Nay, more; he may attain even to the supernatural good, for God wishes all men to be saved, and His grace may be

distributed to all men of good will through channels unknown to us. No wonder, then, that there is a certain resemblance between Christianity and some other religions. All religions are institutions destined, some in a lesser and some in a greater degree, to satisfy certain instincts of human nature. A religion produced by a Divine cause, and another derived from a human one, must necessarily, by the very fact of their being religions, present certain similarities; just as all buildings, whether palaces or huts, destined for the shelter of men, must be somewhat alike. When men are deprived of the benefit of Divine revelation, what happens? They seek what they need, and, if necessary, in their own imaginations. If a self-styled prophet appears, many care not to examine his credentials, and regarding only their own aspirations, they gladly hearken to his theory of salvation. Then their own emotional nature leads them to establish a ritual. New messiahs, mahdis and prophets are never wanting, and the nineteenth century has welcomed as many as any other. Thus are developed false religions in which all is not imposture; in which there necessarily is some truth. And when God decrees to satisfy the yearnings of the human heart, to reveal Himself to men, to show them the road to heaven, He does in a perfect manner what the impostor pretended to do. He establishes, either directly or by means of His accredited agents, a ritual and other religious institutions; and He satisfies, by real miracles, the instinct for the supernatural which is, and ever has been, manifested by the human race. It is evident, therefore, that there must be much similarity between the true and all false religions. Nevertheless, the hand of God will always be visible in the true religion.

Compare the life of Jesus Christ with that of Sakya Muni. When we investigate the real lives of the world's great men, when we pass from the poetry of fiction to the prose of history, we discover, in every case, a very great difference between the real man and the ideal personage. Indeed, in many instances, history can tell us but little about the real man; thus, we know few of the details of the life of Sakya Muni, and, as to his discourses, all Orientalists agree that they are of dubious authenticity. But concerning Jesus Christ, we have a full historic reality, and that reality is in just accord with the ideal. As to Sakya Muni, if we may trust the Singhalese books, which above all others exalt his virtues, we find the ideal very different from the real Buddha. Take, for instance, the following narrative, furnished by Hardy, in his "Manual of Buddhism." One day, while Sakya was meditating in a garden, five hundred monks came to interview him, and when they were invited to seat themselves and await his leisure, they made so much noise when placing their begging-pots on the

ground, that Sakya cried out to Ananda: "Who are these who make as much of a racket as fishermen would when drawing their nets?" When Ananda informed him, he ordered the visitors to be ejected, with an injunction never again to show themselves where he might be, and it required an express intervention of Brahma to appease his ire. Can even an agnostic fancy Jesus Christ acting in this manner? No; the life of Jesus, as narrated in the Gospel, is an ideal life, even though agnostics may not acknowledge it as a superhuman one. And this ideal cannot be the work of human imagination, exercising itself on a gross and inferior reality. It requires no acquaintance with the science of criticism to be convinced of this, for a very ordinary mind must grasp the fact that the authors of the Gospels were utterly incapable, as far as their mere intellects could aid them, of giving such an appearance of probability to a work of imagination. And how is it that the four Evangelists are in such accord when they present the ideal Christ? Must they not have had the real, historic Christ before their minds? Listen to Rousseau on this matter: "Shall we call the gospel-history an invention? My friend, inventions are not made in that manner, and the facts of the life of Socrates, concerning which no one doubts, are not attested as well as those of the life of Jesus Christ. After all, to call the gospel-history an invention, would be an avoidance rather than a solution of the difficulty. It is much more probable that one and the same person was the subject of these books, than that four men agreed in their fabrication. Jewish writers could never have excogitated such a tone and such a morality; and the Gospel presents characteristics of truth so striking and inimitable, that its inventor would be more astounding than its hero."¹ History and our own experience convince us that a union of the real and the ideal is impossible in the natural order; therefore, in Jesus Christ, uniting these so different elements in His visible nature, we recognize the Messenger of God, nay, the Divinity, with its most sublime attributes. The life of the Buddha, even as it is traced by his most impassioned votaries, is

¹ *Émile*, l. IV.—We avail ourselves of the opportunity furnished by this quotation, to draw the reader's attention to Le Noir's appreciation of Rousseau: "Every one is familiar with the vagaries of this democratic character, this adventurer and misanthrope, influenced for evil, in matters of practical morality, by the depravity of his times; every one is acquainted with his impassioned style, the reflection of his very soul, as well as of his paradoxical genius. Let us admit that he deserves consideration for having expressed, in his age of ice, an ardent admiration for the Gospel, and for having been, throughout his life, a Christian in sentiment. Let us also admit that he deserves, as one of the greatest writers who ever lived, and as a profoundly theistic democrat, a place alongside of Fénelon in the temple of art. Rousseau is one of those who, compared with the atheists of our day, lead all just minds to apply to them the saying of Jesus to His disciples: 'He who is not against you is with you.'"

far removed from the ideal, a search for which, in union with the real, is the object of every religion.

"Believe in My works," said Jesus Christ. Moral proofs may influence individuals, here and there; but miracles impress all persons, and if they were of no value in determining the truth of a religion, atheists would not be so anxious to disprove them. A monotheist religion naturally relies upon miracles as a presumption in its favor, for such a religion presents God the Creator as the master of nature—as One who *can* work miracles; and were God to withhold a sanction, through His miraculous interposition, of the presented system, man would prefer to rely on the light of his own reason. Now in all the alleged miracles outside of Christianity, it is at least difficult to decide what is illusion or imposture, and what preternatural; and if we are ever forced to acknowledge the preternatural in any such adduced facts, it may be ascribed to a demon. As to the miracles of Sakya Muni, let us ignore the suspicious fact that they were first mentioned several centuries after his death, and accept them as phenomena. But even the Buddhists do not attribute them to divine power, but to magic, one of the Buddha's natural acquisitions; and it is evident that a man may be a powerful magician, and yet a teacher of error. In the Gospel, we find a series of miracles performed in designated places, at definite times, in the presence of many, and of such a description that a natural explanation of them is impossible.

Christian polemics have always adduced the marvellously rapid propagation of their religion in proof of its divine origin. They all felt like saying with Richard of St. Victor: "If, O Lord, my faith be an error—which is an impossibility—Thou art the deceiver; for Thou hast permitted Christianity to be marked with signs which plainly show the imprint of Thy omnipotent hand." Our modern atheists are fond of rebutting this argument by instancing the rapid diffusion of Buddhism; but they fail to remark the immense difference between the natures of the two religions—a difference which would have augured, if considered from a merely human point of view, success for Buddhism and failure for Christianity. Christianity called on the proud Quirites to abandon a religious system which permeated every fibre of their social and political fabric; to forsake deities to whose care they ascribed the advance of Rome from the humble state of a petty hamlet to the position of mistress of the world; to hurl these deities from Olympus, and cast them into the realm of nothingness, or perhaps into the shades of hell. But Buddhism called for no change of dogmatic belief. Christianity asked Rome to acknowledge as teachers men of a hated race, poor and ignorant fishermen, plebeian foreigners; to adopt a moral system, diametrically opposed to all the vices which

paganism sanctioned and encouraged; to adore as God a citizen of despised Judæa, only lately crucified as an impostor by a Roman governor. Buddhism did not pretend to speak in the name of God; it made no radical changes in social life,¹ and especially none in regard to the relation of the sexes; it imposed no new mysteries, and the Buddhists of Japan even flatter themselves that they need not admit a God-Creator. Christianity first manifested itself without any paraphernalia of glory or social standing; the Buddha was the son of a king, and his first disciples and converts were men of the superior classes. The persecutions of Christianity were terrible, and endured for three centuries. Dodwell, Voltaire, and Gibbon may try to belittle them, but they are authenticated by contemporary and trustworthy writers. As Lactantius (260-325) says of the Roman persecutors: "They tortured the Christians with the most exquisite kinds of punishments; they used all the powers of their slaughter-house, as though they thirsted for blood. What Caucasus or India ever raised such ruthless and sanguinary beasts? That person is a beast, by whose single wish the purple gore everywhere flows. Everywhere are cruel tears, panic, and the multiplied image of death. No one can rightly describe the ferocity of this animal, which, though it crouches in one spot, nevertheless grinds its iron teeth throughout the universe, and not only devours the

¹ It has been asserted that Buddhism condemned and destroyed the system of castes wherever it prevailed. Now we know *a priori* that it could not have done this, for it furnished the human conscience with no new conception of justice which would serve as a basis of such condemnation. Buddhism recognized the transmigration of souls as forming its fundamental dogma, and the system of castes was its fatal consequence. Eugene Burnouf (*loc. cit.*, p. 210), who devoted more study to this matter than any other orientalist, says that "Sakia Muni admitted a hierarchy of castes, and explained it just as the Brahmins did, by the theory of rewards and punishments. Whenever he instructed a man of inferior condition, he taught him that his lowliness of origin was the consequence of the crimes committed in his previous existences. The conversion of a man, according to Sakia, was tantamount to giving him a means of escape from the law of transmigration; it was an absolute and relative liberation from a vitiated birth—*absolute*, by putting him in the way of attaining definite annihilation (this we cannot admit); *relative*, by making him a religious like Sakia himself. Therefore, Sakia opened the way of Heaven to all castes, whereas before his advent, that way had been closed to many; and he made them equal to himself and to each other by granting them the religious investiture. . . . We perceive how we must understand that famous axiom of Oriental history, according to which Buddhism effaced all distinction of castes. The writers who have repeated this assertion have fancied that it is verified by the condition of such people as profess Buddhism in our day. But there is a noteworthy exception which has not received sufficient attention. If caste distinctions are unknown to the Buddhist nations of Thibet, Burmah, and Siam, they are very firmly established among that people who first adopted Buddhism, the Singhalese, . . . The instance of Ceylon allows us to suppose that the phenomenon of a co-existence of Buddhism and castes was also seen in India in the olden time, and a study of the *Sutras* fully confirms the supposition." Nevertheless, Buddhism did directly oppose the Brahmanic caste, denying its mission and social function, and transferring these to religions taken from all castes.

entrails of men, but crunches their very bones, and even rages against their ashes, lest they should find a burial-place." Even the most clement of the pagan Roman emperors were persecutors of Christianity. Antoninus Pius, often lauded for goodness, was one, as is shown by inscriptions in the catacombs,¹ and by Justin Martyr². That even Marcus Aurelius, whose "Meditations" seem to breathe a Christian spirit, was a persecutor, is proved by the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and by the contemporary "Apologies" of Apollinaris, Athenagoras, and Miltiades. That Trajan, one of the "good princes," also persecuted the Christians, is evinced by the martyrdoms of Popes Clement (Romanus), Evarist, and Alexander; of St. Ignatius of Antioch and of St. Simeon (son of Cleophas); and of Sts. Nereus, Achilleus, Sulpitius, Severianus, and Cæsareus—all well authenticated; and by the "Acts of St. Ignatius," the genuineness of which is defended by the Protestants, Usher and Pearson. But how different from all this is the picture furnished by the infancy of Buddhism. Everywhere this system was established with the aid of the civil power. Sakya Muni was protected by King Bimbisara, and when the reformer died, the Princes of Malava presided at the funeral. The first foreign missions of Buddhism were inaugurated by the great conqueror, Asoka Pyiadasa; before his reign, the new system was professed only by some obscure ascetics of Magadha. It was Mahendra, son of Asoka, who carried Buddhism into Ceylon. Kanishka, an Indo-Scythian, King of Cashmere, first developed it in Tartary. Chubilai, successor of Genghis Khan, established it among the Mongols. Finally, the doctrinal feebleness of Buddhism was greatly favorable to its propagation, whereas the pure monotheism and precision of doctrine presented by Christianity ought, humanly speaking, to have prevented its success. Buddhist missionaries would have found no difficulty, as did the Holy See in the famous question of the Chinese ceremonies. They were ever willing to adopt all superstitions.

But while the arguments above adduced forbid our admitting in Buddhism the transcendent qualities which place Christianity above every religion, we must avow that it has exercised a beneficent influence over the minds and hearts of the people who have accepted it. Especially in Mongolia, Thibet, and Ceylon, it has effected much in the way of social pacification, by mollifying the dispositions of men. Benevolence, at least to some extent, is now known where once destructive passions held sway. We can scarcely realize the possibility of a Genghis Khan or a Tamerlane reappearing in these regions. It is generally admitted that rapine and

¹ ARRINGHI, *Subterranean Rome*, b. iii., ch. 22.

² *Apologia*, num. i.

murder are now no more rampant in Buddhist lands than in the civilized West, and to Buddhism must be accorded much of the credit for the great change. "At the time of Genghis Khan," says Abel Rémusat, "the ferocity of the Turkish race was equalled by that of the Mongol, which the former had temporarily subjugated. The Turkish race has persevered in its attachment to Islamism, and the fanaticism of an intolerant system has served to confirm its turbulent habits and its disposition to carnage and rapine. But the Mongolian races have successively embraced Buddhism, and to it is due the change in their characters. As pacific now as they formerly were savage and indocile, they are devoted exclusively to the care of their flocks."¹ The same may be said of the Thibetans who, now that they are Buddhists, are a lettered and a comparatively refined people; whereas, in their ante-Buddhistic days, they were wont to eat their dead. Of course, Christian influence has contributed not a little to this amelioration, and Taine errs when he ignores it; but there is much truth in his remark that, "if, like so many drops of water in a vessel, all the benevolence and humanity in the civil and domestic life of Asia could be collected, it would be found that the good Buddhist river has furnished the greater part." Another trait of Buddhist people is a spirit of religious tolerance. Even Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, zealous propagandist as he was, always commanded the various sects in his dominions to observe mutual respect and concord. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire cannot account for this characteristic; it cannot come, he thinks, from the superior reason of the Buddhists, for it is not to be believed that these people developed so delicate a matter, when they were so profoundly ignorant concerning some of more easy acquisition; it cannot come from indifference, for they show intense religious fervor in the great number of monuments which they have consecrated to their belief. Pillon finds a key to the mystery in the pantheistic character of Buddhism, which excludes any "divine monarchism." We agree with Le Noir, who thinks there is no need of seeking an explanation of this tolerance outside of the Buddhist system of morality—that part of religion to which Sakya Muni attached the greatest importance, and which is exceedingly mild and tolerant, for it commands its adepts to bear everything with patience, and it will not allow even animals to be unnecessarily hurt.

¹ *Mélanges Critiques*, vol. i.

² *Nouveaux Essais de Critique et d'Histoire*.

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS IN BUENOS AYRES.

I.

IN 1856 the Sisters of Mercy were seen for the first time in the straight streets and flowery *plazas* of Buenos Ayres. A large tide of European emigration had been turning towards the Argentine Republic, and these Religieuses had come at the urgent call of the authorities, civil and religious, to minister to the pressing wants of the native and foreign population, and establish schools and hospitals throughout the territory. The above joint applications had been made to the parent house at Dublin, and Archbishop Cullen and Mother M. Vincent Whitty took the deepest interest in this first South American foundation. The former gave a special blessing to the courageous volunteers, bade them apply to him as to a father in any contingency that might arise in their new field of labor, and rely on his aid in every emergency. The latter gave them a warm maternal benediction, made every possible arrangement for their spiritual and temporal weal, and followed them with love and prayers over the vast watery expanse which she herself has since crossed more than once.

It was, therefore, with deep spiritual joy and high hopes that the little band of five sisters turned their faces southward on the Feast of the Kings, January 6, 1856, and set out on their toilsome journey from the Liffey to the Rio de la Plata. Cheerfully did they bear the terrible heat of the Torrid Zone, the monotonous days, the trying tediousness of that lengthy voyage. While most of the passengers, enervated by the fierce tropical sun, lay stretched out as if dead, they were up and doing. The cooler weather of the South Temperate Zone, and its beautiful starry skies, were a relief and a joy to them. On the 24th of February, after a prosperous voyage, their vessel cast anchor in the immense river along whose shore stretches Buenos Ayres. A tug brought them near land, and in a few moments they briskly clambered down its sides to the boat that was to land them opposite their provisional convent. For two years they resided in a private house in *Calle Merced*, whence they removed to the fine convent in *Calle Rio Bamba*, built for them by the Irish people. Dr. Excalada,¹ the saintly old Archbishop, heartily welcomed them to his episcopal city.

¹ This holy man died at Rome during the Vatican Council. So highly did the people venerate him that they had his remains brought back and deposited in his Cathedral. He was succeeded by his Vicar-General, the present incumbent, Dr. Anieros.

Buenos Ayres was not, in 1856, the beautiful city it has since become. It was, however, unique in the eyes of the newcomers. Its long narrow streets, stretching into the pampas, were lined with low, white houses of adobe or sun-dried brick, surrounded, in Spanish fashion, by gardens, and shaded by trees which have long since given place to unsightly telegraph and telephone poles. Here and there were large stone churches outlined against the sky, Moorish arcades, and low private palaces, carved and pillared, through whose arched windows the sun rarely penetrated. It had, and still has, many beautiful public squares, a healthy Spanish custom which other nations are too slow to adopt. From the unsurpassed salubrity of the climate, the city and province have been called *Buenos Ayres* (good air).¹

But neither Dr. Cullen nor the Mother Superior understood the circumstances of the country which had so earnestly begged through its one Archbishop, and its chief magistrate, for a branch of the Mercy Order. They did not remember, if, indeed, they ever knew, that "the revolution of '48 had caused the scum of Italy to migrate to that once peaceful land," men who, "by their numbers and wicked organizations, were destined to make ruin, anarchy, and irreligion the order of the day, set the government at defiance, and establish a reign of terror." Nor were the home authorities aware, in those days of little steam and less telegraph, that a fearful epidemic was raging in the city to which they missioned the devoted band.

Yes, when the Sisters arrived, it was not the red flag but the yellow—not the demon of periodic revolution, but the Angel of Death—that hovered over the fair city. They had no work to do as educators, but, entirely unacclimated as they were, their services were at once called into requisition as nurses. Their days and nights were spent assisting the sick and preparing the dying for the better land. The whole town was laid waste by yellow fever. The worst cases were sent to the Lazaretto, and of this temple of horrors they at once took charge. The *pamperos* or prairie wind was supposed to have brought the plague. The very atmosphere was pestilence-laden; its boasted salubrity had vanished. Buenos Ayres had become the city of bad air. Every breath they inhaled was poison. Yet they drank of the deadly thing and it hurt them not.

The horrible scenes peculiar to epidemics were enacted over and over again. Frightened wretches forsook their nearest and dearest. Panic-stricken crowds fled to the country. At the first approach of peril, the infidel party had rushed madly towards the shadows

¹ "Santisima Trinidad de Buenos Ayres" was the name given the city by the Spaniards who planned it.

of the snow-capped Andes; and on their return, when the last vestige of the plague had disappeared, the heroic charity of a few poor women, strangers in the land, compelled their admiration and esteem.

II.

Yellow fever came again and again, and history repeated itself. In the pestilence of 1871, the official report gave the number of deaths as 13,000, but 20,000 would be nearer the truth. Eight of the sisters were prostrated, as much by exhaustion produced by incessant nursing as by disease, yet not one died. What they underwent on these occasions no tongue could tell, no pen describe. But their labors and sacrifices were all for One who, on the great accounting day, will reward even a cup of cold water given in His name.

After each terrific visitation a period of comparative quiet followed. On account of their skill as nurses, and their success in saving cases which even the medical men deemed hopeless, the whole population was at such times, figuratively, at their feet. The State vied with the Church in doing them honor, and styled them the saviours of the city. The Sisters took advantage of one of these favorable epochs in their history to build a fine hospital—a necessary adjunct to a city always menaced and often visited by yellow fever. The site was selected in Rio Bamba, the highest quarter of Buenos Ayres; and the institution, open to all kinds of fevers, attained, under their able superintendence, a high degree of efficiency.

III.

Delightful climate and wonderfully productive soil characterize most of the Spanish-American republics. But these and other advantages are all but neutralized by the chronic instability of the governments; and revolutions are almost as common as floods, earthquakes, or epidemics. A group of daring men at home, any collection of *carbonari* from abroad, may be able to upset the firmest government yet established in these territories. Between 1810 and 1835 there were thirty-six changes of government in Buenos Ayres; and many have since occurred. Every change brought trouble to the sisterhood. The despotism of the "blood and iron" Don Manuel Rosas, who styled himself "the Eternal," had but recently ceased when the Sisters of Mercy were invited to the country. Indeed, the so-called liberal party, with a fine sense that liberty consists in license to crush all who venture to dissent from one's peculiar views, had been playing at annoying or suppressing convents from its advent to the beautiful region to which it has been such a scourge. And if, by fits and starts, it tolerated

the Sisters of Mercy—the only *religieuses* within the limits of the republic for the twenty-four years of their residence in Buenos Ayres—it was because of the immense advantages society derived from that devoted body of women, the only trained nurses and teachers then in the country.

With the exception of New Orleans Buenos Ayres is, perhaps, the most cosmopolitan city in the world. On the arrival of the Sisters about one-third of the population was European. Italians were the most numerous of this contingent. There were also Spaniards, Irish, French, Americans, Germans, English, Gauchos, Negroes, Indians, poor specimens of the Children of the Sun—a sprinkling of mestizos and mulattoes—in short, of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation. Spanish, and Spanish spoken with an Italian accent, and English, were the chief languages heard on the streets. Canon Fahy, their chief friend among the clergy, wished the Sisters to be specially beneficial to the Irish settlers. But these, for the most part, wisely kept aloof from the city. They were very much scattered. As stock raisers and wool farmers they may be said to have developed a new industry and added a new article to the commerce of the country. Their occupation kept them at a distance on large *estancias* or cattle farms, where they have become the most extensive sheep-raisers in the world. Sometimes an Argentine *caballero*, splendidly mounted, his horse and saddle, solid silver stirrups and pommels, worth a small fortune, his shoulders draped with the national poncho (blanket), drew up before the convent-gate, and spoke to them with the accent of Cork or Donegal—an *estanciero*, thoroughly naturalized. But, on the whole, they saw little of their country-people. All Argentines, whether by birth or adoption, were equally the objects of their zeal.

Boarding-schools were soon added to their convent. A second convent was founded at Mercedes, two hours distant by rail. An orphanage and a house of mercy adjoined each institution. All this was done in the face of almost unceasing opposition from the infidel party, which too often held sway in the Southern Republic. While their charity was remembered they were unmolested in their works of education and benevolence. But such remembrance was short-lived. "Ah," said a holy Jesuit to them on their arrival, "I know you expect the cross, for, as you say, the cross is everywhere. But it is much larger in South America than elsewhere." The enemies of religion were compact and thoroughly organized; the good people were scattered and without a leader. Liberty too often degenerated into license. The men in power seemed incapable of understanding that all the inhabitants of a republic are equally entitled to its privileges, provided they observe its laws.

IV.

The leader of the Buenos Ayres Sisterhood, Mother M. Evangelista Fitzpatrick, in every sense a superior woman, was born in Dublin on Christmas Eve, 1822, of parents remarkable for piety, charity, and intellectual endowments. Her father, who was well known in the literary circles of his day, took an active part with O'Connell against the *Veto* and for Emancipation. His charity was unbounded. He was called the father of orphans. His wife cordially seconded his charitable plans. The virtues of the parents passed to their offspring. One of their sons fell as a missionary chaplain at Kyper Pass, India. Another sacrificed his life for his flock in a distant western state. Even in this family of apostles Mother M. Evangelista was distinguished from childhood for tender piety and unlimited charity. She showed a real personal love for the poor and helpless—beautiful traits fostered by prayer and the saintly example of her parents.

No one was surprised when this lovely, accomplished girl left all for Christ, and became a Sister of Mercy at the age of twenty-two, a period of life when the world holds forth its fairest charms. She was received by Mother M. Cecelia Marmion, whose death she so beautifully describes in a letter quoted in the second volume of "Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy."

As a novice she exhibited the virtues characteristic of her long religious life—solid, unaffected piety, self-denial, charity, and exact observance of rule. During the cholera of 1849 she was the life and soul of the Sisters appointed to minister to the victims of that awful disease in the camp or shed hospitals at Glasnevin. Here she gained the skill and experience that stood her in good stead beneath the Southern Cross. It used to be said that cholera never passed the equator. But the cholera at Buenos Ayres in 1873 was only less dreadful than the epidemic of yellow fever in 1871. Mother M. Evangelista was attacked at the midnight Mass, at Christmas, and the Sisters had a sad feast. Though at death's door for several days, God gave her back to their prayers.

When it was decided to respond to the Argentine appeal Mother M. Evangelista was named Superior of the valiant band destined for that distant and most uninviting mission. From the first the undertaking was full of crosses and contradictions. These served to show the true spirit of the holy Mother, who was subsequently styled "the Apostle of Buenos Ayres." The natives, the Spanish settlers, and the government (before it fell under infidel influence) were most kind to the Sisters. And even the infidel party, at once bold and unscrupulous, could not always hold out against the heroic charity of the good Mother and her worthy daughters.

More than once it challenged their admiration, and compelled them to allow periods of comparative calm to those whom they professed to admire. The Christmas season, which is midsummer in that region, was frequently saddened by pestilence. On these occasions the Sisters dropped everything to devote themselves to the stricken, often abandoned by fathers, brothers, and husbands; and sometimes—alas, for poor human nature—by sisters, wives, and even mothers.

V.

The most dreadful experience of the devoted Mother and her children came in the summer and autumn of 1875. Towards Christmas, that epoch of peace and good-will, their calm courage and self-denying charity were completely ignored by the enemies of religion, and threats of vengeance against them were heard, now aloud, again in smothered tones. The infidel party, reinforced by communists, had become the dominant one. In February a revolution broke out, and scenes were re-enacted which had a few years before been the order of the day in Paris. The Jesuits and the Sisters of Mercy, being the only religious in the city, were marked out for destruction. The massacre of the archbishop was decreed in a sort of secret consistory, and a partial execution of these murderous enactments quickly followed. Early on Sunday, February 28th, the mob marched from the port, where they had assembled before dawn, to the episcopal palace. Not finding the archbishop, they smashed the windows and furniture, defaced the massive, many-pillared cathedral, crying out meanwhile that their thirst for vengeance could be slaked only by his blood. They next proceeded to the beautiful church of St. Ignatius, which they speedily demolished. On the preceding day the Jesuit Fathers, by the advice of friends, had asked protection from the government; but the president paid no attention to the petition—save to resolve that no aid from him should reach the petitioners—and stealthily withdrew to his country house. Yet they seem to have relied on some measure of protection, for they did not leave the city, nor do anything towards saving their property.

In times of revolution, in Spanish-American countries, the chief executive, for the time being, is rather a dictator than a constitutional ruler.

The Jesuit college, San Salvador, a monster edifice¹ that accommodated four hundred boarders and an immense number of day students, was one of the most magnificent educational establishments in the world. Twenty-four grand pianos, with other musi-

¹ Unlike most other structures in Buenos Ayres, it was four stories high, and built chiefly of glass and iron.

cal instruments, were disposed about the spacious main hall, the walls of which were covered with cases containing vast stores of scientific instruments. A collegiate church of exquisite workmanship had just been completed for the use of the students. Everything was sacrificed by the mob, an assemblage of so-called gentlemen. The college was on the Calle Rio Bamba, opposite the Convent of Mercy. Mother M. Evangelista and her household suffered the most poignant anguish as the shouts of the demoniac procession, parading the principal streets, reached their ears. Amid blasphemies and savage execrations they could distinguish the ominous words: "First the Jesuits, and then the Sisters of Mercy!"

VI.

But we shall let an eye-witness still further describe the terrible scene:

"When the mob, consisting of several thousands, reached the college, forty Fathers and scholastics were at recreation in the garden. Savage cries for their blood, the noise of breaking doors and the crashing of glass fell upon their ears. The rooms and corridors were soon filled with wild beings in human form, who, with yells and curses, smashed everything that would yield to their clubs and hatchets. Over what remained they poured petroleum, and in a moment all was ablaze within and without, for petroleum had also been applied to the beds and broken furniture which had been dashed from the college windows. Like fiends they burst into the chapel, and threw vestments, chalices, and pictures into the blazing pile. A fresh supply of the murderous fluid reduced to ashes the priceless treasures of the library which it had taken years to collect.

"A splendid picture of the Sacred Heart was carried out with every term of blasphemy, and held up by one of the wretches while another transpierced it with a javelin amid indescribable insults. This fearful outrage did not go unpunished, for one of his own vile companions plunged a sword into his body, and the wretched creature fell dead. The Most Adorable Sacrament was taken from the tabernacle and flung into the street."

At this stage of the diabolical proceedings Maria Lasagna, a poor Italian woman, broke into the infuriated rabble, and, on her knees, gathered, as best she could, the Adorable Fragments, with a heroism greater than that of the pious Veronica. To the convent she hastened with the Precious Burden, saying, as she deposited It with the kneeling Sister at the gate: "I must go back and try to save my Lord from further insult." And back again went Maria Lasagna. And though beaten and cursed by the furies

whose every move was a new sacrilege, she desisted not, but reverently gathered the Sacred Particles, mingled with clay and ashes and the blood of the wretch that had led the riot, now a corpse.

Bitter were the tears shed by the afflicted Sisters. In presence of these awful sacrileges the loving heroism of Mother M. Evangelista made her oblivious of danger. Falling prostrate on the ground at the convent gate, she made burning acts of reparation to her outraged Lord, heedless of the shouts and threats of the mob. "O my Jesus!" she frequently exclaimed, "that I should see Thee thus outraged!" By a special intervention of Providence the convent was saved. The French Consul did good service, yet the mob had broken open the chapel doors when a voice was heard: "Not there." The orphans, boarders, and inmates of the House of Mercy gathered around Reverend Mother, who, kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament, recited the rosary in Reparation. All night long they watched before the Tabernacle, the Mother's heart broken with indescribable anguish. To the hour of her death, eleven years later, the howlings of these fiends, their wild revolutionary songs, and their horrible imprecations rang in her ears. That miserable Sunday was as the first Good Friday in the streets of Jerusalem. Constantly she shed torrents of tears, crying out from the depths of her loving heart: "O that my sweet Lord should be so treated by His own creatures!"

Next morning a priest, disguised as a gardener, said Mass for the community. He continued to do this daily, at the peril of his life, during the reign of terror, which lasted till April, 1875. The patient heroism of the good Mother sustained her large family till peace was once more proclaimed, as in Warsaw. Divine vengeance overtook some of the ringleaders on the spot. Three, who had put on the habits of the Jesuits they had murdered, were mistaken for real Jesuits by their comrades in iniquity, and, despite their declarations and curses to prove they were not members of that obnoxious body, were cut to pieces. A few more were killed by savage spirits who, not finding any more religious to kill, thirsted for the blood of their companions.

VII.

The Convent of Mercy nearest Buenos Ayres was that of New Orleans, and between the houses there existed warm attachment and friendly sympathy. Some two years after the hideous events just narrated Mother M. Evangelista gives a harrowing picture of the condition of the community:

"How could I enter into our history? Truly, it would seem incredible. We are now (1877) here over twenty-one years, and so far from being securely established, or from flourishing, the

probabilities are that we shall be sent away in the end. The Free Masons are most powerful, and are laboring hard against religion. And the worst of it is that, though there are many good people scattered here and there, they are not united as a body, neither have they any one to lead or rouse them. There are also communists here in superabundance.

"The Jesuit College on the other side of our street was burned by no mob—at least the mobs were employed by gentlemen (?), government officials, etc. It was done in open daylight, and the government purposely delayed sending troops to stop the work of destruction till it was too late. Part of their programme was to destroy our convent. The cry was raised and the men had attacked the chapel, when a voice which all heard, but none could trace to any visible mouth, called them off. This was repeated three times, till at length they desisted from their attempt.

"But it is not only the hatred of the wicked that proves a cross. Were it merely that it would rather serve to reanimate our zeal in the good cause. But, and especially since the burning of the Jesuits' College, we are left almost powerless for good. I cannot venture to explain *how* this happens. In fact, we have steady, quiet opposers in those who ought to help us. The Irish, as a body, are scattered from fifty to hundreds of miles out in the camp; you see we cannot deal directly with them. . . . We have had crosses almost unceasingly. Deaths of Sisters far beyond the average; sickness and deaths among the children; steady, continued calumnies against us; false friends; bad priests. We are in God's hands—that is our comfort. Were you to hear our story you would think it strange indeed. The bad here have a most particular hatred against the Jesuits and the Sisters of Mercy. Why they thus honor us I know not.

"Pray for us. Better be turned away than remain in danger of hereafter degenerating. . . . We are twenty-six in all. We have a branch at Mercedes, and a House of Mercy beside us. We have eighty poor Spanish and Italian children in one of our schools, who are perpetually coming and going. The infamous state schools now established aim at destroying the morals as well as the faith of the children. And parents are to be fined if they don't send them to these pompous dens of vice. The profits of our boarding-school help us to support thirty poor orphans."

Any one at all conversant with the state of things in Spanish-American countries will understand that, after the expulsion of the Jesuits and the lamented death of good Canon Fahy, it was scarcely possible for the Sisters of Mercy to remain in Buenos Ayres. For years Mother M. Evangelista had been anxious to follow the Divine counsel, "When they persecute you in one city flee to an-

other." The New Orleans community sought to procure the blessing of receiving the Buenos Ayres Sisters, martyrs in desire and almost in fact. But the Argentine metropolitan refused to part with what he was wont to call the gem of his unfortunate diocese. His great affection for the Sisters made him unwilling to let them go. "What!" he exclaimed, when leave was asked, "allow the Sisters of Mercy, who have never given me anything but consolation, to leave my diocese! No; it cannot be. I will not part with them." But the place did not suit the Sisters of Mercy at the time. They had noble, generous friends, but they had also dreadful enemies, from whom the archbishop was powerless to shield them.

Other means failing, the infidel party sought to effect their ruin by forcing them to receive unsuitable subjects. Mother Evangelista, while speaking them fair, would not allow them to interfere with her family any more than she interfered with theirs. Once they strove to compel her to receive as a member a person who was not even baptized.

"I cannot express to you," she wrote to her New Orleans friend, "what a consolation your kind letters and sympathy have been to me. Cut off, isolated as we are from other convents of our Order owing to great distance, sympathy is to us peculiarly sweet. Prospects are no brighter than when last I wrote, but I have great hopes that things are coming to a climax, and that our dear Lord will, before long, bring us where we may have our works and be delivered from the dangers which threaten us here. As regards what you kindly propose, I will tell you frankly I could not think of undertaking anything of my own will, choice, or judgment. What I intend doing is to get leave from the archbishop to go to Ireland on some business I have there next June. When there I will consult Cardinal Cullen, who sent us here, making known to him all the difficulties that surround us, and following his advice as to whether we shall leave, and whither we shall go.

"You may guess how secret I have to keep this. For, suppose Cardinal Cullen tells us to stay until we are driven out, you may imagine the inconveniences that would result from its being known that I consulted him. Father Fahy was a great loss to us. The archbishop is good and friendly, but he is very timid, has little energy, and has seen nothing better than what exists here. The truth is, the poor man can do little or nothing. Continue to pray for us. Prayer is our only hope."

VIII.

When June, 1878, came, Mother M. Evangelista was unable to get off. There had been another revolution, and she was privately

advised to wait and see what policy would be adopted in religious affairs. In any case, she would not go just then, fearing that a persecution might arise in her absence. The new government was no improvement on its predecessor. On the first of May, 1879, the good Mother and a companion started for home. They met with the kindest of captains and officers, all Protestants. In England and Ireland friends were not wanting. All to whom they could venture to explain their circumstances advised them to quit the city of good air as soon as possible. When the Mother Superior reached Dublin her early friend, Cardinal Cullen, had passed away, but Archbishop McCabe did for her all that his predecessor could have done, save to revive the memories and friendship of bygone years.

It was necessary to apply to Rome for authorization for the withdrawal of the Buenos Ayres sisterhood, "and," writes Mother M. Evangelista, "a most influential bishop" (who we have reason to believe is the present Australian Cardinal) "kindly and charitably undertook the whole affair for me. Meanwhile I was advised to return to Buenos Ayres, and do all I could to get leave of the bishop there. I did so, and in the end, after much suffering, succeeded." She speaks in the highest terms of the hospitality and courtesy of the convents at which she stopped: "I was overwhelmed with kindness in Ireland, and the same in England, with one solitary exception, which shall be nameless. May God enlighten said house to see the excellence and beauty of Christian hospitality, 'using hospitality one towards another, without murmuring.'" She made arrangements for the transfer of the whole community to Adelaide, South Australia. Many prelates were anxious to secure their services, but by the advice of their special friend, Bishop Moran, now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, they accepted the invitation of Dr. Reynolds, then bishop, now archbishop, of Adelaide, who regarded them as confessors, if not martyrs, and felt that his diocese was blessed in securing them. "My diocese," he wrote, "is very large, and my people are doing their best for the extension of religion and Catholic education. We are surrounded by many temporal difficulties, yet come to us in the name of God! I promise you, for myself and people, and the colonists generally, a peaceful home for your community, and as vast a field for your zeal as Sisters of Mercy as your hearts can desire. Come, then, in God's name."

On her return to Buenos Ayres, the Mother Superior at once prepared to leave with her beloved Sisters. Moneys given her for the support of orphans and other charitable works she placed in the hands of a responsible committee, and she made the best arrangements possible, under the peculiar circumstances, for perpetuating

the benevolent works the Sisters had originated. She left full power of attorney to two responsible gentlemen to represent the community in the settlement of their property, since sold for the equivalent of nearly one hundred and fifty-one thousand dollars.

At an early hour, February 8th, 1880, all the English-speaking priests in the city said Mass in the convent chapel. The last was celebrated by the Dean, who purified the sacred vessels. At 11 the house was crowded with the relatives and friends of the Sisters, several of whom, being Irish-Argentines and Spaniards, saw their parents for the last time on earth. Copious was the tear-shedding, as they took their places in the carriages which conveyed them to the Boca, where they embarked for the Outer Roads.

The deepest regret was felt at their departure, for they were singularly beloved by the people. Yet it was expedient for them to go; and their nearest and dearest said not a word of disapproval, keenly as they felt the separation. Were the Argentine Confederation like the great republic at the other end of the American continent, never would they have left its shores. It is impossible to detail all the causes that led to this result, so deplored by the friends of order and religion throughout the country. Nor have these friends been without a confident hope that, in happier days, the dark-robed Sisters to whom they were so loyal in times of sorrow and peril, will again gladden the land. But of those who sailed on the Royal Mail, *Guadiana*, on the memorable 8th of February, 1880, none will again see the River of Silver.

Sixteen Sisters of Mercy have slept their last sleep in the Argentine capital, and await the resurrection in a beautiful cemetery, where the friends of the order "see that their graves are kept green" and decked with the choicest flowers.

IX.

On reaching England, the Sisters took their places in the very next vessel that started for Australia. Easter Sunday they spent at Madeira. When they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope for water, Bishop Leonard came on board to visit them. He thought the party too large for Adelaide, and asked for a few to begin the good work in a convent he had just finished. But to Adelaide all had been sent, and the good Mother did not feel authorized to change the destination of any. Shortly after, Bishop Leonard went to Ireland for Sisters of Mercy. In less than three months from the date of leaving South America, the Buenos Ayres Religious were established in their Australian home, May 3. Here they found the coveted peace. Their co-religionists welcomed them with effusion, and those who differed from them in creed were kindly disposed towards them, and not unwilling to aid their efforts

for the relief of the suffering and the enlightenment of the ignorant. The alternating terrors, surprises, and petty annoyances of Mother M. Evangelista's South American experience, made her value the quiet of her new home. "Verily," she would say, "Australia is a land of peace and liberty."

"Buenos Ayres," she wrote, "is not a place for our order, and will not be for years to come. Often when ill there (for I had very poor health, owing, I think, to anxiety of mind), I felt I could gladly lay down my life, but for the thought of leaving my beloved Sisters so unprotected in such a country. Now, thank God, I can die with a mind easy on that head. We are really in a Christian land. There were more priests there than here, and ten times as many churches, but the whole state of things was different. To explain all would be simply impossible. Some things on which all the others hinge I am not at liberty to mention. And to give a superficial explanation would be as repugnant to my nature as unsatisfactory to you. We must only let the dead past bury its dead.

"We are not as well off temporally as we were in South America, but our peace and happiness in other ways are beyond explanation. I never look back to our sojourn in Buenos Ayres, save to bless God for His wonderful deliverance of us from its dangers. Our home was undermined by communists. This had nothing to do with our first motive in resolving to leave. But it certainly increased our joy when we got permission, and our gratitude to God when we learned that another revolution broke out shortly after we left."

The six years of Mother M. Evangelista's residence in Adelaide were years of toil and progress. Now that she was free from mental anxiety of the worst species, her health improved greatly. On June 21, 1886, she became slightly ill. Her sufferings, borne with exemplary patience, increased hourly, but there was nothing to alarm her loving children. On the 29th, the doctor found her almost well; and she declared herself quite well. The bishop came to her room and was about to compliment her on her healthy appearance, when she suddenly said: "Bless me, my Lord, I am dying." He placed his indulgenced cross in her hands and gave her absolution as she closed her eyes in death, without a single struggle, as if going to sleep. She was in the sixty-fourth year of her age, and had spent forty-two years in Religion. Her last act befitted her singularly holy life—an instruction on devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Within the convent and outside of it, her death was lamented as the greatest calamity that could befall religion and education in South Australia. Her talent for governing was of the highest order, and she had the faculty, so precious to one in

her responsible position, of winning the love of all who came in contact with her. Though never free from the cross, she was always cheerful, even gay. "She had lived the life of a saint," said one of her devoted children, "and died the death of one."

X.

Despite the almost constant persecution the community endured in Buenos Ayres, the Mother Superior kept up its intellectual life. She sent to Dublin, London, and the United States for the best works on subjects of interest to her flock; and her letters frequently bewail the difficulty of getting direct the literary treasures she coveted. "Books and periodicals are often delayed," she wrote; "the Meditations have not yet come, but I expect them. I got some American books lately that could not be got in England, on Natural Philosophy, etc." She was a woman of exceptional literary gifts. Her knowledge of Spanish and other languages was most useful in cosmopolitan Buenos Ayres. She had a great facility for translating or adapting the beauties of other tongues into English or Spanish. Her translations of the *Dies Iræ*, the *Lauda Sion*, and the verses of St. Francis Xavier, show that she was thoroughly familiar with the Latin idiom, and are not unfit to rank with any translations that have been made of those glorious hymns. But the great troubles that had come upon her in Spanish, so to say, gave it such unpleasant associations that in her closing years she rarely spoke the language of the gods. "We have no Spanish ways," she wrote from Australia; "we just rose up to come here, and all Spanish ways fell off us. We sometimes talk a *little* Spanish at recreation, just for fun." Yet she occasionally uses Spanish in her letters, especially the word which represents the virtue she had such need of, *paciencia*.

During her last voyage, literary societies were formed by the passengers, and the captain, forgetting that all poets have not the gift of rhyme, insisted that every member should write a poem. Mother M. Evangelista, usually so bright, was on that occasion unaccountably depressed, yet her lines were the best received, though she bewails the dreariness of life, and confesses that the companions of her lonely hours are often the faded ghosts of former joys. Some of her verses are not without beauty:

"O, poor soul weary,
In exile dreary,
How is it nought around thee yields content?
Forever restless,
Like poor bird nestless,
Or spirit into alien regions sent."

Her heart turns fondly to the home of her childhood and early religious life, but she speedily lifts her eyes to heaven, where her treasure is:

“Soul deep desiring,
Soul high aspiring,
Unto the Word lend now attentive ear,
There *is* home fairer,
There *is* joy rarer,
Than aught thou’st ever known or tasted here.

“Eye hath not seen it,
Ear hath not heard it,
The mind itself, with all its fancies fair,
Hath ne’er believed it,
Hath ne’er conceived it,
The faintest shadow of what waits thee there.”

The Buenos Ayres Religious continue to practice on the island-continent the virtues which spread the good odor of Jesus Christ in their former home. Nor have their labors, prayers, and sufferings been wholly fruitless in the city of good air. Religion is again asserting her rights in the Argentine Republic. And when that fair land will have ceased to be a refuge and a theatre for the lawless of other nations, posterity will hear with wonder, and not without indignation, of the pressure of strange and untoward events and circumstances which forced the Sisters of Mercy, who had come so far to assuage misery and enlighten ignorance, to appeal to the Holy Father himself to authorize their removal to a more congenial land.

God has blessed and prospered these devoted women in their Australian home. The successor¹ of the holy mother whom they still mourn is a memento of their sojourn in South America, Sister M. Clare Murphy, an Irish-Argentine (that is, born of Irish parents in the Argentine Republic), who joined the Mercy Sisterhood in Buenos Ayres in 1869.

¹ Her immediate successor was Mother M. Liguori Griffin, the same who took charge of the Lazaretto at the Argentine capital during the worst days of the yellow fever. She became ill just after the funeral of her beloved Mother Evangelista, lingered for eighteen months, and died a most holy death, April 25, 1887. Miss Griffin was daughter of Dr. Griffin, of the Jervis Street Hospital, Dublin, and was educated at Rathfarnham Abbey. She was regarded in her distant homes, Buenos Ayres and Adelaide, as an angel of charity.

INDUCTION, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

THE growth of the inductive sciences is one of the notes of modern research. The very word science, once appropriated to deductive or *a priori* knowledge, is now claimed as the exclusive property of inductive or *a posteriori* knowledge. Some of our modern treatises on Logic give far more space to inductive than to deductive Logic, and regard it as far more important. Observation and experiment take a prominence in modern systems that was quite unknown to the ancients. The laws of right observation and trustworthy experiment are examined and sifted with a carefulness of detail and a strictness of inquiry to which Aristotle and St. Thomas were wholly strangers. Laws and canons are laid down for their employment; the methods which are to regulate them are represented as the very groundwork of philosophy. The once cherished principles of the *Dictum de omni et nullo* and the *a priori* laws of thought are relegated to an unhonored obscurity. This change dates from Bacon and Locke. It does not concern us to trace its origin or the cause of its development. It is enough to say that as men turned their thoughts from laws received upon authority to those which were framed as the result of human experience, or indeed, as all authority began to be regarded as built up from below, rather than as coming down from above, it was but natural that the new constructive process should assume an importance it had never enjoyed before, and that unquestioning obedience to prevailing laws should be exchanged for a very critical inquiry into the validity and source of those laws. And when the new school of theology and philosophy had decided that they came from below, rather than from above, that they were the elected representatives of the people, rather than the appointed vicegerents of God, that they were true because everywhere of force, and not everywhere of force because true, it was but right and proper that their election should be challenged by the scientific inquirer, and that their authority should be subjected to the most approved principles of impartial and unbiased research.

Has the change been one which has strengthened truth, or one which has induced new and plausible forms of error? The answer to this question requires a very careful distinction between the various fields of knowledge. As regards things of a purely material nature and the laws that govern them, it cannot be denied that

we owe an enormous debt to the Baconian induction and its further development by subsequent writers. Nearly all our modern discoveries are due to it, and to the stimulus that it has given to the physical and mechanical sciences,—not merely to botany, chemistry, zoology; not merely to the sciences that deal with light, heat, and motion, but in the loftier tenets of medicine, hygiene, astronomy, history, ethnology, philology,—the new method has given an impulse to human activity that has changed the whole face of the world. The rapid growth of large cities, colonization, the decline in the warlike and the increase in the commercial spirit, the lower rate of mortality by reason of sanitary improvements and of the advance of medical knowledge, the decrease in crimes of violence and in lawless oppression of the poor, and many other changes, which amount to an unseen and gradual revolution, are in a great measure due to the development of the inductive method.

Yet in all this there is a counterbalancing loss which must not be overlooked. Even in the material development the gain is not unmixed; large cities have their disadvantages, and these of no mean order; the growth of a commercial spirit involves the danger of the growth of a selfish and a narrow spirit; the improvements in hygiene and medicine keep alive those who would in old times have died off in their sickly youth, and their unhealthy offspring hand on a weakly constitution in their turn to the next generation; if lawlessness has diminished, there is, on the other hand, a lower morality in the modern city than in the villages of former times, and the social critic may well be puzzled, as he weighs the advantages against the disadvantages, to say whether the effect of our material advance has on the whole been for the better or for the worse.

But there is another aspect under which we have to regard it. We have to ask whether the inductive spirit, as it is called, is calculated, on the whole, to strengthen or relax man's grasp of truth, whether the temper that has been introduced really promotes man's rational development, whether it increases or diminishes the number of important and practical principles possessed by him for the regulation of his conduct and the direction of his life to its true end, whether it is a temper that places him in his proper relation to God and teaches him the true end of his existence. We have to inquire, moreover, whether it is favorable or unfavorable to Revelation and to supernatural truth, whether its methods are suitable means to be employed by one who is looking out to discover what religion it is to which God has given His divine sanction, and outside of which all else are false and self-contradictory.

These questions will be very differently answered by those without and those within the Catholic Church. The latter, while they acknowledge the services, the enormous services rendered by the methods of modern inductive research, cannot but recognize their danger when once they are allowed to claim the almost exclusive possession of the field of truth. It is the discrediting of *a priori* truth, the knocking out of sight of the true basis of certitude, the abolition of all absolute certainty resulting from the domination of this new spirit, that alarms the Catholic. He dreads a deluge of the stream which, within proper limits and in moderate amount, would fertilize and refresh the face of the earth.

We have, therefore, to consider the relation of the ancient and modern induction, and how far we ought to give in to the claims of the latter to be the dominant method of modern logic. We will begin by glancing at the question historically, in order that we may see if there is in our two great authorities, Aristotle and St. Thomas, any recognition of modern induction and the methods by which it is safeguarded. We will then carefully examine the distinction between the induction of ancient and that of modern times, and lay down the laws and canons which regulate the one and the other. This portion of our inquiry is no unimportant one, and one, too, beset with difficulties. We have to steer our course between the Scylla of a narrow and blind indifference to the value of the new discovery, and the Charybdis of a too great devotion to a hungry monster that seeks to swallow up all truth in its rapid and all-devouring vortex.

Induction in its widest sense is, according to Aristotle, a process by which we mount up from the particular to the universal.¹ This may be done in three different ways.

1. The particulars may be the *occasion* which enables us to recognize a universal *a priori* law. They put before us in concrete form two ideas, the identity of which we might not have been able to recognize in the abstract. If we tell a man ignorant of Euclid that the exterior angle of every plane triangle is exactly equal to the two interior and remote angles, he does not instinctively recognize the truth of our statement. But if we draw first one triangle and then another, and prove it to him mathematically, he is able to mount up to the universal law. Even a single instance is sufficient to make it plain to him when once he sees that the proof is independent of the kind of triangle of which there is question, and that it holds good whether the triangle be equiangular, isosceles or scalene, obtuse-angled or right-angled or acute-angled. This, however, is scarcely induction in the strict mean-

¹ Ππαγωγή ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ καθόλου ἐξοδος. Ar. Tom. I. 12.

ing of the word, for the argument is rather *through* and *from* the particular instance or instances to the universal.

Induction in its strict sense is based upon the particulars, and argues *from* them, not *through* them. It is any process by which we are enabled to affirm or deny respecting the universal subject something that we have already attained or denied of the several particulars contained under it. It naturally is divided into two different kinds, which furnish us with the second and third of the various meanings of the word.

1. Complete induction, in which all the particulars are enumerated.

2. Incomplete induction, in which only a portion of the particulars are enumerated, but from this portion a conclusion is drawn which covers those not enumerated.

Complete induction, is the exact reverse of the deductive process; as in the latter we argue from the universal subject to each and all of the particulars contained under it, so in the former we argue from each and all of the particulars to the universal subject. Aristotle defines it as *proving the major term of the middle by means of the minor*, as opposed to deductive inference, which proves the major of the minor by means of the middle. For instance:

Saul, David, and Solomon were men of remarkable achievements. But Saul, David, and Solomon were all the kings of the whole of Palestine, therefore all the kings of the whole of Palestine were men of remarkable achievements; or,

Nettles, pellitories, figs, mulberries have flowers with a single perianth. But nettles, pellitories, figs, and mulberries are all the flowers belonging to the order *urticeæ*, therefore all the plants in the order *urticeæ* have flowers with a single perianth.

In these syllogisms the names of the individuals or of the lowest species are the minor term, inasmuch as they come under the class to which they immediately belong; and though collectively they are identical with it in extension, yet they have a certain inferiority to it because it is always possible that some pert historical or botanical or other discovery might add another to the list of kings who ruled over the whole of Palestine, or to the *urticeæ* plants, or to any other enumeration of particulars coming under a universal. Hence in an inductive argument middle and minor change places, or rather that which is *minor* in point of possible extension stands as the *middle* term, because in actual extension it is the equal of the middle term, which, in this kind of argument, humbly resigns its rights and takes the place of the minor term of the syllogism.

Is the inductive syllogism a legitimate one? We must look at the import of the proposition. The import of a proposition is,

that it states the existence of such a connection between the two objects of thought, that in whatever individuals you find the one you will find the other. When we apply this test to the major premiss, we find it to be a true proposition. Wherever Saul, etc., are found as objects of thought, there one shall also find remarkable achievements. But it is not similarly applicable to the minor; it is not true that wherever we find possible kings of all Israel, there we shall find Saul, etc.; it is only true in the case of the actual kings as known to us. This weak point comes out when we fix our attention on the copula. All the kings of the whole of Palestine were Saul, David, and Solomon, means not that the ideas of Saul, David and Solomon are present wherever the idea of king of the whole of Palestine is present as an object of thought, but merely that in point of fact the class of all the kings of the whole of Palestine is made up of these individuals. This is not the logical meaning of the copula, and at once creates the opposition between the syllogism and induction of which Aristotle speaks, and the anomaly which he mentions respecting the middle term. This, moreover, accounts for the further anomaly of a universal conclusion in figure 3, although this anomaly may be avoided by transposing the terms of the minor premiss.

Is complete induction of any practical usefulness? Yes, it has the same function as deduction. It renders implicit knowledge explicit. We are enabled to realize what we had not realized before, to trace a universal law where we had not previously suspected one. It brings out some universal characteristic of a class, or teaches us to recognize those who are bound together as members of that class, by the possession in common of a peculiarity which before we had only recognized as belonging to the individuals. It is true that this sort of induction *per enumerationem simplicem* does not establish any connection by way of cause and effect between the common property and the common class. It may be a matter of chance that all the kings who ruled the whole of Palestine were distinguished men, or that all the *urticeæ* have a single perianth. But it is, at all events, a suggestive fact, and leads us to question ourselves whether there must not have been some reason why the kings in question had remarkable gifts or the flowers one perianth only.

For instance, if we go into the room of a friend, and find his library consists of ten books and ten only, and on examining them find that they are, one and all, books describing travels in China or Japan, a complete induction enables us to lay down the proposition:

All our friend's books are books of travels in China and Japan.
This suggests to us a train of thought that would never have

arisen if we had confined ourselves to the isolated fact respecting the nature of each book. Looking at them one by one, our thoughts are directed merely to the character of each and to the individual facts narrated in it. Looking at them together, we begin to think that our friend must either have been travelling in Japan or China or that he is intending to go there, or that he must have friends in one or the other of those countries, or that he is proposing to write an article on the subject, or that for some reason or other he must have a special interest in China and in Japan.

Or, to take a historical instance: We are studying Roman history, and as we read the history of the early emperors we are disgusted at the low standard of morality prevalent among them, the cruelty, the ambition, the lust that attach to their names. We find Julius Cæsar engrossed by an insensate and unscrupulous ambition; Augustus, a man of pleasure; while the rest were among the vilest of manhood. This leads us to reflect, and the result of our reflection is to observe that when the empire had passed out of the hands of the Cæsars there was decided improvement. We also notice that the first two emperors were superior to the four who succeeded them, and we embody our reflection in an inductive syllogism:

Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Domitian, Nero were men whose lives were marked by selfishness and crime;

All the Cæsars who ruled the Roman Empire were Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Domitian, Nero:

Therefore all the Cæsars who ruled the Roman Empire were men whose lives were marked by selfishness and crime.

The conclusion of this syllogism naturally leads us to ask whether there must not be some influence tending to deteriorate the character in the position of emperor of Rome, and further, whether that influence is a universal one, or is limited to this family, whose members appear to have been specially affected by it. This gives occasion to an interesting train of thought, which would never have been suggested had we not mentally gone through our process of complete induction.

The weak point of a complete induction is that in so many cases we are not perfectly sure that it is complete. We fancy that we have not overlooked any one of the particulars, whence we argue to the universal law, while all the time there is one that for some reason has escaped our notice, and perhaps this very one is fatal to the universality of our law. In the case of the Roman emperors it is always possible that there might have intervened between the reign of one emperor and the next recorded a short space of time during which there reigned some emperor whom historians never knew of, or for some reason or other passed over in silence. We may practically feel certain that this is not the case, but we never

can have that perfect certainty that leaves no room for any possible doubt. Or, to take a more practical case. Let us suppose chemists arguing a century ago about the then known metals:

Iron, copper, silver, gold, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, antimony, bismuth, nickel, platinum and aluminium are all heavier than water;

Iron, copper, silver, gold, lead, etc., are all the metals;

Therefore all the metals are heavier than water.

Here would be a complete induction of the metals then known, but nevertheless the conclusion would be false. Since that time potassium, sodium, and lithium have been pronounced to be metals, and all these are lighter than water.

Of course there are some cases where an enumeration is perfectly secure of completeness, *e g.*, if we argue that January, February, etc., have all twenty-eight days or more, we cannot be wrong in concluding that *all* the months of the year have twenty-eight days or more. From the fact that Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, etc., are named after some heathen deity, we conclude that all the days of the week derive their names from heathen deities. But this is merely accidental and comparatively rare.

2. We now come to incomplete or material induction.

Incomplete induction is recognized by Aristotle, though he does not say very much respecting it. It comes under his definition of induction as "a process from particulars to universals," and the instance he gives is an instance of material and complete induction.

Pilots, charioteers, etc., who know their business are most skilful.

Therefore, generally, all who know their business are most skilful.

Further, he describes it as more persuasive and clearer, and more capable of being arrived at by perception and within the reach of the masses, while the syllogism is more forcible and clearer as an answer to gainsayers.

Here it is evident that he is speaking of an argument from a limited number of instances to the whole class. He describes the object of induction as being to *persuade* rather than to *convince*; as being *clearer* in the eyes of ordinary men, inasmuch as it appeals to their sensible experience; as more within their reach, since it is an argument that all can appreciate; whereas the argument that starts from first principles implies a grasp of such principles, and this is comparatively rare among the mass of men. Yet it has not the compelling force of deductive reasoning inasmuch as it can always be evaded; it is not in itself so clear as the syllogism; it does not hit home with the same irresistible force as the argument that makes its unbroken way from the first principles that none can deny to the conclusion which we seek to establish. All this is exactly applicable to material induction, and would have little or no force if he were speaking of formal or complete induction.

The example, moreover, that he gives is so incomplete as scarcely to deserve the name of induction at all. He merely takes two instances of the arts, and from them at once draws the conclusion that in all the arts science and success are inseparable. Possibly he chooses this extreme instance to show how very imperfect an induction may be sufficient to establish a general law where that law has the constant and universal testimony of mankind in its favor; and that men need only to be reminded of the law by the instances adduced rather than to be taught any fresh truth from an examination of the invariable coexistence of the two objects of thought which the instances exhibited as invariably united.

But Aristotle's brief reference to induction is a remarkable contrast to the elaborate treatment of it by modern writers on logic. St. Thomas, and the scholastic logicians generally, are equally concise in their discussion of it. Even the Catholic logicians of the present day pass it over in a few paragraphs or a few pages, which are devoted in part to an attack on Baconian induction and to an assertion that induction has no force unless it can be reduced to syllogistic form. Sir W. Hamilton, Mansel, and the Scottish school of philosophers are at one with the schoolmen and modern Catholic writers in their jealousy of the intrusion of induction, and, though they do not agree with them in advocating the necessity of reducing it to the form of the syllogism, yet they would assign to it a very subordinate place in a treatise on logic. It is the modern school of experimentalists, of whom John Stuart Mill is the illustrious leader, who put forward induction as "the main question of the science of logic, the question that includes all others." This suggests to us these questions:

1. How far does material induction come into logic at all?
2. Is it true that all induction must be capable of being reduced to a syllogistic form in order to be valid?
3. Is the neglect of induction by modern Catholic writers to be praised or blamed?

We are speaking here of *material* or *incomplete* induction, and unless we warn our readers to the contrary, we shall continue to use it in this sense to the end of our present chapter.

Induction, says Cardinal Zigliara, has no force whatever apart from the syllogism. Incomplete induction, says Tongiorgi, is not a form of argument different from the syllogism. Induction, says Mendive (*Logica*, p. 224), is a true form of reasoning, and it pertains to the essence of reasoning that it should be a true syllogism. Induction, says Liberatore (*Logic*, p. 90), does not differ in its essence, but only in the form it takes, from the syllogism. Yet we have seen that when reduced to syllogistic form it breaks the rules of the syllogism and uses the copula in an altogether differ-

ent meaning. How, then, are we to solve the difficulty? As usual, we have to examine carefully into our use of terms. *Syllogism* is an ambiguous term. There is the *deductive* syllogism, with its figures and moods, such as we have described them above, and which is subject to and based upon the *dictum de omni et nullo*. Whatever may be affirmed or denied of a universal subject, may be affirmed or denied of each and all the individuals that are included under that subject. In this sense induction is outside the syllogism, and any attempt to reduce it to syllogistic form at once exhibits a violation of syllogistic laws. But besides the deductive syllogism the word syllogism is used in a wider sense for any process of reasoning based on a more general principle, viz., wherever two objects of thought are identical with a third, they are also identical with each other. This principle includes not only the deductive syllogism, but the inductive syllogism also.

Induction, therefore, comes into logic as reducible to syllogistic form, but not to the form of the deductive syllogism. This is true of both complete and incomplete induction when we argue:

James I. and II., Charles I. and II. were headstrong monarchs;

James I. and II., Charles I and II. were all the monarchs of the Stuart dynasty;

Therefore all the monarchs of the Stuart dynasty were headstrong.

We violate one of the rules of the third figure by our universal conclusion. We use the copula, not for the necessary coexistence of two objects of thought, since it is conceivable that a future Stuart might arise and falsify our minor, but for the fact which is true in the concrete. Our argument, moreover, refuses to obey the authority of the *dictum de omni et nullo*, and is therefore no true form of the inductive syllogism.

But our argument is a perfectly valid syllogism in that it is in accordance with the principles of identity we have just given; it is in accordance with the laws of thought and is perfectly logical. But is this true of *incomplete induction*? For instance: We argue from the fact that we have observed on a number of separate days to all possible days in the year. We have noticed that all the days when there has been a gradual fall in the barometer have been followed by rain, and we state the result of our observation in the following premisses:

January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19, were succeeded by rainy weather;

January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19, were days on which there was a fall of the barometer;

Therefore all the days on which there is a fall of the barometer are days followed by rainy weather.

In order that the conclusion may hold good in strict logic, we must be able to assert that January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19, are all the days when there was a fall in the barometer, and this is obviously ridiculous. But may we not put our minor in another form, and say :

What is true of January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19, is true of all days when the barometer falls ;

Rain near at hand is true of January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19, therefore, rain near at hand is true of all the days on which the barometer falls. Everything, therefore, depends on the representative character of January 18, March 4, April 7, October 19. If they have nothing in common save this one feature of the fall of the barometer which can be connected with the coming change in the weather, then no one can deny that there must be some sort of connection between a fall in the barometer and rainy weather near at hand, which will justify us in predicting of days on which the barometer falls that they will be succeeded by rain.

But before we enter on an investigation of this point, there is a previous question. Does it concern us as logicians to investigate it at all ? Is it within our scope to examine into the various instances in order to sift their value as evidence ? Has not the logician to assume his principles as true, supposing always that they contain nothing which violates the laws of the human mind and of right reason, or is he to employ the various methods of observation and experiment by which the truth of all *a posteriori* and synthetical propositions have to be tested ? If these lie outside the province of logic, the moderns are not only one-sided and unfair in giving so large a space to induction, but are all wrong in their very conception of the task they have to perform.

This question can only be satisfactorily answered by reminding the reader of the distinction between *formal* and *material* (or applied) logic. Formal logic simply takes its premisses for granted as long as they do not sin against any law of thought or contradict any proposition of the truth of which we are absolutely certain. Applied logic steps outside this comparatively narrow field, and asks what the terms are which regulate our admission into the mind of any proposition as a part of our mental furniture. Formal logic, therefore, has nothing to do with the conditions under which we can arrive at universal propositions other than those to which we are compelled by the nature of the mind itself. It has nothing to do with those propositions which we are led to regard as true by reason of what we witness in the external world, and which depend upon laws learned by observation and not rooted in as *a priori* conditions of thought. It has nothing to do with arriving at those *a posteriori* truths.

Observation and *experiment*, therefore, are wholly outside the province of formal logic. The only question is, whether they have any claim to consideration under the head of applied logic; whether as means of adding to the propositions that we regard as *certain* and adopt as such, they should be examined into, and the results to which they lead tested. As to their other qualifications for admission into the mind, this depends on a further question. Do the various methods which were first inaugurated by Bacon and subsequently developed by those who have followed in his steps give us certainty at all, and if so, what sort of certainty?

Probably no one in his senses will deny that external observation can give us certainty. That the sun will rise to-morrow morning, that a stone thrown into the air will fall to earth again, are as certain as anything can be that does not depend on the inner laws that regulate all being. But such a certainty is, strictly speaking, always a practical or hypothetical, never an essential or absolute certainty. It is within the bounds of absolute possibility. But some unknown comet might intervene between the earth and the sun during the coming night, or, some undiscovered and mysterious influence might whisk away our stone to the moon, not to mention the further possibility of Divine interference by what we call a miracle.

But in the case of *a priori* laws no miracle can intervene, no possible hypothesis can set them aside. God Himself cannot make five out of two and two, or prevent things equal to the same thing from being equal to one another, or cause the exterior angle of any plane triangle to be less than either of the interior and opposite angles. It is beyond the utmost limit of Divine omnipotence to bring about either of these, because they are in themselves contradictory, and would, if they could be realized, make God a liar. These *a priori* laws are not merely laws of thought and of human reason, but of being and of the Divine nature. They are based upon the nature of God Himself, and thus on Eternal and Immutable Truth.

Not so the physical laws at which we arrive by observation and experiment. God could reverse them all to-morrow, if He chose. He does, from time to time, intervene and hinder their efficacy. They are not founded on the Divine nature, but in the Divine enactment. They are, therefore, liable to exceptions, and this is why we say that they have only a hypothetical or conditional certainty.

But they have another source of weakness. Not only can God set them aside at any moment if He pleases, but we are not *absolutely* certain that they exist at all. All that we call physical laws

are but magnificent hypotheses. We have not the means of arriving at any absolute certainty when once we depart from those laws which are stamped on all being, and therefore on the human intellect, which are the very conditions under which we think, because the conditions under which all things, even God Himself, necessarily exist. When we come to laws that are purely *a posteriori*, we never can say more than that they are generalizations from experience, that they explain all the facts known to us, and that they satisfy every test we can apply to them. Such is the law of gravity, the undulatory theory of light, the laws of attraction and distance, etc. All this gives us physical certainty respecting them, but this is utterly inferior to absolute certainty. It is the attainment of physical certainty which is regulated by the various methods that have come in since the time of Bacon, and it cannot be denied that these methods were an object of comparative indifference and neglect to scholastic and Aristotelian philosophy. The pre-Reformation world did not recognize the importance of those modern discoveries and inventions which have revolutionized the world since the days of Bacon. With the Aristotelian philosophy dominant, the steam-engine, gas, the electric light, steam-looms, sewing-machines, and all the mechanical substitutes for human labor would either not have existed at all, or never arrived at their present perfection. The *a priori* method had no room for hypothesis, and hypothesis is the fertile mother of physical research and discovery. Whether all those have really fostered human progress, whether they have made men stronger, healthier, more honest, virtuous, and happy, is a point which does not concern us. We have already wandered too far away from the question before us, which is this: Are we to admit into logic, in its wider sense, what are called the *inductive methods*, and which are elaborated with wonderful skill and ability by John Stuart Mill?

Among the functions of natural or applied logic, one of the most important is to distinguish between certitude and probability, and also to separate the various kinds of certitude one from the other. But when once we have passed from the highest kind of certitude to a lower level, from metaphysical to physical certitude, it does not belong to the logician to elaborate with minute care the various conditions necessary for attaining to the latter. It would be misleading for him to dwell on them with too much detail; it would have a tendency to raise in the estimation of mankind the laws that are based on them to an equality with the *a priori* laws; to exalt hypothesis into law, to lead men to confound practical with absolute certainty, to obliterate the distinction between the eternal, the immutable, and the transitory, the contingent, the mutable. Yet in spite of all this, they cannot be passed over, and ought not

to be passed over unnoticed, in the present day. They are too important a factor in the present condition of human society to admit of our neglecting them; they are weapons which have been forged by what is called the march of human intellect, and it would be suicidal to deny their value and their efficacy. Besides, we ought to master them in order to protest against their abuse. We must give them their due in order that they may not usurp the whole field of human science. Mill and his followers drag down all the *a priori* laws to the level of the *a posteriori*, or rather deny the existence of *a priori* laws at all. This is the fatal result of the departure from the old scholastic method, which began at the "Reformation," and has been carried farther, day by day. But, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*; and the various methods set forth in detail by Mill have, in their own proper limits, a most important function to perform, and are of constant application to our everyday life.

We have now to return to our consideration of the premises which assert the representative nature of the instances on which we are going to base our law. Our methods are to give us the means of ascertaining this. They are to decide for us whether what is true of the instances under our consideration is true of all instances, real or possible; or, at least, they are to settle the question for us as far as it is possible in the nature of things to arrive at any certainty respecting it.

Our premisses then asserted that what was true of January 14th, etc., is true of all days on which the barometer falls, and the value of our argument depends on our being able to establish this proposition. What is necessary to prove it satisfactorily is to show that these days had nothing in common which could possibly be connected with the approach of rainy weather, save a certain heaviness in the air indicated by the fall in the barometer. If this could be ascertained beyond a doubt, then we should have a perfect physical certainty that there was a connection of cause and effect between the heaviness in the air and the subsequent rain. But in point of fact we never can be sure that there are not other characteristics common to these days which might be the source of the phenomenon of rain. To be absolutely certain would require a knowledge of the inner nature of things, which even the greatest scientist does not possess. All that we can say is, that we are unable to detect any common characteristic in the days in question which would account for the subsequent rain, save only the heaviness in the air and the consequent fall of the barometer, and therefore the connection between the rain and the heaviness in the air is at most but a strong probability.

Here, then, we have a case of the first of Mr. Mill's experimental methods, the *Method of Agreement*. We cannot do better than formulate it in his own words: If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon.

Our readers will observe that in this law Mr. Mill goes beyond the requirements we have given above, and exacts not only the presence of no common circumstance which could account for the result save one, but absolutely the presence of no common circumstance at all save one alone. To establish this will be still more impossible, therefore we can derive from the employment of this method nothing more than a strong probability. There are no two phenomena in the world which have not one common circumstance.

But there is another method which comes in to supplement the former. Let us suppose that we find a day exactly corresponding to one of the days aforementioned in every circumstance save one, viz., the weight of the air. In all else they are exactly alike. When we examine the rain record of the year we find that on the day when the air was heavy rain followed, and on the day when it was light fine weather came after it. Here too we should again have perfect physical certainty, if only we could find two days corresponding exactly in every possible circumstance save one. There would be no doubt whatever as to the connection of the circumstance with the result that was present when the circumstance in question was present, absent when the circumstance was absent. But here, too, it is impossible to find any two such days; there must of necessity be a dozen points of difference between the two. All that we can have is a certain amount of correspondence, and the absence of any points of difference which seem likely to be connected with the result, save the single circumstance which is conspicuous for its presence in the one case and for its absence in the other. Here, therefore, we are again limited to a probable connection and can get no further.

In this case we have an instance of the *Method of Difference*; we will again give it in Mr. Mill's own words:

"If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs and another in which it does not occur have every circumstance in common save one, that one occurring only in the former, the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ, is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon."

But this second method, as Mr. Mill very pertinently remarks, is applicable rather to experiment than to observation, that is, to

cases where we can artificially vary the antecedents instead of having to receive them ready made. We will, therefore, take another instance, which will moreover have the advantage of illustrating other methods of inductive research which cannot be so easily applied to the case of the weather.

We will take a familiar and very practical case: We have of late from time to time risen with a headache in the morning for which we cannot account. Somehow we fancy it must be connected with some sort of digestive disarrangement and that this disarrangement is the result of some food that we have taken and that does not suit our stomach. One day it occurs to us that our headache always follows upon a special dish, and that possibly this might be its cause. We therefore take note of what we have for dinner, and after a little experience we discover that in most cases when we have eaten of jugged hare for dinner, we have had a headache the next morning. We set to work to test the connection by means of the methods of agreement and difference. First of all, we take a number of days when our dinner has been as varied as possible; on one day we have taken soup, on another day not; on one day we have had beef for the chief dish, on another mutton, on another veal, and on another pork. On one day we have drunk port wine, on another sherry, on another hock, on another champagne, on another claret, on another nothing but water. On one day we have partaken of pastry, on another not; on one day cheese, on another not, and so on *ad indefinitum*, varying our dinner in every possible way on the days of trial. But on all these days there has been the common element of jugged hare, and on each of them there has been a headache following. Here we have a good instance of the method of agreement.

But we cannot be certain that there may not have been some other cause for our headache which happened to coincide with the jugged hare. We may have been rather tired on the evenings in question, or, perhaps, a little more thirsty than usual, and the port wine may have been more attractive than on other days. So we proceed to a further experiment. On two given days we take the same amount of exercise, and order exactly the same dinner, drink the same amount of wine and go to bed at the same hour. The only difference between these two days is that on the former we make jugged hare an item in our bill of fare, and on the other omit it. The result is that the former day is followed by a severe headache, whereas after the latter we rise fresh and ready for business.

Here we have the method of difference. At first the experiment seems decisive, but it is not so. It may be the mere addition of

quantity involved in the presence of the jugged hare that is the cause of the headache, or perchance on the day we ate of it the wind was in the east, or our stomach was already out of order, or some unwonted worry had befallen us. We, therefore, are still in the region of probabilities. Can we ever escape from them? We can do a good deal towards it by means of a third method, which is often extremely useful.

We resolve on a new experiment. We determine that we will try the effect of eating on one day a very small portion of jugged hare at our dinner, on another of having a good deal more, on another of making it the chief part of our dinner, and on another of having no other meat dish at all. The result is that we find that the severity of our headache is exactly or almost exactly proportioned to the amount of jugged hare eaten on the previous evening; a small quantity produced a very slight headache, a large quantity a more serious one, while on the morning following the day when we ate nothing else than hare we were so wretchedly ill that we were unable to attend to our ordinary business. Here is what is generally known as the *method of concomitant variations*.

Whatever phenomenon varies in any manner whenever another phenomenon varies in some particular manner, is either a cause or an effect of that phenomenon, or is connected with it through some fact of causation.

We are now approaching certainty, but there is nevertheless a possible element of uncertainty arising from the chance of the varying headache having been owing to circumstances which by a curious coincidence happened to produce it, with a severity which quite by accident was in proportion to the amount of jugged hare eaten for dinner. We are still in the region of probabilities, and we look round for a final method to try and assure the truth of our inference.

We have for years been studying the effects of various sorts of food and drink, as well as of walking, hard study, riding, boating, etc., on our constitution. Long experience has taught us the effect of each of these. Beef and mutton make us rather heavy the next morning, so does port wine; champagne makes us rise well contented with ourselves, plum pudding produces indigestion; walking, riding, cricket, and boating produce different kinds of bodily fatigue; severe mental labor, a curious feeling of oppression on the top of our head, and so on. On some particular morning we take stock of our bodily condition, and its various constituent symptoms. We are able to trace each and all of them to some familiar antecedent—all except the headache—we can trace in our present state of body the result of most of the circumstances of the previous day, the mental and bodily labor, the various kinds

of food, the amount of sleep, each has its familiar result—all save the jugged hare. Hence we subduct from the various results all those we can trace to known causes, and (neglecting minor details) we have left on the one hand the headache and on the other the jugged hare. Surely, then, this result unaccounted for must spring from the cause not yet taken into consideration. This method, which can often be employed with great advantage, is called the method of residues. Mr. Mill formulates it into the following law:

Deduct from any phenomenon such part as is known by previous induction to be the effect of certain antecedents, and the residue of the phenomenon is the effect of the remaining antecedent.

Does this give us perfect physical certainty? Most decidedly not, if one take it by itself. Our attribution of effect *a* to cause *A*, of *b* to *B*, etc., is at best only a probable argument, and even if it is all correct, we cannot be sure that we have exhausted either consequents or possible antecedents. At most this method only contributes its share to the ever-increasing stream of probability which is gradually developing itself into the resistless river of practical certainty.

But when all these methods are united together, surely then we have certainty; not metaphysical certainty, but at least practical and physical certainty. Surely we can go beyond the mere tentative assertion of a hypothesis to the firm conviction of a well-grounded law which certainly connects together the circumstances we are considering as cause and effect, or at least as in some way connected together by a final and stable law of causation.

Here we enter on a wider topic which would be out of place in the present paper. To those who still hold to *a priori* truths, to the school of Aristotle and St. Thomas, there opens out an endless vista of causes and effects, descending from God, the first cause, to every detail of His works, each connected together by a law which He has decreed, but which He may at any time set aside at His good pleasure, and which He has set aside from time to time by what we call a miracle.

But to the modern school of sensationalists, to Mill and Bain, cause and effect are words which have no meaning. *Cause* is but an invariable, unconditional antecedent, and effect an invariable, unconditional consequent. In them, if they were logical, there would be no certainty about the future, for what possible reason is there why it should resemble the past? Because it has always done so? The very supposition is a contradiction in terms, for the future is still unborn. All that experience has taught them is that one portion of the past has hitherto resembled another, that there has always been an unbroken uniformity of succession in the series

of antecedents and consequents. But of the future as such we never have had and never can have any experience, and our conjectures respecting it are, if we logically follow to their conclusions the theories of Mr. Mill and his school, the merest guess-work, an arrow shot into the air without any sort of ground for believing that it will hit the mark.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that these methods are a most valuable contribution, if not to logic, strictly so called, yet to the course of human discovery and scientific research. The Catholic philosopher learns from Aristotle and St. Thomas the *a priori* law, one of the first principles of all knowledge, that every effect must have a cause. He knows that this law extends not merely to effects following as particular applications of some *a priori* law which becomes known to us as soon as a single instance of it is presented before us and grasped by our intelligence, as in the case of the deductions and inferences of mathematics, but also to effects following from what is also rightly called a law, inasmuch as it is a general principle, under which a vast number of particulars are ranged, but is nevertheless arrived at by generalization from a vast number of particular instances. In the one case, as in the other, the universal law of causation holds. In the one case cause is joined to effect in virtue of the inner nature of things; in the other simply because the will of God has so disposed the arrangements of the universe that He has created. In the one case experience makes known to us a law which is already imprinted on our intelligence; in the other experience makes known to us a law which is stamped upon the world outside, but only becomes a part of our mental furniture when we have carefully weighed and sifted a number of individual instances of its operation. In the one case the methods of induction are rarely, if ever, of any practical use; in the other they are simply invaluable.

We are now in a position to assign their true place to the inductive methods of which Bacon was the harbinger and Mr. John Stuart Mill and his school the prophets and apostles.

1. They certainly can claim a place in material logic, even if not in formal. To ignore them and to hurry over material induction with a passing remark that it must be virtually complete, *i.e.*, must include a number of instances sufficient to afford a reasonable basis of certitude, is scarcely prudent in the face of the development of scientific research. Catholics would not be so easily taken in by the hasty generalizations of the modern scientist if they had the use of these methods and the kind of certainty to be derived from them at their fingers' ends. It is no use to allege the authority of Aristotle and St. Thomas in disparagement of them. If Aristotle and St. Thomas had lived in the present day they would have

taken the lead in regulating the methods of scientific research, just as in their own day they laid down the principles of deductive argument. The eager questioning of nature was in their day a thing unheard of, and any elaborate setting forth of the methods to be pursued was then superfluous and unnecessary.

2. These inductive methods can never give us *absolute* certainty, but they can give us *physical* certainty. They cannot give us absolute certainty because the laws they reveal to us are reversible at the will of their maker; they can give us physical certainty for the simple reason that the human mind is so constructed as to be able to test without any reasonable doubt, on a combination of arguments of which it may be that no single and individual one is sufficient to carry conviction to the mind of a reasonable man, but a number of them combined is enough and more than enough to make him perfectly sure of the conclusion to which they one and all concurrently point.

3. We must always be on our guard against allowing ourselves to be persuaded into a conviction of the truth of some general hypothesis when the concurrent evidence is not sufficient of itself to produce conviction. We must remember Aristotle's admirable distinction between deduction and induction, that the one is more forcible, the other more persuasive and clear, and within the reach of ordinary men.

4. We have too often seen the intellectual convictions of scientific men shaken by the brilliant guesses which induction suggests, and which they regarded as justifying them in discarding the belief that they had previously held to be true. Very slow and cautious should we be in allowing any law arrived at by a process of pure induction to set aside any conviction that seems to be based upon a higher and more certain mode of argument. Of course there are occasional instances, as the so-often quoted case of Galileo; but for one such instance there have been hundreds in which some premature hypothesis has been allowed to weaken the grasp on *a priori* truth, to be in its turn discarded for some equally premature successor, sitting in its turn for a brief period on the usurped throne of truth.

THE BATTLE WITH ANTICHRIST IN FRANCE.

THE year '88 is passing slowly away in "The Land of the Lilies," and the centenary of '89 approaches, bringing with it the dread memories of the great French Revolution. Already the men who, in France, consider themselves to be the heirs of the "Principles of 1789," are commemorating, one after the other, the chief events which, in 1788, startled all Europe, as the first throes of an earthquake give warning of some mighty and far-spreading upheaval. Those, on the contrary, whose deepest convictions lead them to uphold and defend the ancient Christian order of society, assailed and partly destroyed by the Revolution, are roused into extraordinary activity and united effort to protect the institutions and doctrines which they hold to be most sacred and most dear. They have, in truth, great need of perfect union and concerted action. For ANTICHRIST is abroad in France, marshalling his forces under his own flag, held boldly on high in sight of the nations. The battle-cry of his soldiers—a countless host, and bent this time on completing their work of destruction—is directed against GOD AND HIS CHRIST. The pass-word of Voltaire to his followers a century ago, *Ecrasez l'Infâme*, has now become *Ni Dieu ni Maître*—NO GOD, NO MASTER!

The conflict has been going on for some time between the two hosts. The successive measures taken by the various administrations under the new Republic, ever since the downfall of Marshal MacMahon and the election to the presidency of M. Grévy, have been so many victories of Antichrist, all carrying forward the grand purpose of "laicizing," that is, of DECHRISTIANIZING, in France, not only the entire field of education, but every department of public charity and beneficence, of excluding all religious emblems, practices and influences from every establishment under Government control; hospitals, prisons, the army and the navy, counting at the present moment nearly two millions of men in active or occasional service.

After all that has been effectually done in France toward the accomplishment of this grand scheme of "dechristianizing" the nation, it will be natural to describe what those in power are planning further to do to make their work complete; this will place before the reader the plan of campaign marked out for the anti-Christian forces during the decisive year 1889. We shall then review some at least of the forces which are bravely battling for

Christ, and struggling with a heroism, a skill, a success worthy of all admiration, against the fearful odds they have to contend with.

This study of the two adverse hosts will enable us to forecast, under God's good providence, the destiny of the kingdom of St. Louis at the close of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth century of the Christian era.

I.

Should any reader be startled by the heading of this article, or be disposed to question the anti-Christian character of the warfare made on the entire social order in France by the men of 1789, and which their successors are determined to carry on to ultimate and complete victory in 1889, then let him peruse the facts which we here submit to his judgment.

De Tocqueville, whose earlier works betrayed the influence of the false liberalism prevailing among his contemporaries, formed, in the light of his riper experience, a truer estimate of things. We may trust to his having studied conscientiously and judged fairly the principles and tendencies dominant in France a hundred years ago.

"One of the first steps taken by the French Revolution," he says in his latest work, *l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, "was to assail the Church, and, among the passions sprung from that revolution, the first which blazed forth and the last to be extinguished was the anti-religious passion. Napoleon, who had been able to put down the liberal genius of the French Revolution, vainly endeavored to conquer its anti-Christian genius. Even in our own times we have known men who thought they atoned for their servility toward the lowest agents of the political power by their insolence toward God; and who, while giving up whatever was most liberal, most noble, and most elevating in the doctrines of the Revolution, fancied that they were true to its spirit because they persisted in being unbelievers."

That the anti-Christian passion, which was, indeed, "the first to blaze forth" at the beginning of the Revolution, was also the "last to be extinguished," or ever extinguished at all, we shall see presently. It is only stating what is simple historical truth when we say that this intense passion, after having exhausted its fierceness during the last twelve years of the eighteenth century in destruction, bloodshed and persecution, slumbered on, like the flames of Etna, with occasional outbursts, till the great eruption in 1880-81, under the Ferry-Bert ministry. And to this outbreak of the unsparing and devastating "dechristianizing" spirit has succeeded a fresh and no less violent eruption in 1888, which is itself only

prophetic of something still more fearful during the centennial celebration of next year.

President Grévy and his unscrupulous son-in-law, Daniel Wilson, were, in all conscience, sufficiently devoted to such republicanism as European Freemasons are capable of understanding or tolerating. But, like Gambetta, who was cut off by a decree of the occult force governing France at present, poor old Grévy had still some lingering traditional reverence for the social order and institutions of the past. The dishonest speculations in which his son-in-law indulged were only a pretext for rudely unseating the President. And in his place was chosen a man whose very name and well-known principles are a guarantee that he will do his utmost to complete in 1889 the revolutionary work begun in 1789.

Then the very ministry which has just come into power, the Floquet-Lockroy ministry, are, like the President of the Republic himself, the avowed heirs of the anti-Christian conspirators in the States-General of 1789, who destroyed the ancient constitution of France, and, for a time at least, utterly overturned the entire social order created there by Christianity. What their ancestors and predecessors did not succeed in accomplishing permanently, they are now resolved and pledged to do: to blot out from France, once and for all time, the very last remnants of all religious institutions; to pluck up by the roots, from the mind, the heart, the public and private life of France, the faith in Christ the Redeemer, the belief in God and in the life to come.

They are pledged to do this. The very conclusion of the first ministerial programme was a solemn promise to the extreme radicals and revolutionists in both houses of Parliament that the policy of the Government should be "to steer (the vessel of State) ever more and more in the direction of the Left," that is, the revolutionary party.

There can be thus no possibility of mistaking the one great and immediate purpose of these revolutionists,—namely, to carry forward the anti-Christian and anti-social revolution, begun a century ago, to the extremities contemplated by the Jacobins of that period and sworn to by those of to-day.

Leo XIII., in that magnificent Encyclical, *Humanum genus*, described the great conspiracy against Christian civilization entered into in the days of our great-grandfathers by Illuminism and Masonry. As was said of Voltaire, the mouthpiece and tool of these conspirators, who died on the eve of the French Revolution, that "he did not live to see the widespread destruction his principles and his disciples had wrought"; so we may say of the conspirators and Jacobins of 1788: "They have not lived to see what

we see; but they are the authors of the mighty changes we behold."

Let us now study the plan of campaign just adopted by the Republican Union, composed of all the avowed revolutionists, socialists and communists inside and outside of the French Parliament.

On the evening of May 23d, 1888, there met by appointment at the Grand Orient, in the *Rue Cadet*, 430 Freemasons, senators, members of the Chamber of Deputies, of the Paris Municipal Council, and other leading political personages. The initiative in calling this meeting was taken by M. Clémenceau, the acknowledged leader of the extreme Radical Left, by M. Jefferin, the standard bearer of the Socialists, and by M. Ranc, the spokesman of the Opportunists or Gambetta Republicans.

The meeting resolved itself into what is henceforth to become historical as *La Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*. In their preliminary declaration, after saying that their immediate object is to defeat the "Boulanger adventure, so humiliating for the country," they affirm that they also are in favor of a revision of the Constitution. "We are the sons of the French Revolution," they say; "we are the admirers of this Revolution, not as considered at any one of its phases, but of the entire movement forward of a free people who undertook to solve every problem, and would have succeeded therein had they not been stopped in their march. We are, therefore, determined to make use of every means in order to prevent a Cæsaristic reaction to throw our country back for the third time.

"A revision of the Constitution is needed; but it must be a Republican revision, not the Bonapartist revision, demanded as an expedient by those who have set on foot the new plebiscitary movement for the sole purpose of establishing a one-man power.

"But this revision alone is not sufficient. *We must take up where it stopped the national movement of the French Revolution, and become its continuators.*"

We italicize this pregnant sentence to fix attention on the real aim of the men who are now all-powerful in France, and are likely to so continue for some years to come. We shall see presently what is the precise nature of the "interrupted work" which the revolutionary heirs of 1789-99 undertake to carry forward to its ultimate perfection. Only let the reader not be deceived by the fine words he is about to read: *freedom* and *right* and *conscience* mean for us American freemen things entirely different from what is in the mind and in the heart of a French radical and revolutionist.

"We must protect," they continue, "individual liberties and

public liberties, the liberties pertaining to the propagation of doctrines, to the press, to meetings, to associating, all guaranteed under the republican system.

"We must carry on the development of the Republic in its entirety, that is, to realize progressively all the constitutional, political and social reforms thereby implied.

"To the threatened attempts to set up a dictatorship we must oppose the maintenance of the rights of manhood and citizenship proclaimed by the Revolution.

"Such is our purpose.

"We find an instrument for effecting it in our Republican tradition, in the restoration of the great political associations which, by grouping together all the democratic forces of Paris and the departments, were the stimulating energy of the Revolutionary assemblies.

"We hereby found the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

"Its object is to defend the Republic by combating without mercy every attempt in favor of reaction or a dictatorship."

Then the by-laws of the Society were read by M. Clémenceau, and three representative men delivered addresses, two of whom were leading members of the Paris Municipal Council, known to be Autonomists or Communards.

As one of the most influential of the morning journals remarks, "thus is created a vast organization destined to spread all over France."

The permanent executive committee of twenty-nine members, appointed to act in the name of the new society, foreshadows, unless we are much mistaken, one of the most powerful and energetic instruments ever devised by Jacobinism.

Now let us see what is to be the "animating and governing spirit," of this formidable organization. As, during the last few months, efforts have been made by M. Laguerre, the chief supporter of General Boulanger, to enlist in favor of the latter, not only the Masonic lodge of which M. Laguerre is the head, but as many as possible of the countless lodges covering France like a net-work, counter efforts have been made to secure for the Floquet ministry the support of French Masonry; and how far M. Floquet or his friends have succeeded in this we shall now see.

Some days before, and in advance of the important meeting above referred to, the heads of the principal Masonic lodges of Paris and its neighborhood met at the Grand Orient and decided to hold, in Paris, on Sunday, June 3d, at 2 P.M., a congress of French Masons. This assemblage is also called together for the ostensible purpose of counteracting the Boulanger movement.

One of the organs of the sect, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, publishes an editorial on the subject, with the heading, "The Masonic Action," which deserves to be attentively read by all who still cherish any affection for the Christian social order under which their forefathers lived.

"This awakening, this transformation of Freemasonry," so the editor writes, "which, after the night of the Napoleonic empire, had some difficulty in coming into the light of day, had been preceded by an interior movement which, although not much observed in its details, is not the less real in its main results. For some time previously Freemasonry manifested a tendency toward freeing itself from traditional customs, respectable indeed in themselves, but repellent to a number of serious-minded men,—a tendency to aim at something higher than the appearing to be a mysterious society with a fantastic ritual and fearful ceremonies. . . ."

We all know at present that besides doing away with these ridiculous forms of initiation, etc., French Masonry abjured everything which bore any trace of a religious ceremonial, anything that could bear the construction of a belief in God.

"Freemasonry," the article goes on to say, "is, therefore, no longer that excessively traditionalistic institution in the eyes of some people, that somewhat laughable institution to the mind of others. An outsider could no longer embarrass a Mason by asking for a little *curaçoa* mixed up in the Hiram bitters, since the cup of bitterness is alone generally presented to adepts in our day.

"We are organizing a great Masonic congress for the first Sunday of June in Paris. It will be an imposing manifestation, not only by its numbers, but because, as a republican demonstration, it will make a great noise throughout the country. The very numerous adhesions to the policy of M. Floquet's ministry, sent in by the Lodges from all parts of France, can leave no room for doubting as to what spirit will preside over this congress.

"Masonic action is, just at this moment, one of the surest and most lawful means of defending ourselves and to prepare for truly republican elections. Let us not permit this weapon to rust or to get ruined by contempt, or ridicule, or ignorance."

Placed side by side with these open declarations, the circular recently issued by the Grand Orient of Italy, and calling on all the Italian Lodges to take at once the most energetic action for combating by the ballot-box and by every available means of influence religious institutions in Italy and every man who dares to uphold them,—and you will perceive that there is to be concerted action on both sides of the Alps in carrying out the plan of campaign

against Christianity agreed upon in the supreme council of Masonry.

But, as the article just quoted says, the anti-Christian conspirators have now thrown off the thin veil of half-Jewish ceremonial which governed their former dark and secret proceedings. They can now afford to stand forth in the light of noon-day; to proclaim from the house-tops their principles and their purpose. The beginning of June will behold, and on the Lord's Day, the inaugural proceedings of a Masonic congress which—it needs no prophet to predict it—will have a most sinister influence over the fate of unhappy France during the next ten years, if not for more than the next ten generations.

The "Society of the Rights of Man," which is only a Masonic and revolutionary organism sprung from French Freemasonry, animated by its anti-Christian spirit, ubiquitous like its parent, and ready on every point of France, in city, town and country, to execute the decrees of the Grand Orient, will do its best, as is the wont of the hypocritical sect, to impose on the unwary by putting itself forward as the advocate of popular rights and the generous defender of all that is sacred under the name of liberty.

It was the wise policy of the supreme council of European continental Freemasonry, up to within a few years, to so conceal its hand in the working of political institutions as not to appear in the street or at the hustings on election days. Indeed it was the boast of its foremost representatives that Freemasonry never took an active part in politics. This apparent reserve, however, was first set aside openly in Belgium, where for more than half a century the all-important question of Christian education was the real question for which contended the two great national parties—the conservative Catholics and the Liberals. The latter, from the very foundation of the monarchy, was for the most part composed of freethinkers and Freemasons, who had managed to deceive a certain number of easy-going or ambitious Catholics. Under the late ministry of the notorious Frère-Orban, the Belgian Masons threw off the thin disguise under which they had so long been masquerading, and boldly avowed their purpose of *laïcising*, that is, "dechristianizing," all the schools in the country. The Masonic organs declared that the ministers of religion should be excluded from the school, the hospital, the army and the navy.

Education, public instruction at all its stages, the administration of charity or public assistance, the "moralization," as they miscall it, of the sick, the criminal classes, of the camp and the fleet, must be exclusively under the jurisdiction of the state and performed by lay functionaries.

The conspirators against Christendom at once set about pur-

chasing and controlling the public press in all continental countries, especially in such as had been till then, at least nominally, Catholic. And, as France, until the fatal war of 1870-71, had been, in spite of all drawbacks and the advance of infidelity, the leading nation of Christendom, all the efforts of the anti-Christian conspiracy were bent toward "dechristianizing" it.

The Belgian bishops, sustained by the timely and energetic action of the Holy See, overcame the Freemasons in Belgium. There the Catholics had learned from their neighbors in Prussia the value of being thoroughly organized, of knowing each other by name, of counting their own numbers in every electoral district, and of being confident, when election day had come, that every true Catholic would cast his vote for the man who was in favor of Christian education in university, college, academy, and parish school,—in favor of placing army and navy, the needy, the suffering, and the aged, under the blessed influence of religion and her ever-fruitful apostleship.

But anti-Christian Freemasonry, baffled in Belgium, swore that it should win the day in the France of Saint Louis and in the Italy of the Popes. We shall make no further mention, at present, of the triumphs of the anti-Christian power in the latter country, save only to say that the methods and the diabolical strategy which have there proved so successful, are now being tried in France with a confidence derived from the rapid victories of the Revolution in the Italian peninsula, and with all the conscious strength given the sects by nearly twenty years' lease of power and the almost absolute mastery of every department of the administration.

One incident, which has just happened as these lines were written (May 26th, 1888), will suffice to convince the reader that the men who at this moment administer the government in France are in full and open sympathy with the anti-Christian aims of the predominant revolutionary ideas in literature, in science, in sociology, in politics.

No one man in all France, or in all Europe, has been, for the last thirty years and more, so prominently before the public as the apostate, Ernest Renan, whose writings and labors have been directed to the one purpose of proving that Christ was an impostor and of destroying all belief in the divine origin of Christianity. If ANTICHRIST be not a mere abstraction, but a living personification of hostility to Him whom all Christians worship as the Son of God incarnate, then Ernest Renan is the worthy representative and forerunner of Antichrist.

Now here is what has just happened in the capital of France. For some twenty-five years past it has been the custom to hold in

Paris during the month of May a congress of all the learned societies of France (*Congrès des Sociétés Savantes*), under the protection and with the co-operation of the government. These societies number among their most active and distinguished members many accomplished clergymen, many fervent Catholic laymen well known for being the energetic promoters of the noblest popular charities.

Well, on May 26th, the last day of the congress, M. Lockroy, Minister of Public Instruction and Public Worship (!), honored the public session with his presence, delivered an official discourse, and conferred on the most prominent members of the congress various honors in the name of the Government. Foremost among the men thus selected for national reward was Ernest Renan, on whom the minister bestowed the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, the highest distinction in the gift of the government! But it is the discourse of the Minister of Public Worship, and the eulogy pronounced by him on the anti-Christian apostate, which should be read carefully.

"One duty now remains to be fulfilled," he said in concluding, "pleasing alike to the minister and to the man. In our day there lives a writer who is, at one and the same time, a master of our language, a scholar familiar with the most difficult studies, a man of daring intellect, a sower of ideas, a mighty initiator. He reminds us of many great men, but he only resembles himself; his works are connected with a great movement in French thought, and he is perfectly original. We should not define what he is by recalling Spinoza, or Fontenelle, Plato, Montaigne, or Fènelon, by reminding you that his genius, so peculiarly French, combines the qualities of both Briton and Gascon, or that he possesses the erudition of a Benedictine, the irony of a great comic author, and the fancy of a great poet. I shall not attempt myself to give you a definition of this great genius: I shall merely pronounce the name of ERNEST RENAN.

"Among the pleasant surprises which official power has kept in store for me, the present opportunity is one of those which I never thought I could look forward to. For me, it is a great honor to be able, within the walls of the Sorbonne, to hallow thus, in presence of the *élite* of our scholars and artists, the leader of that famous mission to Phœnicia on which I had the honor to accompany the future author of the *Origines du Christianisme*.

"It is also pleasant for me to think that, in receiving from my hand the highest distinction which France is this year able to bestow on letters and science, Ernest Renan will himself connect pleasantly with one of the earliest memories of his career the

homage which the government of the Republic pays to his great mind."

None of the French scholars present protested against this sacrilegious act of the man thrust by the irony of fate into the once respected office of Minister of Public Instruction and Public Worship in the ancient kingdom of St. Louis. The aristocracy of birth and talent were there; but not one of these descendants of the Crusaders cared or dared to stand up and stigmatize the act of the minister. From no one of the hundreds of scholars and scientists present came a protest against this consecration of the baneful genius of Renan in the halls where the doctors of Sorbonne were wont to unfold the sublime truths of Christian theology.

Apparently, then, Antichrist has it all his own way in what was, a century ago, "The Most Christian Kingdom," and to the numerous, well-disciplined, and united forces enlisted to do battle "against God and His Christ" there would be in France, were we to draw a hasty inference from such a proceeding as we have just narrated, no army of soldiers of Revealed Truth ready or fit to contend, with any chance of success, against such overwhelming odds.

II.

Thank God, it is quite otherwise, as we shall now endeavor to show.

Not forty-eight hours before the "Congress of Learned Societies" had met in inaugural session, on May 22d, the seventeenth yearly assembly of French Catholics had just concluded its labors. And, on the evening of the very day rendered memorable by the official glorification of Ernest Renan's blasphemies and impiety, the writer of these pages had the honor to be present at another assemblage of French scholars, scientists, statesmen, and magistrates, who meet yearly in Paris to combine the ripest results of scientific observation with enlightened zeal and long experience in dealing with all the social problems of the day. This annual gathering is composed of two distinct associations, founded by that eminent scientist, Frederick Le Play, the author of *La Réforme Sociale en France*; *Les Ouvriers Européens*; *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*; *Les Conditions de la Réforme en France*, and other admirable works, all aiming to concentrate the attention of statesmen and scholars on the real elements of social prosperity, morality, happiness, greatness, and stability, to be found in the institutions, in the public and private life of the peoples who once constituted Christendom. The first of these associations is the "Society of Social Economy," the members of which devote themselves to observing the conditions of the laboring classes among all the nations of both hemispheres, and reporting the results of their conscien-

tious studies in the form of "monographies," each monography being an exhaustive description of a working-man and his family in each of the trades or labor professions of town and country. Their studies give the clear and full light on the labor question. The other society, or "Social Peace Union," is composed of men devoted to carrying out in practice the reforms pointed to by the studies of the Society of Social Economy. By enlightening both the working classes and their employers on their true interests, on their mutual duties, these generous men restore peace in the manufactory and the mine, between the agricultural proprietors and their farmers, between employer and employees in every field of human labor. The two societies meet together every year to communicate to each other the result of their wide-extending studies and of their labors in improving the condition of the working-man, and in making capital and labor toil together, side by side and hand in hand, in making the earth fruitful and life less of an intolerable burthen.

Let us see what each of these armies is doing for the good of France, and, by their example and teaching, for the good of the entire human family. They are only two of the most prominent of the active forces which an all-wise and all-mighty Providence is using—silently, quietly, and in comparative obscurity—for healing the social wounds of France, and for restoring, sooner or later, the old moral and social order in the convulsed and disorganized Christendom of our day.

Unhappily, the volume containing the report of this year's proceedings in the assembly or congress of French Catholics has not yet been printed. But a glance at the published report of the proceedings of last year will give us some conception of what the children of God are doing here to secure and to enlarge His reign over the homes and lives of men. The congress met on May 10th, 1887, under the honorary presidency of the Archbishop of Paris—the active president being Senator Chesnelong, so celebrated as an orator and as the foremost promoter of every great and good work in Paris and throughout France. The congress divides its labors between four permanent committees, those, namely, on the works regarding Faith and Prayer; the Holy Land and the East; on Education; on the Public Press and Lectures; on Social Economy and distinctively Catholic works. The first of these divisions comprises a sub-committee on Christian Art.

To us American Catholics, with a new world before us, in which to plant and to rear to all the glory of their perfect fruitfulness religious institutions of every kind, every detail of our French brethren's struggles and apostolic labors is pregnant with instruction.

The works embraced by this first committee or section of the Catholic congress, besides all that relate to the maintenance and the spread of faith, include also, under the head of "Prayer," whatever pertains to public worship. Hence the extraordinary zeal with which European Catholics are now promoting popular devotion toward the Holy Eucharist. Catholics in the United States have, indeed, read or heard of the Eucharistic congresses which have, of late years, been celebrated in France, in Belgium, in Germany, and even in Switzerland.

No religious assemblages ever held in Christendom, in ancient or modern times, appeal more powerfully to the Catholic heart, or stir its pulses more deeply, than these Eucharistic congresses, aiming as they do to honor, by private practices of piety and by public and solemn acts of worship, our love and reverence for that gift of gifts, that real Sacramental Presence, which is the glory of the Church, the consolation of our earthly pilgrimage, and the sweet pledge of the Eternal Fruition.

It is time that we in America should take thought and heart to imitate, in this respect and in others, the noble examples of Catholics on this side of the ocean. To be sure—and deep should be our thankfulness for it—the God of our altars and our hearts is not, in the United States, as He is in the countries dominated and devastated by Antichristian Masonry, the object of continual and open blasphemy, while His churches and altars are insulted and profaned. But none the less ought we to profit by the blessed liberty which is our birthright, to graft deeper in the souls of young and old the living faith in our EMMANUEL, and by the most solemn acts of worship to proclaim our belief to the world.

The originator of these congresses was that well-known saintly writer, Monseigneur de Ségur, who, stricken with blindness, seemed to draw supernatural fire and light from his perpetual communion with the God of our Tabernacles. He died just as the first Eucharistic congress was about to be celebrated in Lille, in 1881. But the work which he had thus begun found in the present archbishop of Paris, then coadjutor to the venerable Cardinal Guibert, an earnest promoter, and in Archbishop de la Bouillerie an eloquent and successful advocate. This last-named prelate had everything ready for the celebrating of a second congress at Avignon, the ancient city of the Popes, when he too was called away to his reward by death. The third congress was held at Liège, under the direction of another saintly prelate, Archbishop Duquesnay, who soon afterward passed away from earth. Bishop Mermillod, of Geneva, then made the work of Eucharistic congresses his own special work. Since then Freiburg and Toulouse have each had the honor of holding one of these great assem-

blages. In Liège, where public worship is free, there was a grand procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the city. In Freiburg, the head of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, the display was magnificent beyond description. The whole population of the little state flocked to the celebration. The state authorities, judges and magistrates, the state troops with their commanders, people and clergy, young and old,—all seemed moved by one mighty sentiment of love toward the central sacrament of their faith, and made of Freiburg, on that day, a lively image of the City of God on high.

"O classic land of honor and of liberty!" exclaims M. Champeaux, after describing the feast, "since thy hospitable valleys opened wide their bosom to welcome the pilgrims of the Eucharist; since thy hills, like those of Judea, thrilled beneath the footsteps of the God Incarnate; since the chiefs of thy people will be nothing but the lieutenants of Christ,—may all the blessings of Heaven be on thy children, and may they treasure up, to pour them out in the time to come over a world hastening to its ruin, all the promises of regeneration and peace!"

Most extraordinary and unexpected have been the results, in every locality in which they were held, of these Eucharistic congresses. In every district, for instance, yearly assemblies are held, which, besides being solemn professions of faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, and a source of wide-spread edification, have stimulated Catholics to devise new methods of devotion toward their EMMANUEL. After the congress of Lille, societies for the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, *during the hours of night*, were organized in almost every parish in the north of France! Then a day of more solemn and public devotion was fixed upon for every diocese: the whole of the twenty-four hours preceding that day was to be devoted to the sweet duty of adoration, and the solemnities on the day itself were to conclude with a procession in the Cathedral. Thus, in the city of Lille, eighteen permanent committees or local sections were formed, their members watching in turn, throughout the hours of every Saturday night, before the altars of their respective churches.

This was done to expiate the blasphemies uttered by the press, the sacrileges committed here and there throughout the land, and to draw down on France and her people the graces at present so sadly needed.

After the Congress of Avignon the practice of perpetual adoration by night and day was made a permanent institution in some sanctuaries. At Nîmes the Catholics so arranged the discharge of this new voluntary duty that the various classes of citizens, the trades and professions, each in turn, had their day and their

specified hours for this heavenly work of reparation and intercession.

We can only point out this most blessed result. And how eloquent it is of that deep, living faith, that chivalrous spirit of self-sacrifice, which no revolution, no persecution can extinguish in the heart of Catholic France !

And here comes a pastoral letter of the present Archbishop of Paris, the worthy inheritor of all the heavy cares and apostolic virtues of the venerable Cardinal Guibert. It is devoted to the double object of stimulating the zeal of the Catholic Parisians in favor of completing the votive national Church of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre, and of preparing them for the Eucharistic congress to be opened in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, on Monday, July 2d.

Two extracts from this beautiful pastoral will explain to American readers this double object :

“ Ever since the will of God has burthened us with the formidable responsibility of the diocese of Paris,” the archbishop begins, “ we felt the desire to address you concerning the great undertaking of the Church of the Sacred Heart, and to think over with you what remains to be done in order to complete this sanctuary which lifts its mass up, like the Mercy Seat, on the mountain sacred to our martyrs.

“ Scarcely had our venerable predecessor been seated in the episcopal chair of St. Denis, when he appealed to *all good Christians and good Frenchmen* to unite in rearing this votive sanctuary of the nation, ‘destined to call down on France the blessings from on high, and to bring back among us peace, security and union, so needful to our country, and which the most skilful devices of human wisdom are so powerless to bestow.’

“ The Cardinal wrote these words on June 23d, 1872. Thirteen years afterward, on April 4th, 1885, just after receiving the Holy Viaticum, and while imparting to us his last advice together with such blessing as recalled that bestowed on their sons by the dying patriarchs of old, his very last words were for the great undertaking of the Church of the Sacred Heart. ‘We Christians,’ he said, with a voice as steady as his heart and his intellect, ‘entertain the conviction that this national homage offered to the Divine Heart of Jesus shall be the salvation of France.’

“ On March 3, 1876, nine months after the laying of the cornerstone of the Basilica, the Cardinal blessed the provisory chapel which you all know so well. From that day forth, an uninterrupted movement of pilgrimages has impelled the faithful toward Montmartre. The parishioners and parochial societies of Paris; the dioceses of every province in France; foreign nations, even

those of the New World,—all went thither in union with France, to implore the pity of the Heart of Jesus. Such a manifestation moves our soul to its depths; for it proves that our dear France is still 'the Eldest Daughter of the Church,' still beloved and encouraged by her sisters among Catholic nations.

"Henceforward the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament exposed on the altar ceases not either by day or by night. Generous Christian laymen, priests and members of the religious orders go up every evening to Montmartre and there keep the holy watches of the night."

Not alone in the votive Basilica which crowns the heights of the Mount of Martyrs, do the *élite* of Catholic Parisians thus daily and nightly succeed each other before the Mercy Seat; but in more than one sanctuary in the vast, the magnificent, the pleasure-loving city beneath, are there found men and women of every rank whom this thought of perpetual adoration and intercession unites successively through the long hours of sunshine and darkness before the Sacramental Throne of the Redeemer of the world.

If the Judge of all the earth promised Abraham to spare guilty Sodom if but ten just souls could be found in it, surely He will not destroy Paris, when He knows the tens of thousands of the generous and upright of heart, whose daily lives and nightly prayers make such powerful intercession for their brethren; surely He will save France for the sake of the millions who are true to Him—aye, true and tried by as searching a flame as ever sanctified the martyrs and confessors of old.

The archbishop next touches on the subject of the approaching congress: "You have," he says, "already learned through the public press that the annual reunion of the Eucharistic societies would this year be held in Paris. This will enable you to admire with us the opportunities afforded by Providence.

"The Eucharistic congresses, springing from an inspiration of faith and piety, purpose to unite all Christians in the one thought of adoring and loving the Divine Eucharist.

"The conventions of beneficent associations, and those of scholars and scientists, have a great and glorious function to fill in Christian society. But believers should not forget that in the Eucharist is the source of life for the souls of men and for the social body. . . . Christians there meet together to study the means to extend the reign of Christ living in our midst by His Sacramental Presence. . . ."

We have permitted ourselves to dwell at such length on this subject of Eucharistic congresses because, coming under the section of Faith and Public Worship, it is of the most vital importance; and,

moreover, because we hope to see these matters taken up and made much of by American Catholics.

The reader, after all that we have said about the inroads of unbelief and impiety into all the walks of public and private life, will be prepared to find the enemy met at every step by the manifold Apostleship organized and carried on indefatigably by our brethren in France.

The second committee, the most important of all, is that on "Instruction." France possesses one of the most admirable voluntary organizations known in any civilized country, the General Society of Education and Instruction, whose yearly meeting coincides with that of the general assembly of Catholics, the special session devoted to this all-important matter being the most solemn, the most largely attended, and the most interesting of all.

The society, under the immediate direction of the French hierarchy, is battling on every point of the kingdom for the divine privilege of preserving the souls of the people, parents and children, young and old, the wealthy and cultivated, as well as the poor and unlettered, from the mortal poison of infidel and immoral teaching; for the still diviner privilege of placing within their reach,—of making them taste, love, and enjoy it,—the saving truth of Christianity.

This would be the place to tell American readers the glorious, the incredible story of the generosity of French Catholics in creating establishments of Christian education of every grade in order to meet the need of the young generations of France, while the men in power are "dechristianizing" successively all the schools of France, driving out the religious educators of both sexes from every one of their houses, and spending profusely millions upon millions, yearly and monthly, in the unhallowed work of driving God from the primary school, the academy, the college, the university.

But the Catholic press of America has kept our public so well informed on this point that we need not insist on it here.

One thing only must be said of the sublime spectacle which the Catholic sons of France offer at this moment to the world, in defending the rights of Christian education,—that it recalls the long struggle of Ireland in the same cause. Things have not yet, in France, come to the pass that it is a crime punishable with imprisonment, death, and the forfeiture of one's property, to teach a Catholic school or to send one's children to it. But the day may not be far distant when the qualified liberty given by French law to schools independent of government control and support may

be withdrawn, and no schools be tolerated save such as teach in accordance with the atheistical programme of Paul Bert.

As it is, French Catholics freely, we had almost said joyously, contribute for Christian education sums which we should fear to name, lest we should be accused of gross exaggeration.

A committee of eminent jurists, mostly composed of men who resigned their seats on the bench when the courts of France were called upon to enforce the iniquitous Ferry-Bert law suppressing the religious orders, are attached to this General Society of Education. These gentlemen study the bearing of the anti-Christian school laws, and give to all those engaged in the Catholic schools the benefit of their advice and advocacy.

Every one of these features is well deserving of our imitation in America.

Some passages in the appeal of Senator Chesnelong, the eloquent President of the Assembly, and the head of the General Society of Education, would seem to address themselves to the needs and circumstances of Catholics in our own country,—allowance being made for the freedom that we enjoy in the United States from all State interference with our parochial schools.

"The necessary instrument for the regeneration of our country," he says, "is Christian education.

". . . . It is not wealth that we lack. Doubtless the prosperity of France at this moment is checked by a complex crisis, the causes of which I need not state here. But labor and economy would soon restore that prosperity, if we only had a government bent on repairing things, which would bring back to the spheres of business the security and confidence needed by our interests.

"There is among us no lack of generosity. This virtue so truly French has not been weakened in our times. Among our fellow-countrymen, nay, among our adversaries, the heart continues to be Christian long after the reason has ceased to be so.

"Nor is it truth that we lack. . . . The Church evermore holds its beacon-light on high before us. Our very ruins would, at need, eloquently preach the truth to those who are capable of understanding their mournful tale.

"What we lack is stability of principle, strength of character and conviction, rule and discipline in our actions, a consistent sequence and cohesion in our wills; the moral greatness of soul, in one word.

"Now, then, in order to give to souls this greatness, this strength, this mastery over self, this devotion to God and to country, this love for truth and justice, this fidelity to duty and to honor, there is only one way of proceeding,—to make the souls of men Christian.

"This, gentlemen, is the work undertaken by Christian teaching. It proceeds from nature's lowliest to nature's most privileged, enlightening their minds, lifting up their hearts, strengthening their wills, subjugating their souls to the glorious servitude of duty, elevating at one and the same time, by a harmonious development, the cultivation of the intellect and that of the moral sense, which are two offshoots of the same stem vivified by the same sap.

"Now, this Christian teaching, banished from the public schools, has to take refuge in our independent schools. Therefore, one of the foremost duties incumbent on Catholics at this day is to support these independent schools. There is no duty which avails so much for the salvation or, I should rather say, for the purchase of souls, as well as for the future greatness of our country."

We need not point out how aptly these eloquent words apply to American Catholics at this moment, in the discharge of their urgent and most sacred duty of procuring for their sons and daughters the priceless boon of Christian instruction and education.

It is the custom of each committee or section, after giving in its report of proceedings since the last General Assembly, to express in the form of a *hope* or *wish* such progressive measures as circumstances render imperative.

The Committee on Education thus formulates its earnest WISH for the improvement of all departments of Christian instruction in Catholic schools:

"1. As to primary schools. In all that pertains to the creation, the organization, and working of independent schools, [it is most desirable] that, in order to contend successfully with the anti-Christian teaching which, according to the letter of the existing laws, disposes at will of all the administrative, financial, and material forces of the country, the General Society of Education and Instruction should call together all the founders, promoters, and defenders of our schools, and do its best to unite in common action all the supporters of true national instruction, that is, of Christian and independent teaching.

"That diocesan and parochial committees should be everywhere organized for the purpose of establishing and maintaining independent schools, and for watching carefully and combating the anti-Christian teaching of the state schools.

"That the payment of our teachers, fixed and accepted as a duty by all parents able to pay, each according to his means, should be made to secure the funds necessary for the working of our schools, concurrently with the *denier des écoles* (a fund collected on the same system as that of the Propagation of the Faith),

and with the voluntary subscriptions in the country places, and in the city districts and streets.

"As to the Friendly Societies of Alumni, let them multiply their efforts to increase their own membership and the numbers of their adherents; let new associations be formed between old college school-fellows, between the former pupils of Catholic academies and schools; let these friendly associations, by entertaining constant mutual kindly relations, communicate to each other the good they are doing, each in its own sphere, as well as their ideas about a still greater good to be achieved for the defence and support of their religious faith.

"2. As to professional education. Let Catholics exert themselves in developing independent Christian schools for superior primary instruction, for professional and special instruction, as well as to establish higher courses in their primary schools wherever their means and a proper supply of competent teachers will not allow them to create complete educational establishments.

"3. As to higher education. In all that pertains to the teaching of philosophy, let the independent courses of higher Christian instruction be multiplied in all centres where there are a sufficient number of professors and of pupils. Let popular courses be organized in the same spirit, in order to combat and to neutralize the efforts of the materialistic propaganda.

"In what relates to agricultural instruction, and in order to enable proprietors to fulfil the twofold mission incumbent on them of personal labor and patronage toward their employees,—let the knowledge and practice of scientific husbandry be taught and encouraged in Catholic schools of higher studies, as is done in the Catholic Institute of Lille; and let the High School of Agricultural Studies annexed to it be made known and encouraged in every way so as to win the sympathy and support of Catholics."

It is a great happiness to say that what was only a hope and a prayer in 1887 has become a blessed reality in 1888.

It is marvellous to see with what ardor, what ability, and what success the most cultivated and most distinguished Catholics of France,—her true aristocracy of birth and culture,—devote themselves in the great capital and in the other cities of France, as well as in the country places, to the great work mapped out in the above extracts for all who have the will and the ability to save their country by becoming the apostles of revealed truth.

We have barely taken the reader into the outposts of this great army of Christian soldiers, and pointed out here and there a few of the most prominent divisions.

Of the noble host of men,—noble in every sense of the word,—who have long been and are still working to save and to improve

the toiling millions of France, we must not speak here lest we should overstep all bounds of moderation. Suffice it to mention the honored and beloved names of Count Albert de Mun and Léon Harmel,—to tell all who are even slightly acquainted with the labor question in France how much has been accomplished by Catholic laymen in bringing about social peace and restoring the reign of God in the homes of the laboring poor.

Nor is it alone the men of France who have enrolled themselves in this new crusade,—a crusade which requires of every soldier of the cross as stout a heart as ever beat in the bosom of a Godfrey or a Tancred. The Catholic women of France, who are active in the glorious cause of their religion and their country, can also be counted by thousands.

We have before us as we write the *Manuel des Œuvres*, a volume of 553 pages, which contains only a bare list of the manifold works of charity carried on in Paris and in various provincial establishments in connection with those of Paris. By far the greater part of these have been created, and are supported and directed, by the fruitful zeal of Christian women living in the world.

Cardinal Consalvi, the companion, adviser, and supporter of Pius VII., during his exile and imprisonment in France, pays a well-deserved compliment to the great qualities of the Christian women of France. His words are only the echo of the high praise bestowed by another exiled Cardinal, the illustrious Pacca.

The hosts of true men we have glanced at in this paper have been reared in Catholic homes; they have been trained and armed for the battle by their mothers, their sisters, their wives. They are bound to win in the peaceful strife, in which the eloquent pen and the eloquent speech, and the living example, more eloquent than all, are the only weapons of warfare. These comprise what man can do in the cause of God; He is bound to do the rest. And He will not fail His soldiers.

So, remembering what happened in Catholic France from 1788 to 1800,—the glorious spectacle in Christian history only paralleled in Ireland during the three centuries preceding 1800,—we may feel sure that the torrents of blood shed by the guillotine are the pledge of the victory of the Faith in the land of the lilies.

What a springtide of all the apostolic virtues there was in France from 1804 down to 1870! We know that the enemy was there also, sowing his tares broadcast in the furrows, where religion had been casting the seed of all the good we now behold. That the tares have not choked the goodly harvest in its growth is, taking all things into consideration, a miracle in itself. That the success of the enemy has been only partial, we know. That, in the long run, he is doomed to defeat, we may gather from what has been here said or hinted at.

It is enough to mingle for a day with these faithful sons of the ancient crusaders, in any one of their congresses or general assemblies, to feel, in the absolute trust in God which buoys them up, that they have a certain pledge of triumph.

Let us, therefore, with the same invincible confidence, hope that France's trials, no matter how manifold and how bitter they may be at present, or how portentous of evil for religion are the well-known schemes of the party in power, will pass away, leaving her in the coming ages what she has been in the past, "The most Christian Kingdom,"—"the Eldest and Truest Daughter of the Church."

THE NEW PENAL CODE IN ITALY.

FOR years the house of Savoy has waged a relentless war on the Vicar of Christ, combining hypocrisy with violence, a pretended respect for his divinely constituted authority, while depriving him of all power and even of liberty. Success emboldened it to pursue its nefarious schemes, and the apathy of the great powers of Europe has led its counsellors to believe that no earthly power will raise a finger or utter a word to prevent it from covering the Sovereign Pontiff with insult, humiliation and affront.

The seizure of the Legations in 1859 was the commencement of its career of duplicity and violence. Though Napoleon III. had French troops in Rome, he allowed the Sardinians to occupy that portion of the Papal States known as the Legations, hold a pretended election and annex them to the kingdom of Sardinia. There was no pretext for war against the Pope, there was no war; but a stronger power simply seized territory of a weaker neighbor, and no one protested, not even France, which was lavishing the fruits of the industry and the blood of her sons to build up a state that would stand aloof in her hour of trial and make common cause with her deadliest foe.

This first act of iniquity settled the policy of the house of Savoy. Europe left the Papacy at its mercy. Yet it is a fact worth remembering that Protestant Prussia advocated the maintenance of the patrimony of St. Peter in its integrity.

Step by step every part of the estates of the Church without the

walls of Rome was occupied by the Sardinians, and everywhere a direct hostility to the Church and its head was shown in the seizure of sacred property, the dispersion of religious communities and the disfranchisement of all who remained loyal to the real sovereign.

The title of the so-called kingdom of Italy to the usurped territory rests on no recognized principle of international law ; it was not obtained by inheritance, cession, or conquest in lawful war. It was acquired by fraud and violence, and is maintained in defiance of all. France continued to occupy the city of Rome, with an avenue of ingress and egress, maintaining there the sovereignty of the Pope. When the Vatican Council was convened the house of Savoy made a display of its hypocrisy in a form so astonishing as scarcely to be credible. It asked the withdrawal of the French troops in order to ensure freedom in the action of the Council. Every one knew, of course, that the withdrawal of the French troops would have been followed by the immediate occupation of Rome by the troops of Victor Emmanuel, the dispersion of the Council, and the confinement of the Sovereign Pontiff to the Vatican, stripped of all authority in the Eternal City.

Napoleon III. had yielded much to the treacherous power which he had built up, but he would not renounce the traditional policy of France and weaken his own hold on his Catholic subjects by leaving Pius IX. at the mercy of Victor Emmanuel. But the time came when by his fatal plunge into war with Prussia he sealed the doom of his family, threw away the conquests of Louis XIV. and placed Prussia at the head of a new German empire, a perpetual menace to France. He saw France overrun by German armies, which he could not meet with forces equal in numbers, discipline, equipment, or commanders. He withdrew his troops from Rome. Italy never raised a finger to aid France, to which she owed her aggrandizement. She became the ally of the new German empire, and, as the French troops evacuated the city, moved on Rome. The Eternal City was taken by force and the last remnant of the Pontifical territory was annexed to what is called the kingdom of Italy. Pius IX. was a prisoner in the hands of Victor Emmanuel. The latter, indeed, issued a decree in which he stated : " The Sovereign Pontiff preserves his dignity, inviolability, and all the prerogatives of a sovereign." " A special law will sanction the conditions proper to guarantee, even by territorial franchises, the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See." The Papacy is of God, its independence is of God, its spiritual authority has the right to its free exercise from God, and it is not for any human authority to prescribe conditions or grant permission which implies the right to prevent its exercise.

We all know what followed. Although Pius IX. protested against the seizure of Rome, Victor Emmanuel left him only the Vatican. All other palaces and institutions were seized. The Bishop of Rome had less power in his own city than any Catholic bishop in England or the United States. The convents, colleges, and institutions which the Popes had created in Rome, all were seized. Even the houses of the generals of religious orders from which communities all over the world were, under the Sovereign Pontiff, directed and guided, were swept away; and this, the world was assured, was done to secure "the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See."

Yet, to keep up the farce, Victor Emmanuel and his subservient parliament passed, in March, 1871, what they called a law of guarantees. After declaring his person sacred and inviolable, and making any attempt against his person liable to the same punishment as any similar attempt against himself, Victor Emmanuel endeavored to make the Pope one of his menials by assigning him pay as he did his policemen and soldiers.

The powers which the Popes had of all time exercised throughout Italy were not guaranteed, and though one article assured foreign nations that the Pope was to be free to exercise his spiritual authority, nothing emanating from the Holy See has been communicated to the people of Italy except under penalty of any punishment the government of Victor Emmanuel and Humbert might choose to inflict. They create the judges, the law, and the offence.

The ruin of the whole machinery of the government of the Church which ensued, the outrages on the Christian religion, the demolition of monuments hallowed by the most sacred associations, the erection of monuments insulting to the Popes and the Church, and, finally, the attempt to destroy the Catholic missions, throughout the world, by seizing the property of the Propaganda, are too well known to need repeating here in detail.

Emboldened by the impunity which has attended all its acts against the Sovereign Pontiff and the Church, and disregarding the protests of Pope Pius IX. and Pope Leo XIII., who have constantly refused to recognize or ratify the slightest one, this monarch and legislature, illegally seated in Rome, are now preparing another attack on the Church and its Head.

The bishops and clergy throughout Italy have been discharging their sacred duties to the best of their power, amid a host of difficulties, not the least being the encouragement given by government to infidel and socialistic societies, papers and meetings, all laboring to destroy the faith of the people, and alienate them from the practices of religion. The example of those in power no longer encourages the weak and less instructed; on the contrary,

it seems to justify all disregard of religion and morality. Catholic papers are constantly hampered in the diffusion of articles inculcating sound religion and morality, while every scurrility against faith and morals is permitted in the miscalled liberal journals that flood the country. Amid all this, the clergy have labored on with great prudence and zeal. They have done nothing to excite disturbance or discontent. They have preached patience and forbearance. The riots and disturbances all emanated from the socialistic and infidel element to which the government gave full liberty, until at last it finds that, weary of attacking the Pope, the clergy and religion, the socialists and infidels whose growth it has fostered begin to marshal their hosts for the overthrow of the so-called Italian monarchy. Hostile demonstrations against the government are constantly recurring. Indeed, a well-informed journal declares that scarcely a day passes without witnessing some hostile display against the Italian monarchy in one city or another, from Milan to Palermo. The tiara of the Roman Pontiffs is not more hateful to the eyes of this element than the royal arms have become.

The world was deluged for years with statements of the incapacity, extravagance and mediævalism of the Pontifical, Neapolitan and Ducal governments of Italy. If that peninsula could be placed under a united, liberal government, the blessings of the millennium would be anticipated by the happy inhabitants of the land, who, wisely ruled, would advance in education, morality and material development at a rate which had never been witnessed on our globe of great aspirations and petty results. What has been the result? This phantom kingdom of Italy has had opportunity, and abundant opportunity, to show its ability to elevate the masses and increase their happiness. It has had no enemy to contend with; it has been at war with no European power, except during the brief term when it appeared disgracefully as the ally of Prussia against Austria, a struggle in which she can record only defeat on land and sea. Yet it would be difficult to find in the world a government which has done less for the people subject to it than this very government of the kingdom of Italy. It has created nothing but an enormous army that drains the life-blood of the people, an expensive navy, increasing myriads of high and petty officials, and, notwithstanding its confiscation of all the religious property throughout the country, an overwhelming and constantly increasing debt. The people who, under the old governments, lived in peaceful competency by the cultivation of the soil, are now crushed and ground down by taxes of every kind, while the young men are drawn off to become corrupted and unfitted for work in the useless Italian army,—an army, created by the fears

of the unwise rulers, not by any real necessity of the country. Poverty increases steadily ; those of moderate means are reduced to penury ; the prices of living increase steadily. With the enormous sums acquired by the sale of church property and the taxes wrung from the industrious and moral, what great work has this "liberal" government effected? We look in vain for the promised drainage of the Campagna, or any great engineering work to begin that scheme ; we look in vain for the improvement of the rivers and harbors ; in vain for any great institution of learning ; in vain for any great architectural work in Rome, which will tell future ages that the house of Savoy had control here during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They seem to know and to feel that Rome is not to be long their abiding place ; that they are there only to uproot and destroy, not to leave monuments of their grandeur. So frail, flimsy and discreditable are the tawdry structures reared in Rome by this government or under its impulse, that the very photographers are afraid or ashamed to depict them. All that is monumental dates back beyond the invasion of the northern barbarians. A well-governed country can, except its limits are extremely contracted, or the growth of population above the normal standard, retain its children within its own borders. A large, steady flow of people out of a country shows in most cases misgovernment. There must be tyranny, mismanagement or incompetency in the rulers. Fifty years ago there was no emigration from Italy. Now her people leave her fertile soil and glorious climate by ever-increasing thousands. To remain is to face starvation. With nearly a million of her sons drawn from productive labor to don the uniform of the army, there ought to be abundant employment for those not in the ranks ; but this is not the case. The small farmers and peasants who could once live on their small holdings and lay up money, cannot make both ends meet by the utmost prudence, exertion and economy ; artisans cannot find employment at their trade, and the thousands of unskilled laborers are kept in compulsory inactivity. Emigration is their only hope.

They are arriving on our shores at the rate of more than sixty thousand a year in the port of New York alone, and southern ports swell the number to a degree scarcely to be believed. And what a commentary do these immigrants present on the government under which they have lived for thirty years. You seek in vain for any evidence of public schools, of diffused education, of improved training in agriculture, mechanics, or manufactures. Nothing has been done to educate or elevate the masses, to advance hygienic conditions, to instil manliness, truth, honor, or religion. Even art is dead. There are copyists, but no great painters, or sculptors, or architects. In everything that tends to

increase the well-being of a people, this Italian government is the most amazing and pretentious failure of the nineteenth century. The land swarms with an impoverished and discontented population, who look to emigration, socialism, nihilism, anything in preference to a continuance of their present appalling condition.

Crime increases, and the Italian prime minister, Crispi, has introduced amendments to the present penal code. The hand of the liberal government is to be made heavier and heavier. While he dare not frame a single clause against the most dangerous and destructive communistic bodies, check their utterances in their open meetings, or the wildest outbursts in their papers, he can strike at the Pope and all who look up to him with reverence and respect. To do this he must set at naught all the principles which these "liberal" politicians have been for the last century upholding as inalienable rights of the people; they must deny the right of the people peacefully to petition the legislature for a redress of grievances, to remonstrate against legislation they may regard as unwise or oppressive; they must deny liberty of debate, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press; but Signor Crispi is ready to do all this, and make every one of these acts, which we regard as the heritage of a free citizen in a state, a crime to be punished with all the rigor of the law, even if it be necessary to mete out a punishment greater than that inflicted on the red-handed murderer. And this is the result of the revolutionary attempts to create a free Italy; it is, indeed, an "*Italia irredenta*," bound hand and foot by a band of the most insignificant tyrants that ever ruled any portion of that peninsula.

But if the power of the Italian government is waning, if it dare not strike at anarchy and socialism, it is not so blind as not to see that the attachment to the Pope is strong throughout Italy, and on occasions asserts itself. It feels that if the true Catholics were to turn out in their strength at the polls, the government would find it difficult to carry a single measure through the legislature. The government lives in a manner by the non-action of the Church and those who believe in her divine mission. To terrorize the clergy is therefore the aim of Crispi. In his revision of the penal code, he proposes (Article 101) to punish with imprisonment for life any bishop or priest who, in writing or in any public address, advocates the restoration to the Sovereign Pontiff of any part of his former territory. A murderer in Italy generally escapes with twenty years' imprisonment, but here this minister of King Humbert proposes to punish with a life-long imprisonment any bishop or priest who advocates what Victor Emmanuel promised in his very first decree after occupying Rome. Humbert virtually arraigns his own father, who promised "to guarantee even by ter-

ritorial franchises the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff," and now endeavors to make it a crime in a bishop or priest to advocate the fulfilment of the pledge of Victor Emmanuel. Crispi goes even further. By another section (174) he seeks to punish by six years' imprisonment, forfeiture of all future salary, and a fine of from \$60 to \$1200, any expression, even in private, of a wish to see any such restoration to the Holy Father carried out.

Had any agreement been made between the Pope and the Italian government, severe punishment on all who attempted to overthrow it and create hostility might justly be inflicted; but neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. has ever for a moment recognized the usurpation of his city; nor has Italy, nor any government in Europe, least of all no congress of the great powers, ever approved by its consent the action of the late Victor Emmanuel. His occupation of Rome and the Papal States is not sustained by the public law of Europe. In this position of affairs, to make the discussion of the question a crime to be punished by rigorous imprisonment for life, is one of the most monstrous proposals ever made.

The European press has been outspoken in its condemnation of this draconian code; and the amazement at the blindness of Crispi is equal to the indignant censure of his proposed tyranny. Even if he retracts now, or fails to carry his proposed revision on these points through the Italian parliament, it is a fact of history, not to be denied or explained away, that King Humbert's government, in 1888, did actually propose to punish Catholic bishops and priests by fine, forfeiture, and imprisonment, even for life, for discussing a European question.

Of course, the law was not introduced without protest. The episcopate of the two Sicilies addressed to the senators and deputies a letter signed by the archbishops of Naples and Capri, both cardinals, by twenty-three other archbishops, seventy-two bishops, by the abbots of Monte Cassino, Cava, and Monte Vergine, and by several vicars capitular, in all one hundred and two, a protest against the proposed enactments. They declare it exceedingly strange that a state professing to be free should endeavor to suppress a question of public policy by prohibiting any discussion of it, especially when the opinions entertained by the people at large are by no means unanimous. With apostolic firmness these bishops maintain their right to call their clergy to account for any expression of opinion, in word or writing, which may need correction. They maintained, too, their right as spiritual shepherds to guide the flock committed to their care, and freely to communicate to them the words of the Sovereign Pontiff, and themselves address them from time to time such words of counsel and warning as the conscientious discharge of their duties require. They

pledged themselves, in conclusion, never to forget that their mission is to lead to God the souls of all, no matter of what social grade. Similar protests came from bishops in other parts of Italy, and the question has become a burning one.

The remonstrances of the Catholic episcopate certainly required the calm action of the legislature. They would receive it in the Congress of the United States, the Parliament of England, the Reichstag of Germany, or the Cortes of Spain. How has it been received by the pretendedly liberal government of Italy? Signor Crispi, in the *Riforma*, at once came out to defend his proposed action. He treated the protests with the greatest insolence, and, as though the senators and deputies were mere tools in his hands, regarded the question as already settled. He actually made the right of petition a crime. He declared that any protest by the archbishops and bishops of Italy "was a very useless action on their part, and, moreover, an offence which, if the said laws were already promulgated, as they are sure to be before many weeks pass by, would expose them to the unpleasant necessity of regretting their presumption in prison."

He thus actually announced that the law, if passed, will be so construed that a bishop or priest signing a petition to the legislature shall be imprisoned for life. And yet the great cry which deluded many well-meaning men in early days was, "A free Church in a free State." The difficulty will be to find either free Church or free State in Italy.

Crispi has, without any excuse or provocation, brought the Roman question to an issue, and made it a question to be discussed by the whole world. There has been no agitation on the part of the Italian bishops or their clergy, though the question is always there, a menace to the throne of Humbert and the state created by his father. When the Italian Parliament meets the Chambers do not represent a nation. They are merely the caucus of a party, and at any moment the Catholic party may arise, elect its delegates who will enter those halls, and the party caucus will end, the two parties will there be face to face, and every step, every act be questioned, criticized and debated. It is the consciousness of that great absent power which has given the Italian Parliament its peculiar character. You see no parties there, for the great party is absent.

There can be no question that Crispi has been hurried into his present rash and unstatesmanlike course by the worst elements in Italy, the ultra infidel and socialistic class, the real enemies of all civil government in Italy, whom the government must ultimately fight, and can subdue only by the aid of the conservative Catholic population guided by its clergy.

The jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. was a terrible lesson to the gov-

ernment and the communists. They have not learned wisdom from it. That event drew forth greetings, allegiance, respect, marks of devotion from the Catholics of the whole world, and from civil governments, Catholic, Protestant, and even from those beyond the Christian pale. It was an occasion divested of all political bearings. The Queen of England, the President of the United States, could and did join in the general felicitation. Italy could not but feel an impulse that was quickening the pulse of Christendom. From one end of the country to the other came the spontaneous felicitations of millions. The syndic of Rome congratulated the Holy Father; Florence sent a magnificent cross and an address signed by sixty thousand inhabitants of the city and neighborhood. The Italian government stood sullenly aloof, isolated by its own act from the whole civilized world. It vented a petty spite in seizing medals struck to commemorate the occasion, and by removing the syndic of Rome. But it had the clear, distinct evidence that millions in the country were in sympathy with the Sovereign Pontiff, held his person in reverent attachment, and were devoted to the Holy See, the Chair of Peter. These millions were certainly not the ignorant, the immoral, the revolutionary part of the population. They are a conservative, moral, solid element in the land, to which any wise government would look for its support and its permanent existence.

The only hope of the Italian government is in this party, and its support can be gained by placing the Sovereign Pontiff in a position of independence due his character, and virtually promised to the world by Victor Emmanuel. Instead of adopting that course, Crispi, to gratify the turbulent and dangerous element, prepares to persecute the Church, and, unable to strike the Sovereign Pontiff in person, proposes to strike him in his brethren in the episcopate, or the faithful clergy. He may arrest bishops for announcing an encyclical or allocution of the Pope to their clergy and people; he may fill prisons with bishops and priests, but what will he gain? The sufferers under his tyrannical edicts will find sympathizers, even in his parliament, they will arouse supporters and adherents far and near. He cannot stop the voice of the civilized world. In every country and in every legislative hall the importance of the Roman question will be discussed, and the necessity of its solution will be made evident to all mankind. But the laws have not yet passed, in spite of Crispi's boast, and the debates at Monte Citorio (for the legislature sits not in a parliament house that it erected, but in a stolen convent) may lead wiser and cooler men to reject his mad scheme, leaving him to bear in his disappointment the obloquy of his malicious intent.

The Sovereign Pontiff could not, of course, remain silent when

he saw his long-suffering episcopate and clergy in Italy menaced with such a cruel and unrelenting persecution, brought on them by their attachment to his person. In an allocution addressed to the College of Cardinals on the first of June, he referred to the wonderful and spontaneous celebration of his jubilee, and of the marks of respect for the Chair of Peter evinced by delegations and rich presents from all parts of the world. "With the reception of these very honors so magnificently tendered to the Roman Pontiff, there seems to have been a fresh outburst of animosity on the part of those who hate the Church so implacably, and whose evil and hostile disposition during the whole of this time has shown itself more insolently than usual in threats accompanied by insults. And the same persons, finding themselves invested with greater power, now plot with greater confidence, and exciting difficulties everywhere, endeavor to bind the Church with more galling fetters than ever." He then described the laws proposed by Crispi, and continued: "There is no doubt, venerable brethren, as to the object of laws of this kind, especially if they are compared with others of a similar character, and more particularly as the designs of their authors have been sufficiently made known in other ways. They desire, in the first place, by inspiring terror of penalties, to deprive men of liberty in vindicating the rights of the Sovereign Pontificate. It is scarcely necessary to show how unjust it is that some should be permitted to attack at their will the most sacred rights connected and indissolubly bound up with the legitimate freedom of the Church, and that others should not be allowed to defend those rights with impunity. But since it is of great importance to all Catholics that these rights should be made secure, it cannot be doubted that throughout the whole world men will arise who will freely undertake the defence of the Holy See, if the Catholics of Italy, who ought to do so before all others, are prevented by law from taking action in the matter. Now it is well to remember that, as we have often stated, the condition necessary to the preservation of the liberty of the Roman Pontiffs is not prejudicial to Italian interests; on the contrary, it most powerfully and most truly serves them, so that all who uphold that liberty should be regarded, not as enemies of their country, but as most excellent and faithful citizens. These laws of which we have spoken, under pretext of saving the commonwealth, really aim at the enslavement of the Church. But as it is the most sacred mission and duty of the Church to teach constantly and to preserve, even when men offer opposition, whatever Jesus Christ commanded her to teach and maintain, if in the laws and institutions of states there is anything at variance with the Christian precepts of faith and morals, the clergy cannot approve of it, or conceal their sentiments by remaining silent, for the ex-

ample is set before them of the Apostles, who, on being commanded by the magistrates to cease to speak of Jesus Christ and His doctrines, manfully replied: 'If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, hear ye.' (Acts iv. 18.) What would have been the future of Christianity had the Church become subservient to the institutions of different nations, and obeyed the commands of magistrates without distinction, whether they were just or wicked? The ancient superstition would have remained under the protection of the laws, and there would have been no way in which the human race could have received the light of the gospel.

Crispi and his followers, like the supporters of the Falk laws in Prussia, endeavor to falsify the actual state of the case, and by sophistry throw the blame on the Church by representing the state as merely acting on the defensive and resisting aggression by the Church. This fallacy Pope Leo XIII. exposes: "It is utterly wrong to assert that the state finds it necessary to act against the Church in self-defence. How can this be the case? The Church is the mistress and the guardian of all justice, established to suffer, not to make, attacks. It is too absolutely contrary to truth and justice to subject the whole body of the clergy to such grave suspicion without just cause. Nor is any reason shown why new laws should be passed against them especially. At what time or in what place have the Italian clergy deserved censure for interfering with the public weal or tranquillity?"

Considering the laws and their motive from the standpoint of the Church itself, His Holiness said: "But if we seek higher considerations, it appears how thoroughly the clauses of the law are opposed to the most sacred institutions of the Church. For, by the will of God the Church is a perfect society, and, with its own laws, has its own magistracies, duly distinct from each other in degrees of power, the head of all which is the Roman Pontiff, who has been placed over the Church by Divine authority, and is subject to the power and judgment of God alone. Inasmuch, therefore, as an attack is made on the institutions of the Church, the authors of the law are acting aggressively, not on the defensive. And this do they do by a special law with premeditated severity, and by regulations, not fixed or definite, but vague and most indeterminate, so that he who has to interpret them may do so as suits his own pleasure.

"For these reasons it is our duty to raise our apostolic voice, and to proclaim openly, as we now do, that these laws in question are contrary to the rights and power of the Church, are opposed to the freedom of the sacred ministry, and detract greatly from the dignity of the bishops, of all the clergy, and especially of the Holy

See, so that it is by no means permissible to adopt, approve, and sanction them.

“ We complain of these laws, not because we fear the more bitter warfare against the Church which is imminent. The Church has seen other storms, from all of which it has come forth not only victorious, but more resplendent and stronger than ever. Its Divine strength renders it safe from the attacks of men. We know the bishops and the clergy of Italy; and we have no doubt as to how they will act if the alternative is presented of pleasing men or failing in their sacred duties. But what profoundly saddens us is, that the Church and the Papacy are fiercely assailed in Italy, while the vast majority of the Italian people entertain the deepest respect for the Supreme Pontificate and the Church, and show their fidelity to them by an admirable constancy; and while inexhaustible advantages are accruing to the country from the Church and the Pontificate, we are likewise saddened by the thought that, in accordance with the desires of the secret societies, all kinds of resources and efforts are employed to draw from the fold of the Church this people which has been brought up and reared in her maternal bosom. Nor is it a source of less grief to us that steps are designedly taken to envenom and prolong this conflict with the Church which we, for the sake of the Church, and through love of country, most earnestly desire, as we have often said, to see entirely removed in such a manner as justice and the rights of the Church require. To wish that the civil authority should be in perpetual conflict with the Church is a senseless desire, and one most pernicious to the public welfare. Therefore, since we can do no more, we again and again implore God to look down upon us propitiously and grant us better days, and especially to grant that the Italian people may always preserve the faith intact, together with their attachment to the Holy See, and may never hesitate to suffer and endure all things for their sake.”

When the Chamber actually proceeded to consider these clauses of the Penal Code and the protests against it, the petitions of the bishops were rejected, but all agreed that Crispi, in his 174th article, had exceeded all bounds, and it was declared to be too arbitrary. It ran in these words: “ The minister of a worship who, abusing the moral power derived from his ministry, excites to disregard the institutions or the laws of the state, or the acts of authority, or otherwise to transgress duties to the country, or those inherent in a public office, or prejudices legitimate patrimonial interests, or disturbs the peace of families, is punished with imprisonment from six months to three years, with a fine of 500 to 3000 lire (\$100 to \$600), and perpetual or temporary interdiction from the ecclesiastical benefice.”

On the other clauses few dared to show opposition, for fear of being stigmatized as clericals, yet one man, Ubaldino Peruzzi, had the courage to introduce this resolution: "The Chamber invites the government to suppress all those clauses which make ministers of religion guilty in a manner different from other citizens in identical cases."

The final vote was taken on the 9th of June, and the new Penal Code, omitting article 174, was passed by a vote of 245 to 67. It is, therefore, to go into effect July 1st, 1889, with such modifications as a commission appointed to consider 130 proposed amendments, may deem fit.

Before passing laws aimed at the Christian and Catholic religion, the Chamber should have adjourned from the stolen convent to the site of the temple of Liberty or Venus, to commemorate their revived paganism.

The Italian government has thus by a shameful law—a law in utter violation of every principle of a free state—compelled the Sovereign Pontiff to bring the whole question of the position of the Head of the Church before the governments of the world. His nuncios have by this time presented at almost every court in Europe this new evidence of the necessity for international action to place the Head of the Catholic Church in a perfectly free and independent position. The Italian government has nullified every pretext on which it sophistically based its interference with the Papal States, and has shown that it was actuated from the first, not by any desire to relieve the Pope from internal or foreign aggression, but actuated purely and simply by a deep and intense hatred of the Catholic religion, its institutions and teachings.

And how disgracefully it now comes before thinking men in free and enlightened nations! What greater proof of their utter unfitness to rule over a free people can be given than King Humbert and his ministers afford in these proposed penal laws? Here we find them proposing a law punishing in a priest or bishop the exercise of freedom of speech even in a private circle, of the freedom of expressing opinions through the press on a vital public question. It is sought to make it a crime punishable by imprisonment for life for an Italian citizen to speak or write his sentiments, if the oil of ordination or consecration has touched his head, while in the merchant who lives on one side of him, or the artisan on the other, or even in the beggar who receives alms at his door, such expression is not a crime, not a misdemeanor, not an offence, but the legal exercise of an undisputed right. This makes the receiving of orders in the Catholic Church a criminal act depriving the citizen of his rights. And yet the Italian government proposes to go on this issue into the great court of the world's public opinion and solicit a verdict in its favor.

Fear has deprived it of reason. Bluster as it may, it is ever in dread of the Pontifical power which, it knows, must, in time, resume its rights in Italy. A wise and just policy would long since have made the Papacy an element of strength rather than of weakness. Statesmen are fallible, and if Bismarck did not hesitate to go to Canossa and admit that his war on the Church was an error, the House of Savoy need not fear to do the same. Its true line of policy is not to dishonor the statute book by Crispi laws which will be a brand on Italy for centuries, but to retrace false steps, and by restoring the Pope's authority in Rome, make the Catholic Church and those true to it the hearty and zealous supporters of law and order against anarchy and communism.

THE ATTACK ON FREEDOM OF EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Protest against the Majority Report of the Joint Special Committee of the General Court of 1887 on the Employment and Schooling of Children and against any Legislative Interference with Private Schools : Being a digest of the remarks of the remonstrants at the hearings of the Legislative Committee on Education in March, 1888.

THIS paper is meant, first of all, to be a short account of a serious attack on the liberties of Catholics in Massachusetts, which happily met with a most complete defeat. We do not write it to exult over fallen foes whose humiliation is so thorough as to call for pity, but because such scraps of history may be valuable as well as interesting hereafter. They should be recorded while still fresh, so that the accuracy of the statements cannot be disputed.

Before touching the central point a few remarks on the condition of the Church in Massachusetts are necessary. On the whole, Catholics have little to complain of and much to be thankful for. Churches and schools are multiplying. Catholics, to be sure, have to pay for public schools they do not use, but this has been suffered almost as a matter of course. It is unjust, but all taxes are intrinsically unpleasant, and the injustice passes as yet almost unnoticed. In many public institutions Catholics are still far from enjoying complete freedom of conscience, and proselytism of children by the

agents of the State goes on to an extent that would be alarming did we not remember how much worse it has been. Even where we have not our rights we at least have a hearing, and the American sense of fair play is gradually giving strength to our side. In short, we have made wonderful progress.

That this progress should be unnoticed by the enemies of the Church is not to be expected, and they have chosen the school as the point of attack for two very obvious reasons: first, because they wish to turn the children from the Church, and secondly, because they believe that platitudes about the public school system "the mainstay of the republic," etc., will make effective war cries.

There have been hints for some time that trouble was brewing: but how many or how powerful were the plotters was not at first clear. It is becoming evident that the movers are a small and utterly contemptible clique, who can boast of no real following.

One of the first attacks was made by the public lectures of the Rev. Justin Fulton, which fitly culminated in a filthy book. The details of neither the lectures nor the book are fit to dwell on, and but for the scandal they occasioned we should be glad of such an enemy. We believe that even the Boston *Transcript* did not glory in him as a leader; but to the shame of the press be it said that, to the best of our knowledge, only one Boston daily paper, the *Advertiser*, condemned his indecencies.

Whether the Republican party wanted a new issue, or whether the leaders were deluded by a few intriguers, we do not surely know, but at their convention in the autumn of 1887 they announced in their platform, without any apparent connection, that they had always maintained the public schools, and pledged themselves to keep them open to all children, "and free from all partisan and sectarian control." The Republican candidate, being duly elected, said what was expected of him in his message. He thought that there was reason for alarm, caused by the withdrawal of many children from the public schools, and suggested remedies, the gist of which were that the public schools should be made so good that the children and parents would cry for them, that private schools should have none of the public money, that existing laws concerning them should be enforced, and new ones concocted if necessary.

The point of this allusion to the laws concerning private schools is now to be explained. The legislature of 1887 appointed a joint special committee "to sit during the recess of the legislature, and to consider the expediency of additional legislation in respect to the employment of children under fourteen years of age, and in respect to the schooling of such employed children."

The ostensible and, we are inclined to think, the real purpose of

appointing this committee was to see whether the existing laws were sufficient to protect the health of children employed in factories, and to secure for them the rudiments of an education.

These surely were objects which commend themselves to all just men of whatever faith, and no one would have guessed that this committee was to be used for the oppression of religion. The committee, having held several public hearings in Boston and elsewhere, finally reported two bills, one relating to the employment of children, which need not concern us, and one amending Chapter 47 of the Public Statutes, which relates to education. The law which for several years has been on the statute books provides that children attending private schools must attend only such as are approved by the school committees, and provides further that these committees shall approve only schools in which the instruction is in English, in which it equals in thoroughness that of the public schools, and in which the pupils make equal progress with those in the public schools. Unjust and arbitrary as this law is, it has thus far been harmless, being so absolutely a dead letter that but few knew of its existence.

The surprise of those interested was great, indeed, when this committee, who had been given no authority whatever to legislate concerning education in general, reported a bill to amend this law, of which the following are the chief features, given in as few words as possible: In the first place, within two weeks of the opening of a private school, having pupils between eight and fourteen, the name and location of the school are to be registered with the school committee, and once a month a list of the names, ages and addresses of the pupils of such ages is to be given to the committee, on such day and in such form as the committee may demand. The committee should not only visit every such school, and approve it or not within six weeks of the beginning of the year, but should visit it once a month, and should have power at any time to rescind the approval. This visitation is to be made by any member of the school committee, the superintendent of schools, and in cities by any authorized agent of the school committee, who shall have power to enter any room, and to examine any private school, as if it were a public school! One would imagine that the framers of this bill must have been taking hashish, and considered themselves three-tailed bashaws at the least, when they proposed these gentle methods of coercing American citizens. But *on ne s'arrête pas en si beau chemin*, and our modest legislators further proposed that after September 1st, 1889, no private school should be approved unless *all* the teachers had certificates from the school committee. To conclude, in order that this should be no dead letter, there is to be a fine of from twenty to one hundred

dollars for every failure on the part of a private school to make the required returns of its pupils, prosecution to be brought by the school committee, and further measures are taken to make the latter body attend to these duties. The provisions of the present law are to remain with these additions.

We may now inquire how it happened that six out of seven members of a committee wandered so far out of their way to make such an attack on their unoffending Catholic fellow-citizens. How it happened that six presumably sane men should have agreed on a bill as silly as unjust, and as irritating as silly, and imagined that it would be accepted by a free and thinking community, passes comprehension. We can only imagine that they were driven by the madness which precedes disaster. They were politically "fey." We have occasion to mention the names of but two of this committee. First, that of Mr. Michael J. McEtrick, of Boston, a Catholic, who presented a minority report, in which he showed with much ability that the plan of the majority was contrary to the natural right of the parent, to the liberty of the citizen, to freedom of conscience, and altogether unwise and uncalled for. The other gentleman to be mentioned is Mr. Josiah Quincy, of Quincy, a young man of old and honored family, of social position and education, with both ability and ambition. He it is who is generally credited with the honor of having drawn up the bill. Let us hasten to say that we believe he was less malicious than deluded.

One would naturally suppose that a committee prescribing such drastic legislation had at least been convinced that there was a necessity for it. One would think that the number of employed children whose education is to be protected must be a large one. In point of fact the committee admit that it is small, and likely to be still smaller, for they recommend raising the age at which a child can be employed from ten to twelve years. They themselves say in their report that the census returns of 1885 state that the number of children employed between ten and fourteen was 2994, and that the chief of police stated, in 1887, that the number of children between twelve and fourteen employed in textile factories was 1616. A pretty number, truly! But perhaps these, or many of them, were very ignorant. We have failed to find any definite statement to that effect in the report of the committee. Perhaps, again, they require some high standard before children can be employed. On the contrary, all that they require is that the child should be able to "read at sight, and write legibly simple sentences in the English language." Thus this astute committee recommends a system of tyrannical oppression of all the private schools in the State, so that two or three thousand children be taught to read and write, which these Solons do not deny they can do already.

Finally, perhaps, since they went out of their way to attack Catholic schools with which they were in no way concerned, they had some evidence of deficiencies in these schools. If we are correctly informed, all the evidence before the committee concerning the efficiency of parochial schools was the following: Mr. Levins, of the Salem School Committee, testified as follows: "I don't believe in parochial schools, but I am not fanatic enough to deny that in rudimentary branches the teaching in Salem is equal to that of any public schools that I ever went into. The reading and writing were remarkable. I think I never entered a public school where they were equal in the same direction." School Superintendent Marble, of Worcester, said that the standard of education in the parochial schools of that city is superior to that in the public schools in some directions and inferior in others; but he had no doubt that the general standard met the requirements of the law. Mr. Kirtland, Superintendent of Schools in Holyoke, testified that the parochial schools there compare very favorably with the public schools. It appears, therefore, that the committee had no shadow of excuse for their interference. The question still remains unanswered, how came they to do it? It appears that Mr. E. C. Carrigan, of the State Board of Education, came before the committee and testified, what was true enough, that the present law concerning the approval of private schools by the school committee was a dead letter. He named no names and made no distinct charges, but left an impression on certain members that private schools required attention. Whether a prime mover or a tool, this man has been at the bottom of much agitation against parochial schools, and it appears to be owing to his influence on Mr. Quincy that the report was drawn up as it was. It is certainly sad that a committee appointed for an excellent object should have allowed itself to be transformed into a "no popery" society.

The committee reported two bills to the Legislature of 1888. One, which does not concern us, was referred to the Committee on Labor and passed in due time. The other was referred to the Committee on Education.

The first hearing, on March 6th, was but scantily attended. Mr. Flynn, of the Legislature, proposed that the friends of the bill should take the aggressive, but no one responded, so that perforce the lead fell to the opponents. The chairman of the committee threw himself into the breach by announcing that he was a friend of the bill and was prepared to answer questions. Mr. Marble, superintendent of schools in Worcester, attacked the bill in detail. He thought the registration alone was good, but he pointed out the impropriety of making the school committees relief associations in the cases of the poor. He further condemned the provisions for

inspection and examination of teachers. He felt that the matter might safely be left to the parents, who would see to it that the children received a sufficient education. The side of the bill was then supported by Mrs. Abba Gould Woolson, who really thought that supervision was necessary and that good schools would be object to it. We wonder whether the good lady would adopt the logical sequence that the keepers of orderly houses should be object to the sudden entrance of police inspectors by day or night.

An extremely unpleasant event for the defenders of the bill occurred in the appearance of President Eliot of Harvard in a frank and outspoken condemnation of the part relating to the supervision of private schools. It came with the greater weight that the speaker is an opponent of parochial schools. He argued that it is desirable that the breach in educational matters between Protestants and Catholics should be closed and not widened. He pointed out that the proposed bill "tends very greatly to widen the breach." He further showed how this brings the question of religion directly into politics, as at the annual election of school committees the religion of the candidates will become paramount. "I can hardly imagine," he said, "a less desirable issue to be presented in a town or city election where the population is divided between Catholics and Protestants; and think those of us who are Protestants may look with some apprehension upon what is likely to be the result in those Massachusetts communities where the Catholics are in the majority or are rapidly approaching a majority."

This, indeed, is an *argumentum ad hominem* to the good but ignorant people who fear Catholic progress; but we feel sure that Mr. Eliot would have added, had he been asked, that no man in his senses could fear that the Catholics could do worse to Protestants than the latter propose to do to the former by this bill. Continuing, Mr. Eliot declared that the bill "tends to enlist the sympathy of all persons in our community in behalf of parochial schools who really believe in the rights of individual conscience."

"I have read with astonishment in this bill a short passage against which it seems to me that anybody who is descended from the freedom-loving Englishmen who founded this Commonwealth must protest. It is the passage which provides that the school committee be required to visit and examine once a month, personally or by agent, all private schools, and to pass a vote annually approving or refusing to approve each one, which vote may be rescinded at any time. The bill proceeds: 'For the foregoing purposes any member of the school committee, the superintendent of schools, and in cities, any authorized agent of the school committee, shall have authority to enter any building or room where any such pre-

vate school is in session; any member of the State Board of Education and any agent thereof shall have the same authority, together with the same right to examine such private school as to examine a public school.' Surely this is a very extraordinary proposition to be made in the State of Massachusetts. The State hereby proposes to authorize any one of a large number of individuals, of his own motion, to enter upon private premises without warning, and to examine at his discretion into the confidential and delicate business which is there conducted. This inspection is to be submitted to by everybody conducting a private school for children who may subsequently seek employment. 'A Catholic member of the committee may invade a Protestant school, or a Protestant a Catholic school; an uncivil man may visit any girls' school, or a meddling woman any boys' school. A fanatical or indiscreet committee-man or agent may at any moment make infinite mischief. *I think it would be hard to contrive a more exasperating and dangerous bit of legislation than that contained in the paragraph I have quoted.*"

Mr. C. F. Donnelly spoke at length as a Catholic in protest against the bill. This speech was able and convincing, but need not be repeated to those who are familiar with the Catholic side.

At the second hearing, the friends of the bill came out in force. The first hearing had been a dismal surprise to them. If they could not bring men of learning and standing to their side, they at least brought what they could, and no man can do more. An auctioneer, said to be a close friend of the Rev. Justin Fulton, declaimed against "Pope or potentate interfering with the public schools of Massachusetts." The Rev. Joseph Cook, after rather innocently admitting that his attention had only just been called to the matter, uttered many words. He became rather amusingly involved in contradictions while protesting his holy horror against any division of the school fund by the fact that the proposed bill would require the employment of agents to look after Catholic schools. Other clergymen followed. The sentiment of the supporters was distinctly anti-Catholic and that was all. One of the opponents of the bill taunted them with having made no attempt to reply to President Eliot without eliciting any response. The most amusing as well as the most interesting incident of the morning was the appearance of Mr. Josiah Quincy. He stated that he was there to explain the bill, not to advocate it. He seemed far from comfortable, and on being questioned as to his share in the production of the bill of which he is reputed to be the author, he replied that he would not answer the question. The bill was signed by six members, and he accepted one-sixth of the responsibility, no more, no less. He protested that he regretted that the

religious question had come under discussion. Truly if a young and ambitious gentleman of an honored name and good position has been misled into doing the dirty work of the "Know-Nothing" ring, he cannot be expected to wish attention called to it. It was elicited from him that insinuations, but no open charges, had been made against parochial schools by Mr. Carrigan. His defence of the bill was a very weak one, and he frankly admitted that there were objections. He allowed himself some statements concerning the rights of the State as against the parent that he probably will not care to defend. The subsequent hearings need not be discussed in detail. The opponents followed up their advantage by presenting among others Mr. J. W. Dickinson of the State Board of Education, some teachers in the public schools, and especially three prominent men, none of whom had ever been suspected of any leaning to the Church. The first in order was General Francis A. Walker, the distinguished President of the Institute of Technology, who pointed out that such a movement should not be begun without most careful study of the question, and that the issue had not been before the people. His experience as a member of the school committee enabled him to point out the injury to education that must result from forcing upon private schools the defects of the public ones. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale spoke also in opposition, showing that it was humiliating and inconvenient for private schools to teach under the command of the school committee. One of the most telling speeches was that of Colonel Higginson. He argued that there was no body of men to carry out the provisions of the bill, and further that if carried out, all originality would be taken out of teaching. His remarks on the supporters of the bill must have been another trial to these unfortunates. "Mr. Chairman," he said, "I took my first lesson in religious liberty when I stood by my mother's side and watched the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, a Catholic convent burned by a Protestant mob; I took my second lesson when in the Know-Nothing days I saw procession after procession of Protestants march through the streets then occupied by Irish Catholics, with torchlights and having every form of insulting banner in their hands, and making every effort to taunt those Catholics out of their houses and bring them into a street fight which, from the self-control of those naturalized foreigners, they failed to do. I hope never to live to see the renewal of those questions, for if those scenes were to be renewed it would not be necessary to go further than this room to find those who would lead the mob." He ended as follows: "It is the right of the parent, within the necessary limits which the State has fixed as a minimum of training, to choose his own school; and any attempt

to invade what is equally the right of Protestant or Catholic by raising a hurrah and bringing together an audience to applaud every sentiment of religious narrowness will never prevail with the Massachusetts legislature or with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Words which, in their scathing contempt, must have sounded sadly to the poor ignorant bigots who probably looked on themselves as rather estimable people than otherwise. Two only of the other speakers for the bill call for any notice. One is Rev. Mr. Leyden, once a Catholic, now an "evangelist" and follower of the worthy Mr. Fulton, who retailed stale falsehoods against the Church. The other, the venerable Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol, is worthy of mention as one of the few on the side who can be spoken of with respect. His remarks, however, cannot have brought great comfort to his friends. He professed himself alarmed at the want of religion and manners in the young. "I think," he said, "there is tremendous power in the accusation that our schools are Godless."

At the last meeting, the Catholic position on education was stated by the Rev. Thomas Magennis, of Jamaica Plain, and Mr. Donnelly made the closing speech. This gentleman was practically the Catholic leader during the hearings, and by his skill and energy contributed largely to the result. The auctioneer closed for the bill, declaring that he was opposed to the Catholic Church, "that great political commercial machine," assuming control.

The meetings at last were over, and two points were evident to all. First, that the majority of the committee had willingly or unwillingly been made the tools of the "Know-Nothing" clique for an attack on Catholic education; secondly, that the intelligence of the community, as shown at the hearings, was against the bill. These facts and others, that have been mentioned in the preceding pages, were stated in a pamphlet, the title of which is at the head of this article. This was sent to all the members of the legislature shortly after the close of the hearings. The compilers were so unkind to the friends of the bill as to print in parallel columns the names of the chief speakers for and against it.

The Committee on Education was in no hurry to report. It is understood that at the outset the majority favored the bill. Indeed, several members of the committee that had framed the bill were on the committee to which it was referred, and they can hardly have found the hearings pleasant. They were not the men, however, to reject it entirely, nor were they so infatuated as to imagine it could pass, although they were cheered by a petition from Mr. Fulton's partisans to the number of one hundred and forty, to report it as it stood. At length, after several weeks' delay, they reported a bill, the gist of which was that children of

from fourteen to fifteen who could not read and write should be sent to the public school, and that private schools having children between certain ages should furnish a register, no penalty, however, being imposed for failure to do so. This melancholy apology for the measure, heralded with such a flourish of trumpets, went first to the Senate, where it was speedily killed. In view of this result, it is amusing to note the mock modesty of the peroration which concludes the report of the majority of the committee that presented the original bill. "In conclusion, the committee ventures to express the hope that the result of its labors may receive such favorable consideration at the hands of the General Court that its appointment may in some measure be justified, and that the Commonwealth may receive some sufficient return for the expense incurred." Sweet hope, but vain!

There is little doubt that the present anti-Catholic movement is partly for political effect. It is not likely, however, to be a useful party weapon, for Democrats can rival Republicans in pledging themselves to defend the public schools with as much relevancy as Mrs. Micawber reiterated that she never would desert Mr. Micawber. It is well for us that it is so, for the Catholic cause could only suffer in the long run from any political alliance. The movement is the work of a few men, and is the more contemptible that it is conducted apparently with the express purpose of deceiving the ignorant and of embittering bigots. The past winter has taught two important lessons. We Catholics must not allow our contempt for such agitation to induce us to stand aside and offer no opposition. If we had not fought the now defunct bill from the beginning, but had assumed that its own weakness would be fatal to it before the legislature, instead of winning a decisive victory, instead of showing publicly how puny were its friends and how strong its opponents, we should have fought an unplanned battle, and very possibly have met with defeat.

The second and most encouraging lesson is, that the facts once fairly presented, justice is far stronger than anti-Catholic bigotry in Massachusetts.

THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

TO say that the Concord School of Philosophy is a New England echo of Hegel is a criticism that does not in the least invalidate its teachings in the opinion of its disciples. Hegel to them is a master of infinite meaning, to be indefinitely interpreted and reverently followed. To allege that its tenets are pantheistic is to attack it at a point where victory would be fruitless. Its exponents admit the force of the argument, and dispassionately ask: "What of it? If pantheism be the logical outcome, let us accept it." To push them to the practical conclusions of pantheism in the ethical world but serves to drive them to the intangible stronghold of the phenomenal world. Things of time are only illusions, cloud-shapes, without permanence, and the right and wrong of the human act, although of temporal moment, are in the end indifferently merged in the Eternal.

The adherents of Concord do not stand on the same ground with ourselves. They have assumed a position which we in vain assail with the ordinary weapons of logic. This for two reasons; first, because they have accepted as a premise a principle altogether at variance with reason, and secondly, because they have failed to precise the true nature of the rational faculty itself. The principle of contradiction, as an instance, has no force as against them, because what the finite reason perceives to be contradictory is seen by Concord to be absolute unity in its ultimate resolution in the Infinite. It is simply the imperfection of two finites that holds them in opposition. Lift their limitations, and we have a perfect reconciliation. Again, the human reason is a finite manifestation of the infinite reason, or more accurately, is the infinite reason welling up into consciousness in this world of time and space.

So much *currente calamo*. To come down to a particular consideration of the Concord School, we may take, as a fair and as nearly complete an exposition of its doctrine as we have been able to find, a pamphlet entitled, "Philosophy in Outline," by Professor William T. Harris, the now acknowledged leader of the school. As the title-page explains, this brochure is "a brief exposition of the method of philosophy and its results in obtaining a view of Nature, Man, and God." This is the only effort we have yet seen to put the teachings of Concord into systematic shape, and from it we may, perhaps, gather what is the actual thought of the school touching these grave problems.

Professor Harris, or let us say the Concord School, to avoid all personalities, begins with the consideration of the nature of time

and space. Time and space, we are told, are presuppositions of experience. Space is first treated.

"In all experience we deal with sensible objects and their changes. The universal condition of the existence of sensible objects is space. Each object is limited or finite, but the universal condition of the existence of objects is self-limited or infinite. An object of the senses possesses extension and limits, and consequently has an environment. We find ourselves necessitated to think an environment in order to think the object as a limited object.

"Here we have, first, the object, and secondly, the environment, as mutually limiting and excluding, and as correlatives. But the ground or condition of both is space; space makes both possible." (Page 4, § 4.)

Space, we are told in the above quotation, is a presupposition to experience, and the method of arriving at this conclusion is placed before us. To think any sensible object is to think it as limited; to think it as limited is to think it over against another sensible object which limits it. Therefore, to think any sensible object is to think it with an environment or in space. Admitting the force of this, where is there room for the conclusion that space *presupposes* the object? What is here meant by *presupposes*? Is it that there is an actual space pre-existing as a receptacle in which the object will find a place, or does it mean that the intellect already possesses the idea of space before it thinks any particular object as occupying it? From the context we infer the latter is the meaning, for in the next paragraph we are informed that "space is a necessary idea." Accepting this meaning, what validity has it?

We are at once thrown upon Kant's *a priori* ideas of space and time, which Concord has naturally enough received as an inheritance from its German ancestry. To confute Kant is not now our purpose. To condemn Concord because it has adopted Kant's notions of time and space would be as futile as putting a fish in the sea to drown it. It is sufficient to say a few critical words upon the position assumed, no matter whence drawn, for we shall carefully refrain from coupling the Concord School with the name of any philosopher or philosophy.

Concord tells us that each sensible object is limited or finite. This we admit. We are also told that each sensible object has an environment, or something other than itself around it, which, in its turn, is limited by every other surrounding sensible object. This also may be conceded. "Here we have," says Concord, "first, the object, and secondly, the environment, as mutually limiting and excluding, and as correlatives. But the ground or condition of both the object and its environment is space. Space makes both possible." Space, then, is neither object nor environ-

ment; it is a *tertium quid*. But what is this *tertium quid*? The answer is given in the next paragraph:

"Space is a necessary idea. We may think this particular object or not—it may exist or it may not. So, too, this particular environment may exist or not, although *some* environment is necessary. But space must exist, whether this particular object or environment exists or not. Here we have three steps towards absolute necessity: (1) The object, which is not necessary, but may or may not exist—may exist now, but ceases after an interval; (2) the environment, which must exist in some form if the object exists—a hypothetical necessity; (3) the logical condition of the object, and its environment, which must, as space, exist whether the object exists or not."

From this we glean the following: Whether we think this or that object, which is particular and contingent, if we think any object at all, we must *a fortiori* think some environment; we have, therefore, a contingent and hypothetically necessary environment. But Concord, with a metaphysical agility which cannot be explained except as the inexplicable, bounds at once into an absolute necessity, and calls it a logical condition, "which must, as space, exist whether the object exists or not." A little closer view may give us a little clearer insight into this wonderful process. Given an object and environment, every other object is the environment of each particular object. Every object, therefore, is environment in spatial relation to all other objects. For instance, the chair in which one is sitting, is an environment to the body, and the body in turn is environment to the chair. What, then, is space? We are assured by Concord that it is neither object nor environment. As every particular object in the universe may or may not exist, environment, which is made up of innumerable particular objects, may or may not exist. Therefore, environment is contingent—not necessary. But we have been told that some environment is necessary. Space is either made up of the sum total of object and environment, or it is a third something which is neither. If it be the first, it cannot be infinite, for each object and each environment is particular and contingent, and hence not necessary. Therefore, the sum-total which they constitute is not necessary. If it be a *tertium quid*, what may this be? Let us once more listen to Concord's own words:

"Again, note the fact that the object ceases where the environment begins. But space does not cease with the object nor with the environment; it is continued or affirmed by each. The space in which the object exists is continued by the space in which its environment exists. Space is infinite."

Space is infinite, because every block of space is limited by another block, which makes it self-limited, that is to say, not limited

at all, therefore infinite. Each particular space is the continuation of another particular space; therefore, being continuous, it is infinite. The ground here taken for the infinitude of space is the continuation of the environment; but environment is the coextended series of innumerable particular objects, and hence cannot ascend into the sphere of the infinite. How, then, can the finite be the basis of the infinite? A concrete example will make this clearer. One table is ranged alongside another, a third alongside the second, a fourth alongside the third, etc. In the series we have table limited by table, or self-limited, and therefore infinite! Paragraph 9, page 5, Concord says:

"If any limited space has space for its environment, it is not limited by it, but continued by it. Any possible limited or finite space is continued by an environment of space, and the whole of space is infinite."

Let us here substitute the word *table* for the word *space*:

"If any limited *table* has *table* for its environment, it is not limited by it, but continued by it. Any possible limited or finite *table* is continued by an environment of *table*, and the whole of *table* is infinite."

This is what the Concord School calls an "insight into the constitution of space," at the same time assuring us that it is not a "mental image or picture of space." By mental image or picture, Concord means what the Scholastics call the phantasm of the imagination. "Conception (of space) in that sense," says Concord, "would contradict the infinitude of space, for an image or picture (phantasm) necessarily has limits or environment." With all due deference to the reputation of Concord, it must be said that it is this very image or picture which Concord has been all along talking about. This self-limiting space is nothing more than one phantasm projecting beyond and continuing another. Each time Concord has pictured any one portion of space an accompanying and contiguous phantasm has risen up in its imagination. Every phantasm so awakened has limits, and alongside of it have arisen the contiguous limits of other phantasms; these limits have been fancifully eliminated by blending this series of images into one. In this way, Concord has conjured up what it terms self-limiting or infinite space. One might as truly say that an indefinite number of frameless portraits in an endless picture-gallery are infinite because they are hung alongside each other. It is out of this continuous series of indefinitely projected phantasms that Concord has woven its self-limiting space. A fancy precisely similar, indeed identical, is that imaginary process of picturing the limits of the universe. When we arrive at the extreme end of the world, what is beyond? Why—let us see—air, or ether, or something of a like subtle nature. But ether, or air, or that other something, is

in space, and so continues the universe—we haven't come to the end of the world after all. Try as hard as we may, after this fashion, we never will; for, we are simply *imagining* a limit to the universe, and in so doing inevitably project an *imaginary* picture of something beyond. As often as we attempt to picture limits, just so often will we continue them by pushing another picture into a *possible* space beyond. Concord has permitted itself to be deceived in this way into confounding a phantasm with a pure concept. Space consists of the dimensions of the body containing relative to the body contained. The intellectual concept of space is an abstract and universal idea, applicable to any and all parts of space, complete in itself, and equally predicable of this book, or this room, or of the sum total of bodies in the universe. It has no more infinitude about it than any other universal. Concord has mistaken a phantasm for a pure abstraction. We may conjure up phantasms innumerable, until the imagination grows weary with the effort, and never come to the end of them; but this process will no more make an infinite than the reduplication of images in a mirror would.

Time shares the same fate as space in the hands of Concord. One part of time limits another part; therefore, time is self-limited or infinite. Here, as before, we have one phantasm chasing another in endless pursuit, from which Concord conceives its abortion of the infinite. To-day is limited by yesterday, and will be limited by to-morrow; therefore, all to-days, yesterdays, and to-morrows make an infinite time. By way of parenthesis, we might ask if the first day that ever dawned throughout this universe of mutable creatures had a predecessor? Concord would, of course, answer that there was no first day, which is simply begging the question. It is one thing to assume that there was no first day, and quite another to show that a first day was an impossibility.

Summing up its chapter on Space and Time, Concord says:

"Experience is thus a complex affair, made up of two elements—one element being furnished by the senses, and the other by the mind itself. Time and space, as conditions of all existence in the world, and of all experience, cannot be learned from experience. We cannot obtain a knowledge of what is universal and necessary from experience, because experience can inform us only that something is, but not that it must be. We actually know time and space as infinities, and this knowledge is positive or affirmative, and not negative. Just as surely as an object is made finite by its limit, just so surely is there a ground or condition underlying the object and its limit, and making both possible; this ground is infinite." (Page 6, § 14.)

It will not do to ask for the logical warrant of the conclusion that experience furnishes us with no element that goes to make up

our notions of space and time, for that would be violating the canons of Concord. But, at least, we have the temerity to dispute the grounds of the assumption. Concord presupposes time and space. They are *a priori* logical conditions, necessary, universal and infinite, which the mind possesses prior to all experience. These notions are a sort of infinite moulds, into which all the dimensions and successions of the objective world are poured. As they are pure forms of the intellect, there is no reality corresponding to them in the outside world. Why, then, there should be any reason for them in the human intellect at all, we are left to conjecture. Concord may refer us to Kant. But Kant laid them down arbitrarily. We cannot know objects without recognizing them under these forms, is his argument. But these forms have no corresponding reality in the object itself. The objective furnishes us with nothing of them. What, then, have time and space to do with the objective world? Nothing. The forms of time and space, therefore, afford us no knowledge of the objective world. They are only as frames to a picture, if they are even that much. Knowledge is intellectual seeing; an object, to be seen, must be visible: to be visible, it must have a capacity of its own to be seen. It can be known only in so far as it has that capacity, and it can only make visible what it possesses. But if it has in itself nothing of space and time, it cannot make itself visible in space and time, and to cognize it under these purely subjective forms is not to reach any knowledge of the object at all. It is simply to have intuition of the presuppositions of space and time already in the mind, and leave the object where it was—in darkness. This may seem grandiloquent under the title of transcendentalism, but even the flickering flame of a rush is more serviceable than the utter night of a thousand burned-out suns. Certainly, we may be pardoned if we turn to the common-place dictates of reason, after the stupendous nothingness of the transcendental. It may sound very like discord in the cultured ear of Concord, to hear that space and time have a very finite reality in the objective world; that they are (we trust it will not be too distressing to hear) accidents of the finite creatures of this universe; that our ideas of space and time have a foundation in things themselves; that just as much of an objective reality corresponds to these universals as to any other; and, to lay on the last straw, that experience does furnish us with our notions of time and space, not formally, it is true, but with the material from which the intellect abstracts its concepts. It is very obvious to common sense that, when we see an object in space and time, our reason for so seeing is that the object is as we see it; it is evident that there could be no possible reason for seeing an object in space and time, unless it were there. It is also obvious that if the intellectual vision alone furnished space and time to the objective world,

we would only be denying the objective by transferring it to the subjective world; in other words, we would have no objective world at all. At the same time we would be the victims of a very radical illusion. We would first imagine that we perceived an objective reality; this we would speculatively correct, when we should have gained that transcendental insight into space and time, which Concord reveals to the initiated. But, then, in practical life we would be forced to readjust our speculative conviction, and act after all as if the objective world were a reality. We would have to tolerate the illusion, and regulate our lives upon a conscious deception, as if it were truth impregnable. But to Concord nothing is impossible.

The most interesting feature of Concord philosophy is its doctrine of what it has labeled *Causa sui*. It is not only abstruse and seriously complicated, but partakes of the charm of novelty. Space and time have already been catalogued as infinities; but, strange to say, they are not absolute infinities; they have, as their presupposition, *Causa sui*.

The great end and aim of Concord is to establish the absolute unity of the universe. This it effects by identifying all things in its *Causa sui*. After having precised space as the mutual exclusion of parts, and time as the mutual exclusion of successive moments, both of which are infinities composed of innumerable finities, Concord proceeds to gauge causality:

"We may look upon an object as the recipient of influences from its environment, or as itself imparting influences to its environment. This is Causality."—(P. 9, § 22 (3).)

And, again (p. 10, § 26):

"If we examine causality, we shall see that it again presupposes a ground deeper than itself—deeper than itself as realized in a cause, and an effect separated into independent objects. This is the most essential insight to obtain in all philosophy.

"(1) In order that a cause shall send a stream of influence over to an effect, it must first separate that portion of influence from itself.

"(2) Self-separation is, then, the fundamental presupposition of the action of causality. Unless the cause is a self-separating energy, it cannot be conceived as acting on another. The action of causality is based on self-activity.

"(3) Self-activity is called *Causa sui*, to express the fact of its relation to causality. It is the infinite form of causality in which the cause is its own environment, just as space is the infinite condition underlying extended things, and time, the infinite condition underlying events. Self-activity, as *Causa sui*, has the form of self-relation, and it is self-relation that characterizes the affirmative form

of the infinite. Self-relation is independence, while relation-to-others is dependence."

Here self-separation is declared to be the true principle of causality. Self-separation is translated into self-activity, and self-activity into *Causa sui*, "the spontaneous origination of activity." In all this there is something mystical. This is a typical species of transcendental logic in these tremendous leaps from self-separation to *Causa sui*. That "a cause may send a stream of influence over to an effect, it must first separate that portion of influence from itself." We will take it for granted that Concord is speaking of an efficient cause, although no mention is made of the various kinds of causes. A cause, then, has, or is, an influence in separable portions. The exercise of causality lies in this active separation of self-influence, and transmitting it to another. This constitutes self-separation. Is this self-separation the separation of the substance of the cause itself, or not? From the use of the term self-separation, we find room to draw the inference that it does mean an emanation of substance from the cause to the effect. As we will see further on, we shall find ample warrant for this construction of the term in the light of Concord's idea of God. It is clear that the notion of cause as a self-separating substance is an easily paved way to the rankest pantheism, especially when the ultimate analysis of cause is to end in a *Causa sui*, which, in the words of Concord, is "the principle of life, of thought, of mind—the idea of a creative activity, and hence also the basis of theology as well as philosophy."—(P. 11, § 27.)

That we may gather a yet clearer notion of causality within the meaning of Concord, let us examine into its application to the Concordian notion of Deity:

"Self-cause, or eternal energy, is the ultimate presupposition of all things and events. Here is the necessary ground of the idea of God. It is the presupposition of all experience and of all possible existence. By the study of the presupposition of experience, one becomes certain of the existence of one eternal energy which creates and governs the world."—(P. 13, § 33.)

But what is *Causa sui*? We will let Concord explain in its own words:

"(1) It is clear that all beings are dependent or independent, or else have, in some way, phases, to which both predicates may apply.

"(2) The dependent being is clearly not a whole or totality; it implies something else, some other being on which it depends. It cannot depend on a dependent being, although it may stand in relation to another dependent being as another link of its dependence. All dependence implies the independent being as the source

of support. Take away the independent being, and you remove the logical condition of the dependent being. If one suggests a mutual relation of dependent beings, then, still the whole is independent, and this independent furnishes the ground of the dependent parts.

"(3) The dependent being, or links of being, no matter how numerous they are, make up one being with the being on which they depend, and belong to it.

"(4) All being is, therefore, either independent or forms a part of an independent being, from which it receives its nature.

"(5) The nature or determinations of any being, its marks, properties, qualities, or attributes, arise through its own activity, or through the activity of another being.

"(6) If its nature is derived from another, it is a dependent being. The independent being is, therefore, determined only through its own activity; it is self-determined.

"(7) The nature of self-existent beings, whether one or many, is, therefore, self-determination. This result, we see, is identical with that which we found in our investigation of the underlying presupposition of influence or causal relation. There must be self-separation, or else no influence can pass over to another object. The cause must first act in itself before its energy causes an effect in something else. It must, therefore, be essentially cause and effect in itself, or *Causa sui*, meaning self-cause or self-effect.

"(8) Our conviction, at this stage of the investigation, is, therefore, that each and every existence is a self-determined being, or else some phase or phenomenon dependent on self-determined being. Here we have our principle with which to examine the world and judge concerning its beings," etc.—(Pp. 13-14, § 34.)

In brief, Concord's argument is this: Given dependent beings, we must ultimately arrive at an independent being upon which they depend. But with the most patent disregard for the logic of the situation, Concord declares that, although this or that dependent being cannot be independent, "still the whole is independent, and this independence furnishes the ground of the dependent parts." This or that dependent being cannot be independent; but this *plus* that, *plus* all other dependents in mutual relation are independent. A is essentially a dependent being; so is B; so is C; A depends upon B, and B upon C, and *vice versa*. This is, of course, a relation of dependence; but Concord, by some feat of metaphysical legerdemain, develops an independent out of these essentially dependent relations! "All being is, therefore," concludes Concord, "either independent or forms a part of an independent being." To be a part of an independent is, of course, virtually to be independent. Now, this independent, which is the cause of all

dependent beings, must be self-determined or self-caused. It is not only cause of all others, but cause of itself, *Causa sui*. "It must essentially be cause and effect in itself, or *Causa sui*, meaning self-cause or self-effect." Cause, Concord has told us, must be a self-active being, *i.e.*, before it can act upon others it must act upon itself; it must be both subject and object; it must be both cause and effect. Before it can impart its influence to another, it must first energize upon itself. There must take place a self-separation within itself, and this is to make it cause and effect in one. This is Concord's final word, and in this conclusion we find the reason of the ready complaisance with which this "philosophy" looks upon all contradictions as reconcilable in their ultimate analysis. In the finite, cause and effect are in antithesis, separate and distinct. In the infinite, they are absolutely one, or *Causa sui*. The method of arriving at this unique conclusion is peculiar to Concord, but it hardly fits into the philosophic and common-sense notions of human intelligences. A cause is, in the meaning of metaphysics, that which in any way produces another; an effect is that which is produced. The cause gives being to the effect. Plainly, then, the effect cannot exist prior in order of being to its production by its cause. Before the causal act it was nonentity. The cause must be in the order of being, antecede its effect. But in Concord's *Causa sui* we have an effect which is its own cause. It existed before it was. It antedated its own existence. As cause it cannot be until it becomes effect, for it is both in one.

Pursuing this astonishing method, Concord has stumbled into the blunder of attributing a mixed activity to the First Cause. Effect necessarily implies passivity, and in no effect can there be pure act. Effect postulates the reception of something which the effect had not; therefore, potentiality. The First Cause must be pure act, or it could not be first. To be other than First Cause would bring it into the category of created beings, implying passivity and potentiality. This is what Concord has done. It traces all dependent being to a necessary first being; but then turns upon its own position and invests this first with the attributes of a second or dependent being. There can be no effect within the being of the first cause, and it is cause only in relation to that order of beings which it creates, and can never stand in relation to itself as its own cause. In the very fact that it is first independent being, there cannot be the shadow of effect in its own act. Its essence is pure act, and to predicate passivity of it would be to deny that it is first. Concord has made the unpardonable mistake of making it essentially a cause-effect. In investigating the nature of finite being, Concord found that all secondary causes were in reality effects in their relation to the First Cause. It

jumped, therefore, at the monstrous conclusion that the First Cause must also be an effect ; but plainly not the effect of another—then the effect of itself—*Causa sui*. Such a conception is radically vicious ; it is simply a contradiction, from which there is no escape in the sophism that the First Cause is perpetually annulling all passivity within itself by a process of spiritual evolution. The First Cause can neither be the effect of another nor of itself. There is no self-separation possible to it, whereby it becomes the passive object of its own thought, for its thought is its very essence in purest act. It is pure thought, pure act ; its essence is its thought ; its act its essence, and its thought its act in absolute unity. Nor can it even think itself as its own object (except in a logical sense), for its thought can be none other than its own self-luminous essence. It is the most simple pure act, eternally perfect. In its own most perfect being it can be cause only relative to its creature, much less can it be its own effect. It is absolute. It is only cause in the relation of *created being to its creator*. Concord has simply applied a pantheistic notion of causality to the idea of a first being. Its *Causa sui* is in reality only the *natura naturans* of Spinoza. It is an eternal being perpetually propagating itself. Concord tries to make it personal, and even goes to the amazing length of building out of this abortive conception a triune God, and drags revelation violently into the domain of philosophy pure and simple. Concord's trinity rests upon its *Causa sui*, which we have seen to be a fiction of its own making. We will leave it to its logical fate.

Aristotle, we understand, was the subject-matter of Concord's last summer's deliberation. It is to be hoped that a clearer comprehension of Aristotle than Concord has yet shown itself to have compassed, will be effective in straightening out its notions of time, space and a First Cause. So far, it is evident that Concord has not accepted Aristotle's idea of a first being ; for in the very pamphlet under consideration, in the chapter which introduces us to Concord's *Causa sui*, we find this : " Aristotle, who is careful not to call this energy (First Cause) self-movement, but considers it to be that which moves others, but is unmoved itself, defines it likewise to be the principle of life." What a pity that Concord has not been as careful in its definition of a first cause as Aristotle was. It is because our New England school has not exercised the same discreet accuracy that it impales itself upon the folly of *Causa sui*. Self-movement, Aristotle saw, was incompatible with the nature of a first being, for it implies passivity, and so conflicted with the pure activity of the absolute. The First Cause, therefore, Aristotle concluded, is unmoved, uncaused.

May Concord profit by the teaching of *the* philosopher.

Book Notices.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES. From the First Settlement Down to the Present Time. By *Daniel Dorchester, D.D.* New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Howe. 1888.

This is a volume which, in the quality of its performance, falls lamentably short both of its large size and its still larger pretensions. It is a collection of biographical, historical, and statistical statements, which it has evidently cost the author of the work much labor to gather and compile, and which would make it valuable for reference could those statements be relied on as impartial and true.

In his preface the author says: "Conscious that the historian cannot too carefully guard lest he discolor or distort by his lens, the work has been undertaken with conscientious convictions, in the hope that the best interests of Christianity may be subserved by it." As respects the Catholic Church, he says: "The Roman Catholic Church has been freely, fully, and generously treated."

It is to be regretted that the work on examination entirely fails to verify these statements. It frequently reveals a spirit of intense partisanship, and a lamentable disregard for truth. This, however, is not surprising when we learn from the author's preface that he derived from the late Dr. Robert Baird, whom he styles "that eminent historian of *Religion in America*," the inspiring spirit of his book, "by correspondence held with him upon questions pertaining to the religious history and prospects of our country."

These remarks are all the more necessary because the writers of notices of the work in a number of newspapers and periodicals, trusting to the author's sincerity, have repeated the statements of his preface, and thus have been misled into expressing a more favorable opinion of the work than a careful examination would have permitted them to give.

He frames elaborate apologies for the exclusion of Episcopalians by the early Puritan colonists of New England; for their persecution of Baptists, Quakers, and Catholics, and for the slaughter and almost total extermination of the Indians. But it is in his treatment of the Catholic Church and its movements in the United States that his unfairness and intense prejudice become more conspicuous. He speaks of the earliest Catholic missionaries as "gifted and devoted emissaries." The movements of the Church to propagate the faith are styled "plots" and "machinations." He attempts to belittle the labors among the Indians of the early French missionaries, who he imagines were all "Jesuits," by telling his readers that they took no pains "to make the Indians cleanly," and "were regardless of filth, vermin, and immodesty." "The religion they taught consisted of a few simple ritual ceremonies, the repetition of a prayer or chant, and the baptismal rite. Thus the doomed heathen was easily turned into a professed Christian and an enfranchised citizen of France. Didactic, moral, and intellectual training was deemed unessential." The accounts of the "Lay Trustee Contest," the "Common School Contest," the "Native American and Know-nothing Movements," are specimens of unfairness and untruthfulness. The falsifications of Dexter A. Hawkins, in the New York *Tribune*, pretending that

ast amounts of "public money and public property" were surreptitiously "bestowed upon the Catholic Church" in New York city, are repeated, without a word of allusion to the fact that those misrepresentations have been thoroughly and conclusively exposed and refuted.

But the audaciously false declaration which he puts into the mouth of Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, caps the climax of this inscrupulous writer's untruthfulness. Referring to the action of the Vatican Council, promulgating the infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church as a dogma of the Catholic faith, he says: "The following recent utterance of Bishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, is a direct logical sequence of the doctrine of papal infallibility." The pretended "recent utterance," which is put conspicuously as a foot-note, is as follows:

"We maintain that the Church of Rome is intolerant—that is, that she uses every means in her power to root out heresy. But her intolerance is the result of her infallibility. She alone has the right to be intolerant, for she alone has the truth. The Church tolerates heretics where she is obliged to do so; but she hates them with a deadly hatred and uses all her powers to annihilate them. If ever the Catholics should become a considerable majority, which in time will surely be the case, then will religious freedom in the Republic of the United States come to an end. Our enemies know how she treated heretics in the Middle Ages and how she treats them to-day where she has the power. We no more think of denying these historic facts than we do of blaming the Holy God and the princes of the Church for what they have thought fit to do."

It is remarkable that in his foot-notes generally Dr. Daniel Dorchester has taken great pains to mention distinctly the book, or pamphlet, or newspaper, with proper title and page or date, to which he refers or from which he professes to quote. But in this instance he omits all such reference whatever. Why this omission? Why not tell his readers when, where, on what occasion and in what discourse "Bishop Ryan, of Philadelphia" made this alleged "recent utterance," the exact words of which he pretends to quote? We challenge him to do it. We are familiar, we are in a position to be familiar with Archbishop Ryan's "utterances" since he came to Philadelphia, and we unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly pronounce the alleged "recent utterance" to be a base and impudent forgery. We denounce the writer as a reckless falsifier, and again we challenge him to cite even a sentence, or a line, from any of Archbishop Ryan's utterances, "recent" or not recent, that will furnish even a color of proof that the pretended quotation is genuine.

Archbishop Ryan's "recent utterances" have been many and frequent. They have attracted more than usual attention on the part of the general public. They have been sought for, published, noticed, and favorably commented on by the non-Catholic secular press, far and wide. Is it possible that such an "utterance," had it been made, could have remained unnoticed by the secular press, or if noticed would have escaped its indignant denunciation? No intelligent person will believe it.

All the real utterances, too, of Archbishop Ryan flatly contradict the ideas which this falsifier has attempted to foist upon him. Instead of holding that the Catholic Church is opposed to the freedom, either religious or political, secured to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States, and that the Church would put an end to that freedom if she could, Archbishop Ryan has repeatedly declared that the Catholics of the United States have good reasons for being ardently attached to our political institutions, because under those institutions they enjoy greater religious freedom than they do in Europe, and also because the Catholic Church in this country is less trammelled and less interfered

with, and is much more prosperous than it is under most of the Governments of European countries.

These ideas, too, he has not only expressed in this country, but also in Europe; and notably in Rome, only a few months ago, in his address to the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church at the formal presentation of a copy of the Constitution of the United States by President Cleveland, in honor of the fiftieth ordination to the priesthood of Leo XIII. Owing to the warm, eloquent, outspoken eulogium pronounced upon our country and its institutions in that address, and its emphatic placing of peoples before and above princes, the address attracted attention everywhere in Europe as well as in this country.

In confirmation of this, we make the following brief quotations from that address:

"In Your Holiness's admirable Encyclical 'Immortale Dei,' you truly state that the Church is wedded to no particular form of civil government. Your favorite theologian, St. Thomas Aquinas, has written true and beautiful things concerning republicanism. In our American republic the Catholic Church is left perfectly free to act out her sacred and beneficent mission to the human race. . . .

"We beg Your Holiness, therefore, to bless this great country, which has achieved so much in a single century; to bless the land discovered by your holy compatriot, Christopher Columbus; to bless the prudent and energetic President of the United States of America; and finally we ask, kneeling at your feet, that you bless ourselves and the people committed to our care."

In answer to Archbishop Ryan His Holiness Leo XIII. spoke as follows:

"As the Archbishop of Philadelphia has said, they (the Americans) enjoy full liberty in the true sense of the term, guaranteed by the Constitution—a copy of which is presented to me. Religion is there free to extend continually, more and more, the empire of Christianity, and the Church to develop her beneficent activities. As the Head of the Church, I owe my love and solicitude to all parts of the world, but I bear for America a very special affection. . . .

"Your country is great, with a future full of hope. Your nation is free. Your Government is strong, and the character of your President commands my highest admiration. It is for these reasons that the gift causes me the liveliest pleasure. It truly touches my heart and forces me, by a most agreeable impulse, to manifest to you my most profound sentiment of gratitude and esteem."

We add that Archbishop Ryan has never been supposed to be wanting in prudence or sagacity. On the contrary, the general public have given him credit for possessing these qualities in high degree. By their exercise, along with moderation and unaffected genial courtesy, he has won for himself hosts of friends among non-Catholics as well as Catholics. Yet had he made the utterance this unscrupulous falsifier and forger pretends he did, he would have furnished unmistakable proof of being idiotically stupid and utterly lacking discernment. For, such an utterance, like the sound of a shotted gun, would have echoed and re-echoed far and wide, and would have brought down upon him swift and indignant denunciation from every quarter.

And now we still more effectively "nail to the counter" this base forgery, by giving its history. The pretended "recent utterance" of Archbishop Ryan is a greatly enlarged and newly coined version of an old and often exploded slander, originally gotten up against another person. Its history is this:

Nearly forty years ago—and long before any one could have foreseen that the Vatican Council would be convened, and that the infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church would be declared a dogma of the Catholic faith—a newspaper was published in St. Louis called the *Shepherd of the Valley*. Its editor was a Mr. Bakewell, a Catholic layman,

then a young man, who afterwards became a very distinguished citizen of St. Louis, and until a few years ago was Judge of the Court of Appeals. Referring to misrepresentations of the Catholic religion by its enemies, Judge Bakewell wrote in his paper as follows,—we give the exact words :

“ If Catholics ever attain, which they surely will, though at a distant day, the immense numerical majority in the United States, religious liberty, as at present understood, will be at an end—*so say our enemies.*”

The sentence was mutilated and its meaning entirely changed by leaving out the words we have italicized. In this mutilated form it was published by anti-Catholic newspapers, as an expression of Judge Bakewell's belief. The misrepresentation was exposed, and for a time passed out of notice. Soon, however, it was revived in an anti-Catholic publication ; and it was attempted to fasten it on Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis. Again it was exposed. Then again it was revived and exposed some ten years ago in the *Catholic Standard*. Then it travelled to Australia and was attributed to Archbishop Ryan. It was contradicted and exposed by him by letter. It then travelled to Ireland, and was circulated by Presbyterians and Orangemen, and was again exposed. It came back to this country, and was attempted to be foisted again on Archbishop Ryan, then recently installed as Archbishop of Philadelphia, and with the evident intention of exciting prejudice against him in his new see. It was not, however, pretended to be a “ recent utterance ” of his, but an editorial utterance of his in the *Shepherd of the Valley*, in St. Louis, though at the alleged time, so far from being editor of that newspaper, he was not even in this country, but was in Europe. It was again thoroughly exposed in the *Catholic Standard* in 1886, both by its editor and in a published letter of Judge Bakewell.

Thus far we have written without having seen Archbishop Ryan, and supposing that we could not see him before this would appear in type, owing to his being with his clergy on their annual spiritual retreat. But since writing the foregoing we have succeeded in seeing him for a few minutes at the close of the first week's retreat. And now we are authorized by him to declare in his name that the pretended “ utterance ” is a *forgery*—a FORGERY in part and in whole.

We add, in conclusion, that by a comparison of the alleged “ recent utterance ” with the garbled words of Judge Bakewell, published nearly forty years ago, the deliberate malice of the forgery will appear. Its conscienceless author has not only changed the language of the original misrepresentation, so as to give it a sharper and more venomous point, but has coined additional sentences, both preceding it and following it, so as to enlarge it into a paragraph, for the plain purpose of giving an appearance of plausibility to its pretended connection with the decree of “ Papal Infallibility.”

MORES CATHOLICI ; OR, AGES OF FAITH. By *Kenelm H. Digby*. Volume the First, containing Books I., II., III., and IV. New York : P. O'Shea, Publisher, 45 Warren Street. 1888.

Two editions of this work have been published ; one of them in eleven duodecimo volumes, which appeared successively between 1831 and 1840 ; the other, in three volumes, royal octavo, in 1845-47. These two editions were quickly exhausted, and copies of them are so highly prized by their possessors that they are seldom offered for sale, and when thus offered are so quickly bought up by private collectors of books of special value that they are virtually beyond the reach even of the better educated of the general public. Mr. O'Shea, therefore, is rendering a

real and very important service to contemporaneous literature in publishing a new edition of this deservedly highly-prized work.

Its republication, too, at the present time, is very opportune. The tendency of our age is to underrate all that has been done in past times. This age, we are told, *ad nauseam*, is an advance upon all that has gone before it. The past is dead, the present only is living. Those who look to the past for wisdom have their eyes in the back of their head. They should steadily look forward, and employ their energies in gathering the untouched fresh materials which lie in exhaustless abundance all around them, and use only those materials in erecting new intellectual structures, instead of groping for stones already quarried and hewn to shape amid the dust and ashes and crumbling monuments of their ancestors.

This is all very well up to a certain point, and with proper qualifications. Yet it sorely needs such qualifications. The present age, though perfectly well satisfied with itself, has not yet obtained such an exhaustless wealth of self-acquired wisdom that it can afford to despise the accumulated treasures of former ages. Perhaps, too, its structures of learning and thought would be all the more durable if some of the massive stones that were quarried and shaped by the toil of ancient workmen, and have stood the test of time's destructive force, were incorporated into them. Modern rubble-work of pebbles and spauls, gathered at random and hastily joined together with untempered mortar, are not quite as enduring as are many of the monuments which attest the skill and might of the master-builders of times long past. It is wise, therefore, occasionally to glance behind us and study the past, as well as to look upon the immediate present. Too exclusive attention to the present will please our vanity, and inflate it. It will give us, too, more self-assurance. But of that we already have quite a sufficiency, unless we are entirely mistaken.

The work before us is a description of Christian life in the Middle Ages, taking as its clue and guiding principle the "beatitudes," pronounced by our Divine Lord, at the commencement of His "Sermon upon the Mount," as recorded by St. Matthew. It is a work of immense erudition, both comprehensive and minute. It lays under contribution the history, poetry, and philosophy of all ages and nations, gathering together the loftiest ideas of the world's thinkers and sages, and using them to illustrate its theme. It is a work, too, of searching analysis into the springs of human action, and the causes that tend to form and elevate human character, and of profound meditation upon the ways of God with man. To the thoughtful reader it is a veritable "book of wisdom." He will never weary of it. He can return to it again and again with pleasure, finding in it new beauties, and strengthening himself in good purposes by communing with its pure, devout spirit and elevated thoughts.

It has been alleged that the title of this work, "*Ages of Faith*," is misleading, in that it is not a faithful representation of the Middle Ages; that it might be properly styled, "*A Romance Founded on Facts of Mediæval History*;" that the author has clothed every object he presents in the rich and brilliant hues of his own lofty and prolific imagination; that society in the Middle Ages cannot be truly regarded as in its normal condition, nor was it, in its totality, really under the spiritual direction of the Church; that those ages were barbarous, cruel, ignorant, and corrupt.

But these charges are all based upon a total misconception of the intention and purpose of the work. The first part of its title, "*Morris*

Catholici," should have been a sufficient safeguard to those who have thus misconceived it. It is not intended to present a picture of mediæval ages in their non-Christian, but in their Christian, *Catholic*, aspects. And, as regards those aspects, it is a true picture, for the most prominent characteristic of them under those aspects was their *faith*. They were emphatically "*Ages of Faith*." In this respect they present a marked contrast with the skepticism, the infidelity, and disbelief of modern times. That there were barbarism, darkness both intellectual and moral, cruelty, and disobedience of the precepts of the Church, and that this disobedience often, among powerful secular princes and rulers, took the form of defiant resistance, every one knows who has any knowledge of those ages, and the author of the "*Ages of Faith*" would be the last to deny. But these facts do not in the least militate against the work, its purpose and intention. As we have already said, its purpose is to describe the *Christian* life of those ages, and its beneficent action upon human character in all the spheres in which human character reveals itself—domestic, social, political, industrial, intellectual, and artistic—and not the work of the devil, in his attempts to destroy that life, nor of the world, so far as it placed itself under the power of the devil. The very instances that are continually adduced—and they were many and constantly occurring—of cruelty, barbarity, and wicked disregard of the obligations of Christianity by Christian princes and rulers, and by persons below them in society, were plainly instances of disobedience to the *faith* which they *believed*, but which, yielding to temptations of ambition, lust, cupidity, or other sinful passions, they did not obey or practise.

We sum up our convictions respecting this admirable work in a few sentences borrowed from a brief sketch of its author. They are, that "no other work in our language presents so completely, so felicitously, from every point of view, the claims of the Catholic Church to the veneration, love, and obedience of every human being. It may be said to be a picture of the life of the Christian world, so accurately photographed that no feature is wanting that could be required to give due expression to the whole; in which the portraiture is so faithful that the inner life is expressed as well as the outer semblance."

The first volume of this republication of the "*Ages of Faith*," which is the only volume that has yet appeared, depicts the influence of the Christian life in actualizing the spirit of poverty, meekness, and mourning, as inculcated in the first three beatitudes. The typographical execution well accords with the intrinsic value of the contents.

It is to be hoped that Mr. O'Shea will receive such substantial encouragement through the sale of this volume as will induce him to persevere in his purpose to republish, in a uniform edition and in a style worthy of their great merit, all of Digby's works.

A LITERARY AND BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY; or, Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Time. By *Joseph Gillow*. Vol. III. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

The title of this work so fully indicates its general scope and purpose that further explanation seems needless. The volume before us extends from the letters "Gra" to "Kel." It contains, as we learn from the Preface, three hundred and forty-one biographical, one hundred and twenty subsidiary memoirs, and over twelve hundred bibliographical notices. To English Catholics, and the descendants of English Catholics, it cannot fail to be deeply interesting.

It is valuable, also, to students of English bibliography, as it contains the titles and short notices of numerous books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, the existence even of many of which is unknown except to a very few persons.

Many of the biographies have been compiled from letters and manuscripts and memoranda in the possession of various persons which have never been published, and from books and pamphlets that have long been out of print, and of which very few copies can be found. They throw a great deal of light upon many imperfectly known and controverted matters connected with the interior history of the times, particularly of those of the Tudors and the Stuarts. They bring to mind, too, in a way that no *ex professo* history of persecutions could do, the cold-blooded, deliberate malice of the persecutions to which English Catholics were subjected and the systematic cruelty with which they were hunted, fined, imprisoned, tortured, and butchered. The perusal of many of these biographies forcibly reminds us of the ancient heathen persecutions, but with this difference: Those persecutions were waged by idolatrous heathens who knew not the One True God, but the English Catholics were persecuted by those who sinned against light and knowledge, by persons who professed to be Christians and who carried on their persecutions in the name of Christ and His religion.

IRISH WONDERS. The Ghosts, Giants, Pookas, Demons, Leprechawns, Banshees, Fairies, Witches, Widows, Old Maids, and Other Marvels of the Emerald Isle. Popular Tales as Told by the People. By *D. R. McAnally, Jr.* Illustrated by H. R. Heaton. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1888.

The wonderful imaginative power and fruitfulness of the Celtic mind is not more fully exhibited in its poetry, its novels, and stories of scenes in real life and the exuberant imagery of its orators, than in legends and fanciful tales which people in the humbler walks of life delight in telling. Go where you will in Ireland, the story-teller is there, ready and willing to repeat his fanciful tale, with a wealth of rustic imagery and a dramatic force that trained and practised writers might envy.

The work before us presents this phase of unwritten Celtic literature. The materials were collected during a recent lengthy visit to Ireland during which, the writer states, he traversed every county from end to end and was in constant and familiar association with the peasant tenantry.

The task which the writer undertook was evidently a congenial one and one which he possessed the requisite qualifications to well perform. The original spirit and wit, humor, pathos and imagery of the legends and stories are well preserved, as are also the distinctive dialect and pronunciation of the Irish peasantry.

The volume, with its striking and characteristic illustrations, will be a very acceptable present to children, who will pore over its pages with delight. And we may add that children, too, of older growth will find amusement and pleasant relaxation in them.

THE PERFECT RELIGIOUS, ACCORDING TO THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE; Or, Instructions for all Religious; Referring Principally to the Constitutions of Religious Ursulines. By *Father Francis Xavier Weninger*, Priest of the Society of Jesus. Translated from the German by a Member of the Ursuline Community of St. Mary's, Waterford. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

Among the many Monastic Rules which have been approved by the Church, the Rule of St. Augustine is especially distinguished by remarkable proofs of the virtue it possesses to lead souls to the highest

perfection. It admirably combines evangelic austerity with the sweetness of spirit of our Blessed Redeemer. It seems particularly suited to those Orders of Religious Women who, while laboring for their own sanctification, devote themselves to the instruction of youth. For these and other like reasons the Rule of St. Augustine has been adopted, in preference to other rules, by many communities belonging to different religious orders.

Owing, however, to its brevity, the need of explanations and comments having regard to existing times and circumstances has long been felt. This want the author undertakes to supply in the little volume before us. He has taken the Constitution of Ursuline Communities as the ground-work of his commentary, but has aimed also at making it suitable to the Religious in kindred orders.

From the examination we have been able to give the work we think it is not only well adapted to subserve the purposes for which the author immediately intends it, but also that it will be very useful to the laity as a book for devout reading and meditation.

ENGLISH HISTORY BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS. Vol. I. Edward III. and his Wars, 1327-1360. Extracts from the Chronicles of Froissart, Jehan Le Bel, Knighton, Adam of Murimuth, Robert of Aresburg, the Chronicle of Sauercost, the State Papers and other Contemporary Records. Arranged and Edited by *W. F. Ashley, M.A.*, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Vol. II. The Misrule of Henry III., 1236-1251. Extracts from the writings of Matthew Paris, Robert Grosseteste, Adam of Marsh, etc. Selected and arranged by the Rev. *W. H. Hutton, M.A.*, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887.

These two works are the first that have been published of a series of small volumes, each one independent of the others, and which are intended to furnish life-like pictures of the periods they respectively embrace in the history of England. They aim at telling the story of their times in the words of writers who lived in those times, and were not simply spectators of their events, but took an active part in them.

The plan is unquestionably a very judicious one, but it is one also which requires very great care and a high degree of impartiality on the part of the person selecting the extracts from contemporaneous writers from which each volume is made up. In the two volumes before us the spirit of the times of which they treat, and the habits and prevailing ideas and modes of thought of the people of England during those times, are clearly brought to view.

THE HOUSEHOLD LIBRARY OF IRELAND'S POETS; with full and choice selections from the Irish-American Poets, and a complete department of authentic biographical notes. Collected and edited by *Daniel Connolly*. Published by the editor at 28 Union Square, New York.

This large and handsome volume must have been the result of several years of industrious research and toil on the part of the editor, whose pre-eminent fitness for the task he set himself is shown in the result of his labors. His plan is not entirely original, being simply an expansion of that adopted forty years ago by the late Edward Hayes, whose "Ballad Poetry of Ireland" was long the household book on the subject for lovers of Irish literature. But Mr. Connolly covers a much wider field, taking in, besides more than the last generation in Ireland itself, the Anglo-Irish and Irish-American writers, while Hayes confined himself to those of Irish birth and using Irish themes. The result is simply astonishing in regard to the number of versifiers whose poems he places before us

—nearly two hundred and sixty named authors, besides twenty poems by anonymous writers; and others are coming into prominence now, both in Ireland and abroad, who, of course, do not appear in his anthology. The book is also embellished with a dozen fine portraits. Similar in plan to Hayes' work is particularly the arrangement according to subjects; but here, under each of the thirteen headings, we have almost enough poems to fill a small duodecimo volume. So thoroughly has Mr. Connolly done his work that future compilers need only supplement it by selections from the effusions of new writers.

ABANDONMENT; Or, Absolute Surrender to Divine Providence. Posthumous work of *Rev. J. P. de Caussade, S. J.* Revised and Corrected by *Rev. H. Ramière, S. J.* Translated from the French Edition by Miss Ella McMahon. New York: Cincinnati and St. Louis: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washburne. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

This is an ascetical work, which is specially intended for those who are striving to attain evangelical perfection, though a thoughtful and discriminating perusal of it will not be without profit to other devout souls. It is published with the *imprimatur* of the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York.

It is on a subject which requires to be handled with great care, for if misunderstood it may lead to pernicious errors. And, indeed, this danger is not a mere possibility. For the heresy of quietism which arose in the seventeenth century, and by its specious sophisms misled many well-meaning souls, and even, for a time, the pious Fenelon, claimed to be based on perfect abandonment to God.

For these reasons Father Ramière has prefaced Father Caussade's treatise with a long introduction, in which he explains Father Caussade's doctrine, and shows that, properly understood, the rules he lays down do not involve the dangers to which we have referred.

THE CHAIR OF PETER; Or, the Papacy Considered in its Institutions, Development and Organization, and in the Benefits which, for over Eighteen Centuries, it has Conferred on Mankind. By *John Nicholas Murphy*, Roman Count. Third Edition, with events and statistics brought down to the present time. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1888.

It was a happy inspiration that led the author to compile this work, which is a review of Church History as embodied in the Papacy, a setting forth in bold relief of the principal events in the development of Christian civilization. The fact that the work has reached a third edition, the second of the popular form, is proof of the fact that it has satisfied a widespread demand on the part of the reading Catholic public. As the contents of the volume have already been dwelt upon in detail, at the times when the former editions appeared, we need not repeat them here; suffice it now to say that the narrative has been continued to date—the history of the *Culturkampf* has been completed, and the other recent events of Leo XIII's pontificate are treated of in the clear and strong style of which the author is a master.

EMANUEL, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD. By *Rev. John Gmeiner*, Professor in St. Thomas' Seminary, St. Paul, Minn. Milwaukee: Hoffman Bros. 1888.

This is the third instalment of a popular defence of Christian doctrines which the author began some years ago, the first volume being entitled "*Modern Scientific Views and Christian Doctrines Compared*," and the second "*The Spirits of Darkness and their Manifestations on Earth; or, Ancient and Modern Spiritualism*." The work now before

us is fully deserving of the great popularity won by its predecessors. In it the author answers the questions, "What think you of Christ? Whose Son is He?" And in doing so meets the various attempts made in our day to undermine the Christian Faith. As far as was possible for him he has consulted the very latest literature of his subject. A vast amount of learning is here condensed within the compass of a little over one hundred pages.

THE LIFE OF ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN. By the late *F. J. M. Partridge*. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

This Life of St. Bridget of Sweden is a condensation from the German work published a few years ago at Mayence. It is based upon careful research, and its perusal will afford both instruction and pleasure to the reader. It describes the life and labors of one who from infancy was marked out by God for the reception of spiritual favors, who was an example of piety and devotion as a Christian wife and mother, and who, during her widowhood, endured many sufferings with exemplary patience and unshaken confidence in God, and abounded in charitable works. She lived in one of the stormiest periods of the Church's history; made pilgrimages to Rome and to the Holy Land, and traversed almost all Italy. Incidentally, much interesting information is given in the narrative of her life respecting the condition of Christianity at that time in Sweden and different parts of Italy, and respecting the Popes and secular princes of that period.

CONQUESTS OF OUR HOLY FAITH; or, TESTIMONIES OF DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS. By *James J. Treacy*. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

The compiler of this work is already favorably known to the public as editor of two similar volumes, one of poetry, "Catholic Flowers from Protestant Gardens," and the other of prose selections, "Tributes of Protestant Writers." The present effort is even more successful than these. With great care and prudent judgment the selections have been made; so that not only are nearly all the writers chosen of the first rank, but besides no two of the extracts from their writings treat of the same subject. There are over seventy articles in the book, and as many authors as there are articles. It is an excellent little work to place in the hands of those seeking religious truth.

THE CRIME AGAINST IRELAND. By *J. Ellen Foster*. With a Preface, by *John Boyle O'Reilly*. Boston: D. Lathrop & Company.

This book is not a rehash of documents, arguments, etc., about Ireland already published and with which the public are already familiar. On the contrary, though it goes over an old subject, it has all the freshness of originality. It is a republication in book form of recent letters to the Boston *Journal*, and within a brief compass states the case of Ireland and shows that the only true remedy is legislative independence, with a clearness and force we have rarely seen equalled.

MONTH OF ST. JOSEPH; or, Practical Meditations for Each Day of the Month of March. By the *Abbé Berlioux*. Translated from the French by Eleanor Cholmeley. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

This is an excellent little manual of devotions in honor of St. Joseph, specially arranged for every day in March. The meditations are brief and concise, the points they comprise are clearly set forth. Each meditation is followed by a short prayer and a brief example, illustrating the special subject proposed for consideration.

MEMOIRS OF A SERAPH. From the French of *M. l'Abbé G. Chardon*, Vicar-General of Clermont, author of *Memoirs of a Guardian Angel*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1888.

This book is a collection of all that is known, or conjectured on good grounds, on the subject which it treats of, by the wisest and holiest of the great teachers of the Church; among them, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Suarez. It is full of Catholic theology and philosophy, presented in a form that is simple and natural and easy of comprehension.

MODERN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS. A Book of Criticism. By *Maurice Francis Egan, A.M.* New York: William H. Sadlier.

This neat little volume, which is made up mainly of selections from articles contributed from month to month to the *Catholic World*, is a useful guide for readers of light literature. They are told here, in a pleasant way, what books to avoid as well as what ones out of the myriads that are constantly put in the market they may peruse with profit.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. Compiled with Reference to the "Const. Apostolicæ Sedis" of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican, and the Latest Decisions of the Roman Congregations. Adapted especially to the Discipline of the Church in the United States, according to the recent Instruction "Cum Magno opere," and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. By *Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D.*, Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Punishments. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1888.

THE BIRTHDAY PARTY AND OTHER STORIES. A Book for Girls. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Co.

A THOUGHT FROM THE BENEDICTINE SAINTS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. Translated from the French by *Helen O'Donnell*, author of "Hand book for Altar Societies," etc. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE STUDENT OF BLENHEIM FOREST. By *Anna Hanson Dorsey*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1888.

ZOE'S DAUGHTER. By *Anna Hanson Dorsey*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1888.

THE FATE OF THE DANE AND OTHER STORIES. By *Anna Hanson Dorsey*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1888.

SIX SERMONS ON DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART. By *Rev. Ewald Bierbaum, D.D.* Translated from the German by Miss Ella McMahon. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1888.

STORIES FOR FIRST COMMUNICANTS; for the Time Before and After Holy Communion. Drawn from the Best Authorities. By *Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Keller*. Translated, with Permission of the Author, by Frances M. Kemp. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

JUBILEE-TIDE IN ROME. By John George Cox. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

THE LIFE AND GLORIES OF ST. JOSEPH, HUSBAND OF MARY, FOSTER FATHER OF JESUS, AND PATRON OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH. By Edward Healy Thompson, M.A. London and New York: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. An Attempt to Illustrate the History of their Suppression. By *Francis Aidon Gosquet*, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath. Vol. I. John Hodges: London. Received for notice from the Catholic Publication Society Company, New York.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By *Edmond Staffer, D.D.*, Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. Third edition, with Map and Plans. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

MARIA MAGNIFICATA. Short Meditations for a Month on Our Lady's Life. By *Richard F. Clarke, S.J.* New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY ON HUMAN SLAVERY.

*Letter of Our Most Holy Father, Leo XIII., to his Venerable Brethren,
the Bishops of Brazil.*

*African Slavery, a Conference delivered in the Church of St. Sulpice,
Paris, by Cardinal Lavigerie.*

THE two important papers, quoted above, will be briefly referred to in the course of this article. They do not bear condensation. Even a summary analysis of them would but feebly convey an idea of their transcendent merit. Every lover of humanity should read them entire.

The Encyclical of the Holy Father and the Discourse of the Cardinal, both of which have appeared within the last few months, are an eloquent plea in the cause of human liberty, and an earnest denunciation of the inhuman traffic in flesh and blood which, in our own day, is industriously carried on in Africa by the followers of Mohammed.

We shall use these two documents as an appropriate text, to demonstrate the relative influence of Paganism and Christianity on human slavery.

We venture to hope that the present article will be regarded as specially opportune by the simple statement that, after a struggle for nineteen centuries in the cause of human freedom, this is the first year that Christendom can boast of being without a slave.

VOL. XIII.—37

I.

At the dawn of Christianity, slavery was universal.¹ Although some Pagan philosophers, like Seneca, declared that all men are by nature free and equal, still by the law of nations slavery was upheld in every country on the face of the earth; and it was an axiom among the ruling classes that "the human race exists for the sake of the few." Aristotle maintained that no perfect household could exist without slaves and freemen, and that the natural law, as well as the law of nations, makes a distinction between bond and free.² Even Plato avowed that every slave's soul was fundamentally corrupt, and that no rational man should trust him.³

The proportion of slaves to freemen varied, of course, in different countries, though usually the former were largely in excess of the free population. In Rome, for three hundred and sixty-six years, from the fall of Corinth to Alexander Severus, the slaves, according to the testimony of Blair, were three to one. Her bondmen were recruited from Britain, Gaul, Germany, Scandinavia, in fact, from every country into which her army or traders could penetrate. At one time, they became so formidable in Rome that the Senate, fearing that, if conscious of their own numbers, the public safety might be endangered, forbade them a distinctive dress.

In Greece, also, the number of slaves was far greater than that of the free population. Attica had 20,000 citizens and 400,000 slaves, females not included. Sparta contained 36,000 citizens and 366,000 bondmen. The number of slaves in Corinth was 460,000, and in Egina, 470,000.⁴ In Tyre, they were so numerous at one time that they succeeded in massacring all their masters. The Scythians, on returning from a hostile invasion of Media, found their slaves in rebellion, and were compelled for a while to abandon their country. Herodotus remarks with quaint humor that, after vainly attempting to conquer the slaves with spears and bows, the Scythians cast these weapons aside, and armed themselves with horse-whips. The slaves, who fought like heroes when confronted with warlike arms, lost heart and fled before the lash.⁵

By far the greatest number of slaves were acquired by military conquest, perpetual bondage being the usual fate of captives. Many others were purchased in the slave-market, or obtained by kidnapping. Children were frequently sold by impoverished or sordid parents, men were sold for debt or for the non-payment of taxes, and certain crimes were punished by perpetual servitude.

The head of the family was absolute master of his slaves, hav-

¹ "The Gentile and the Jew," ii. 265.

² Polit., i. 3.

³ Legg., vi. p. 277.

⁴ "The Gentile and the Jew," ii. 227.

⁵ Bk. IV. No. 3.

ing over them the power of life and death. This atrocious law was modified by Hadrian, the Antonines, and Alexander Severus in the latter days of the Empire. But the imperial clemency was rendered almost nugatory by a provision which declared that the master could not be indicted for the murder of his slave, unless the intention to kill could be proved. Mr. Lecky thinks that barbarity to slaves was rare in the earlier days of the Republic; but the reasons which he assigns for his assertion are hardly conclusive.¹

When a slave gave testimony in a court of justice, his deposition was always accompanied by torture, a practice approved by Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and other Attic orators. What the oath was to the freeman, the torture was to the slave. Female slaves when giving testimony were subjected to the same inhuman treatment.

An atrocious law ordained that if a master was murdered, all the slaves of his household, excepting those in chains and helpless invalids, should be put to death.² On one occasion, four hundred slaves of Pedanius, the Prefect of Rome, were ruthlessly executed, to avenge their master's assassination.

Aged and infirm slaves were habitually exposed to perish on an island in the Tiber. The elder Cato, who lived under the Republic and who may be regarded as a type of the Roman nobility of his time, considered slaves simply as machines for acquiring wealth, to be cast aside in decrepid old age like worthless lumber. And, indeed, freedom would be but a poor boon to them in sickness and infirmity, since they had neither hospital nor asylum to receive them, nor self-sacrificing nurse to assuage their sufferings. Death was, therefore, a merciful relief to them.

When condemned to execution for a crime, their last moments were embittered by the most excruciating tortures, the usual death penalty being crucifixion until, out of reverence for our Saviour, it was abolished by Constantine.

The marriage of slaves was not recognized by law. Their union was regarded only as a concubinage or a contubernium; hence, they had no parental rights over their offspring, who belonged exclusively to their master. The words adultery, incest, polygamy, had no meaning for them.

Roman fugitive slaves were usually branded on the forehead, and the punishment due their offence redoubled. Sometimes they were thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre.³

The wretched condition of slaves in Pagan times was rendered more intolerable by many aggravating circumstances. Many of them had once enjoyed the blessings of freedom, but had been reduced to bondage by the calamities of war. Unlike the negro

¹ "Hist. of Europ. Morals," I. 301.

² Tacit. Annal. xiii. 32 *et seq.*

³ Gell. v. 14.

slaves of America, they were usually of the same color as their masters; and, in many instances, better educated, more refined, and of a more delicate frame than those whom they served. Epictetus one of the ablest of the Stoic philosophers, was a slave.

Slavery exercised, also, a most injurious influence on the free population. It degraded labor, increased idleness, and fostered immorality. Contempt for work and a propensity to idleness formed a characteristic vice among the ancients, because they associated toil with slavery and idleness with freedom. "The Germans," says Tacitus, "cannot endure repose, and yet are fond of inactivity. They consider it dishonorable to earn by the sweat of their brow what they can win by the sword."¹ The Gauls, also, looked upon all labor, agriculture included, as degrading. Hatis, the first lawgiver of Tartessus, in Spain, forbade citizens to perform any kind of manual labor, which was reserved for slaves.² The Lusitanians and Cantabrians subjected their wives and slaves to incessant drudgery, living themselves by plunder.³ Herodotus says: "The Greeks, Thracians, Persians, Lydians, and almost all barbarous nations hold in less honor than their other citizens those that learn any trade, but deem such as abstain from handicrafts noble."⁴ In Sparta and other States tradesmen were excluded from political privileges. The free laborer was lowered in the eyes of his fellow-citizens by having slaves for competitors. Even the Romans did not regard any labor, agriculture excepted, as respectable. Cicero declared all mercenary trades to be sordid and dishonorable, and pronounced the workshop unworthy of the dignity of a freeman.⁵

The obvious result of this unhealthy sentiment was, that mechanical and manual labor, agriculture, artistic work, the practice of medicine, and the instruction of youth, were relegated to slaves. Even trade and commerce were carried on by them under the supervision of their masters.

Slavery engendered idleness and poverty among the free citizens. Thousands were daily congregated in the streets of Rome, occupying their time in frequenting the baths; in discussing politics; in selling their votes to the highest bidder during the days of the Republic; in paying homage to their patrons during the Empire, when they had no votes to sell; and in witnessing the slaughter of their fellow-beings in the amphitheatre, depending on the public distribution of money and corn for their support.

In Julius Cæsar's time 320,000 persons in Rome derived their support from imperial largesses.⁶ And notwithstanding all the efforts of Augustus to reduce the number of idle citizens, he was

¹ Germ. xiv. 15.

² Justin, xliv. 4.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Vol. ii. 167.

⁵ De Officiis, i. 42.

⁶ Sueton., xli. 421.

obliged to admit 200,000 of them, along with their wives and children, to share in the sportula.¹ Under the Antonines, the recipients of public aid increased to the number of half a million.

Many others, shrinking on the one hand from a life of idleness, and debarred on the other from honest toil by the stigma cast upon it, betook themselves to corrupting professions, such as pantomimes, hired gladiators, political spies, panders, astrologers, and religious charlatans.

The debauchery of morals was the first feature of slavery. Reinforced from various parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, the slaves contributed each his favorite vice to swell the common tide of depravity. All soon became indoctrinated in the iniquity of their companions. Denied the privileges of lawful wedlock, they plunged into the lowest depths of sensuality. Mothers had ceased to train their own children. They had neither inclination nor capacity for such duties—the race of Cornelias had disappeared. The instruction of youth of both sexes was confided to slaves.² For the social degradation to which they were subjected they were amply avenged by the moral degradation in which they involved their pupils. Excluded from civic honors and preferment, they wielded their brief authority over the youths committed to their care with terrible effect by initiating them into every species of vice. Denied the privilege of bearing arms, the bondmen used with consummate skill the weapons of lying, deceit, and treachery. Taught from childhood, by their accommodating teachers, to regard no law but that of their own whims, the Roman youth of both sexes grew up proud, insolent, and overbearing; and the first victims of their caprice were often the slaves themselves. Many a bondwoman received on her naked breast the sharp point of the stiletto, darted at her by her haughty and imperious mistress.³ In a word, the homes of the rich and noble were hot-beds of moral corruption.

Nor do the Mohammedans in Africa exhibit less greed in our day in reducing their fellow-beings to the yoke of slavery, nor less cruelty in the treatment of them than did the Romans in Pagan times.

Livingstone,⁴ Cameron,⁵ and still more recently Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage,⁶ who is furnished with information by his missionaries, declare that at least 400,000 negroes are annually carried into bondage in Africa by Mussulman traders, and that fully five times that number perish either by being massacred in the slave-hunt, or from hunger and hardship on the journey. Thus

¹ Dio Cass., *lv.* 10.

² "The Gentile and the Jew," *ii.* 281.

³ See Cardinal Wiseman's "Fabiola," *ch.* *iv.*

⁴ The last journals of Dr. Livingstone. London, 1874.

⁵ "Across Africa."

⁶ Conference delivered in Paris, 1888.

the lives or liberty of upwards of two millions of the human race are each year sacrificed on the altars of lust and mammon.

The line of march taken by the caravans bearing their human freight from Equatorial Africa to the slave-markets, can be easily traced by the bleaching bones of the unfortunate victims who succumbed to famine and fatigue on the way.

In consequence of this iniquitous commerce, entire villages in the interior of Africa are depopulated, and extensive districts are made desolate by the organized incursions of these traffickers in human flesh.

II.

Among the many social blessings conferred by Christianity, her successful efforts in the mitigation of the excesses of slavery and in the gradual emancipation of the slave, will justly hold a conspicuous place.

The Church did not deem it a part of her mission hastily to sever, or rudely to disturb, the relations that she found subsisting between master and man. She encountered slavery in every land. The bondmen were, in most places, largely in excess of the free population. They were regarded rather as chattels than as human beings, and were looked upon as an indispensable element of family life. With such ideas ruling the world, a violent crusade against slavery would cause a universal upheaval of society; it would involve the Commonwealth in bloodshed, and would be disastrous to the slaves themselves. The Apostles and their successors pursued a policy that, without injustice, violence, or revolution, led to the gradual emancipation of slaves. They succeeded in lightening the chain, in causing it to relax its hold day by day, till it fell harmless from the limbs of the captives.

Their first step toward manumission was to Christianize the slave, to emancipate him from the thralldom of his passions and the darkness of error, and to admit him to the glorious liberty of a child of God. Before his elevation to the Papacy, and while yet a monk, Gregory the Great, in walking through the streets of Rome, observed a number of slaves exposed for sale in the market-place. Struck by their fair complexion and long flaxen hair, he heaved a deep sigh and remarked: "What a pity that persons of such exterior beauty should not be interiorly enlightened with the illumination of faith and adorned with the gifts of grace!" He then asked who they were and whence they came. "They are Angles" (or English), was the reply. "They are well named," he quaintly added, "for they have the faces of angels. They must become the brethren of the angels in heaven."¹ This anecdote shows that their conversion was the first and dominant wish of

¹ Bede, ii. 1.

Gregory's heart. He wished them to enjoy "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free;"¹ for he well knew that spiritual bondage is far more galling than chains of iron, and that Christian liberty is the best preparation for civil emancipation. But while solicitous for the conversion, Gregory was equally zealous for the enfranchisement of the slave, as his history beautifully demonstrates. The conduct of Gregory outlines the policy of the Pontiffs that have succeeded him.

In the next place, the Christian missionary cheered the heart of the converted slave by giving a prominent place to those virtues that had hitherto been deemed mean, contemptible, and unworthy of a freeman. The virtues appreciated and extolled by the Pagan world as the ideal of human perfection were courage, fortitude, magnanimity, self-reliance, and all such as are calculated to excite the admiration and win the applause of the populace. But poverty of spirit, humility and meekness under contempt, patience and resignation under affronts, forgiveness of injuries and love of enemies, a spirit of obedience and long-suffering, were despised by them as servile virtues, or rather as no virtues at all, but the base characteristics of an enslaved and ignoble caste.

The founder of the Christian religion set His royal seal on these despised virtues and proclaimed their true value, so that henceforth they passed current among the faithful as the most precious medium of communication, enriching souls and purchasing the kingdom of heaven. He taught them these virtues by word and example from Bethlehem to Calvary.

The wretched hovel of the slave was no longer degrading to him when he reflected that the Son of Man had not where to lay His head. He had comfort in his bondage seeing that the Lord of heaven humbled Himself, "taking the form of a slave." How could manual labor be degrading to him when he learned that his Divine Master had for several years worked as an artisan? How could obedience be any longer intolerable to him, since his Lord had become for his sake "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross!" Neither could chains nor stripes rob him of his peace of mind, when he remembered that his Master bore them at the pillory. It is a great alleviation to a captive people for a prince voluntarily to share their miseries; and, above all, are they consoled when conscious that their future recompense will be proportioned to their present sufferings if borne with Christian patience.

The Apostle of the Gentiles frequently comforts the Christian slave by reminding him of the true source of moral grandeur. He tells him that true dignity does not depend on the accident of birth, or wealth, or civil freedom, or social station, but that virtue

¹ Gal. iv. 31.

is the sole standard of moral excellence in the sight of God, as well as the sole test of future retribution. He informs the slave that he has a soul as well as Cæsar; that he is the child of God by adoption, the brother of Christ, and a member of His mystical body; and that he has equal privileges with the freeman to a participation in the Divine Spirit. "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free."¹ In the family of Christ to which they belong "there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."² No wonder that the slave took heart on listening to revelations so cheering.

Again, the Church contributed largely to the moral elevation of the slave by levelling all distinctions between bond and free in her temples and religious assemblies. As soon as the slave entered the place of worship he breathed the air of liberty. He possessed every privilege accorded to the freeman. He was admitted to an equal participation in the Sacraments of the Church. He was baptized at the same font. He sat side by side with his master at the Agape, and joined with him in the public prayers.³ In the penitential discipline of the Church there was no class distinction. The Christian master who had no punishment to fear from the State for scourging his slave to death, was, if guilty of such a crime, debarred by the ecclesiastical law from Holy Communion.⁴ The slave was admitted into the ranks of the clergy, though before taking Orders he was redeemed from bondage, as none but free-men served at the altar. In a Council held in Rome, in 597, under Pope Gregory, it was decreed that freedom should be granted to slaves that wished to embrace the monastic state. The applicants, however, were not indiscriminately received, for wise precautions were taken to ascertain the sincerity of their vocation.⁵

Not only were slaves permitted to join in the public offices of the Church and in the reception of the Sacraments, not only were they raised to the ranks of the clergy, but many of them who had died for Christ were honored in Christian sanctuaries as saints and martyrs, and even had temples erected to their honor. The names of Blandina, Potamiena, Eutyches, Victorinus, Nereus, and numerous others, are enrolled in our Martyrology. The most stately Byzantine church in Ravenna is dedicated to a martyred slave.⁶

The Church taught the slave and the master their reciprocal duties toward each other, prescribing laws that exercised a salutary restraint on the authority of the one and sanctified the obedience of the other. "Servants," says St. Paul, "be obedient to

¹ I. Cor. xii. 13.

² Hist. of Europ. Morals, ii. 66.

³ Balmez, pp. 109 and 437.

⁴ Colloss. iii. 11.

⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

⁶ Lecky, ii. 69.

your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ. Not serving to the eye as pleasing men, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. . . . Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And you, masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatenings, knowing that the Lord both of them and you is in Heaven; and there is no respect of persons with Him."¹

St. Paul in his touching letter to Philemon, while fully recognizing the claims of the master, exhorts him to receive Onesimus not only as his slave, but also as his brother in Christ; and while pleading for the slave, he does not exempt him from the lawful service he owes to his master.

This brief Epistle of twenty-five verses has served as a guiding principle to the Church in her solution of the slave problem; and it has contributed more to alleviate the miseries of humanity than all the moral treatises of the most philanthropic of Pagan philosophers.

Perhaps the most substantial service rendered by the Church to the slaves was the recognition of their marriage-tie as valid and indissoluble, and not as mere concubinage such as Paganism regarded it. Pope Adrian I., in the eighth century, uses the following language: "According to the words of the Apostles, as in Jesus Christ, we ought not to deprive either slaves or freemen of the Sacraments of the Church, so it is not allowed in any way to prevent the marriage of slaves; and if their marriages have been contracted in spite of the opposition of their masters, they ought nevertheless not to be dissolved in any way."² And St. Thomas maintains that slaves are not bound to obey their masters in regard to the contracting of marriage.³

In upholding the moral dignity and prerogatives of the slave, the Church was striking a blow for his civil freedom. Though she was not charged with the framing of the civil laws, she moved the hearts of the slave-owners by moral suasion, and she moulded the conscience of the legislators by an appeal to the innate rights of man. Thus, as snow melts before the sun, slavery yielded to the genial rays of the Gospel.

As a pious incentive to emancipation, it was ordained that the ceremony of manumission should be celebrated in the church on festival days, especially on Easter Sunday, and the slave-owners were admonished that the manumission of the slave was an act well calculated to conciliate the clemency of Heaven.

¹ Eph. vi. 5-9.

² De Conjug. Serv., lib. iv. tom. 9, c. 1.

³ 2^a, 2^a, Quæst. 104, art. 5.

A brief review of the relative influence of Paganism and Christianity on slavery will bring out in bold relief two important facts of history which shed glory on the Christian religion.

1st. No Pagan government of ancient times ever framed any law aiming at the immediate or gradual extinction of slavery. The same remark is true of modern nations outside the pale of Christendom. Slavery in its most odious form is still upheld in Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, among the idolatrous worshippers of Africa, and wherever Mohammedanism holds sway. It exists, also, in China¹ and Japan, and continued in India until it was abolished by British influence in the present century.

2d. Christianity, from its birth to the present time, has labored in mitigating and extirpating this social evil. Slavery practically ceased to exist in Christian Europe from the thirteenth century, and it has since been abolished in all European colonies. It was extinguished in the British possessions in 1833, chiefly through the influence of Wilberforce and Clarkson; and ten years later, more than twelve millions of slaves were set free in the East Indies by the government of Great Britain. France abolished slavery in her West India colonies in 1793. Spain emancipated her slaves in Porto Rico in 1873, and in 1886 the institution ceased to exist in Cuba. It has passed away from all the Spanish-American Republics. A decree of emancipation has this very year, 1888, been promulgated in Brazil, by virtue of which slavery is absolutely extinguished in the Empire.

Slavery was totally abolished in the United States by President Lincoln in 1863. Although the Emancipation Proclamation was designed as a war measure in the interests of the Union, slavery would have eventually disappeared independently of the war; for it was confined to the South in whose border States it was gradually dying out, and it was opposed by the public sentiment of the Christian world.

In a word, the consoling fact can be recorded to-day that, at the present moment, a single slave is not to be found on a solitary foot of Christendom.

To what cause are we to ascribe this happy result? Not to intellectual culture, for Pagan Greece and Rome were as cultured as France and England; nor to an enlightened self-interest, for the immediate interests of the slave-owner demanded its retention; nor to the free intercourse of nations and the march of commerce, for the slave-trade was one of the most lucrative branches of business. The result is due to the humanizing influence of the Gospel alone.

Among the forces enlisted in the cause of freedom, the most

¹ Huc, "Travels in Tartary," etc., I. ch. viii.

potent came from the Papacy. In every age the voice of the Popes resounded clearly throughout the world in the interests of human freedom. Gregory the Great in the sixth century, Pius II. in the fifteenth, Paul III. in the sixteenth, Urban VIII. in the seventeenth, Benedict XIV. in the eighteenth, and Pius VII. in the nineteenth—all raised their voice either in commending the slaves to the humanity of their masters, or in advocating their manumission, or in righteous condemnation of the slave-trade. Gregory XVI., in 1839, published a memorable Encyclical in which the following energetic language occurs: "By virtue of our Apostolic office, we warn and admonish in the Lord all Christians of whatever condition they may be, and enjoin upon them that for the future no one shall venture unjustly to oppress the Indians, negroes, or other men whoever they may be, to strip them of their property, or reduce them into servitude, or give aid or support to those who commit such excesses, or carry on that infamous traffic by which the blacks, as if they were not men, but mere impure animals reduced like them into servitude, contrary to the laws of justice and humanity, are bought, sold, and devoted to endure the hardest labor. Wherefore, by virtue of our Apostolic authority, we condemn all these things as absolutely unworthy of the Christian name."

And, lastly, Leo XIII.¹ denounces in emphatic terms the infamous slave-trade now systematically carried on in Africa by Mohammedan invaders.

He declares such a traffic to be in violation of the natural and the divine law. He proclaims this commerce in man the most infamous and inhuman that can be conceived. He exhorts Christian rulers and all true friends of humanity to rise in their might and, by concerted action and every righteous means, "to repress, forbid, and put an end once for all" to this violent and unholy abduction of human beings. He calls upon all Apostolic men in Africa to bring the weight of their moral influence toward securing the safety and liberty of the slaves; and he heartily commends the Emperor of Brazil for his recent decree by which all the slaves of the Empire are emancipated.

How different is the record of the following lines condensed from Cardinal Lavigerie's Discourse! Slave-hunting is carried on in every independent Mussulman State in Africa; and yet no Mufti Ulema, or any other expounder of the Koran, has ever protested against so atrocious a practice.

The redemption of captives was another work which engaged the pious solicitude of the Church. From the fourth to the fourteenth century, Europe was periodically a prey to northern

¹ Letter of Leo XIII. to the Bishops of Brazil, May 5, 1888.

barbarians and Mohammedan invaders. The usual fate of the vanquished was death or slavery. They who escaped the sword were carried into bondage. A more wretched fate awaited the female sex, for they were reserved to gratify the caprices of their conquerors.

"In no form of charity," says Mr. Lecky, "was the beneficial character of the Church more continually and more splendidly exercised than in redeeming captives from servitude."¹

When the Goths invaded Italy in the fourth century, St. Ambrose sat on the chair of Milan. After disposing of his private means for the redemption of captives, he melted down the golden vessels of the Church, that he might ransom his brethren in bondage. The Arians affected to be scandalized at his course. They charged him with atrocious sacrilege for thus disposing of the sacred vessels. Ambrose replied to them in language worthy an Apostle, that the liberty of man was of more value than gold or silver, that the salvation of souls was more precious than chalices, and that no sacrifice should be spared to rescue woman from a life of dishonor and degradation.

Instances of similar deeds of charity are recorded of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great.

But the Church exerted herself not only in rescuing Christians from captivity in Pagan lands, she also labored to ransom Pagan captives in Christian realms, and restored them to their native country. When seven thousand Persians were held in durance by a Roman general, Acacius, Bishop of Amida, sold all the rich plate of his church and sent these captives redeemed to their country, saying that God had no need of plates and dishes.²

Few men have rendered more signal service in behalf of captives than St. John of Matha in the twelfth century. On the morning that he celebrated his first Mass, he made a vow at the altar to consecrate his life to the redemption of the slaves who were held captive in Morocco and other parts of Africa. To render his labors more effectual and permanent he formed a congregation of men animated by his own spirit, who made a solemn vow to consecrate their life and liberty to the redemption of slaves. They made frequent incursions into Africa, and purchased the liberty of hundreds of their brethren. If it is a virtue to give to others out of the abundance of our own means, if it is a greater virtue to give away all that we possess, what shall we say of him who devotes his life and liberty to the redemption of his fellow-beings? "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friend."³

¹ "History of European Morals," ii. 72.

² Ibid.

³ John xv. 13.

THE MYTHS OF THE "DARK" AGES.

IN the Brief addressed by the Holy Father to Cardinals Pitra and Hergenrœther, he dwells with his accustomed earnestness on the importance of history. "It is not only the guide of life," he tells us, "and the light of truth;" it is also "one of those arms most fit to defend the Church." Of course, Leo XIII., whose merits as a scholar are admitted by all, when uttering these words spoke from the fulness of his knowledge. He had carefully watched the progress of historical research for the last fifty years, and simply formulated the verdict of science. He repeated what had been said by more than one non Catholic scholar, like Bœhmer and Pertz. But unfortunately the writers of popular literature are not Bœhmers. It sometimes takes years and decades before the results of scholarship reach the ears of the militant parson and the magazine writer. So it happens that even to-day the general reader is led to think that Catholicity has everything to fear from science and scholarship, especially from historical science and scholarship. The best and only way to meet this prejudice is an appeal to the facts. Have the results of modern historical science been favorable to the Church, or the reverse? Have they set her in a brighter or a darker light? To exhaust this question in a review article is impossible. But we may lay before our readers the decisions of the foremost historical scholars—mostly non-Catholic—on some one important question. Straws show the way the tide flows. A fair presentation of the conclusions of scientific historical inquiry on a number of points affecting the Church may justly be taken to indicate its general drift. We shall place before our readers some of the findings of history on the so-called Dark Ages. On no other subject has recent inquiry shed more light; from no other period had the enemies of the Church derived so much material for use in their assaults. It is a broad, extensive subject, involving many points formerly warmly controverted. It seems to be eminently fitted to be a test question.

This view is strongly reinforced by Prof. Creighton in a late number of the *English Historical Review*. He is discussing the dissolution of the English monasteries by Henry VIII. "The monasteries," he says, "were neither better nor worse (in Henry's time) than they had been any time for the two previous centuries.

. . . . No one for two centuries had looked upon the monks as saints; no one at the time of the dissolution looked upon them as monsters of vice. They were, on the whole, excellent members of society, kindly landlords resident on their estates, leading very respectable lives. But they were exposed to all the odium which always attaches to social superiors, capitalists and landlords alike. The feudal lord, who was generally non-resident, was only grumbled at in the abstract; the monks were grumbled at in the concrete. Every one who wished to raise his voice in protest, as a reformer in things ecclesiastical, political, or social, always denounced the monks because he was sure of an approving audience. Doubtless the monks were the butts of many a mediæval joke. They were not all of them unworldly, or temperate, or chaste."¹

Such are some of the conclusions of the most reliable and learned historical scholars on the Middle Ages. They differ widely from the views traditional in popular English literature. We shall not comment on them. We leave our readers to judge whether or not history is "one of the arms most fit to defend the Church."

Before reviewing the results of modern research on the Middle Ages it is well to premise a few remarks. The Middle Ages, it is often assumed by writers both Catholic and non-Catholic, are typically Catholic Ages. True and false. At no other time, perhaps, have churchmen, besides the authority belonging to them as churchmen, wielded so much power, especially political power; but again at no other time have kings and nobles so systematically taken possession of the dignities of the Church. On the surface the world appeared submissive to Christ and his vicar; under the surface ambitious princes intrigued against the Church, and the remnants of heathenism still waged stubborn war against her, nay, often tainted the lives, the practices and morals of her children with superstition. Popes and bishops and emperors struggled to put down these remnants of heathenism, as, for instance, the ordeals or judgments of God; even to-day the duel survives, and is upheld by a revived paganism. Often in the woods, but a few miles away from the church and the monastery, secret pagans performed the rites of Wodan and Thor. In fact, paganism or no paganism, the Church never lacked enemies; Ormuzd will ever be opposed by Ahriman. This must be borne in mind in apportioning the responsibility of the Church during the Middle Ages as well as at other times. Moreover, we must not make the Church answer for each crime that was committed, or each virtue left unpractised during that period. History throws light on the

¹ M. Creighton, in "Engl. Hist. Review," April, 1888, p. 377.

Church, and enables us to judge of her actions chiefly on the principle, "By their fruits you shall know them." In applying this, however, we must, firstly, be certain that the fruit really belongs to the tree to which we ascribe it, and secondly, remember that even on the best trees some of the fruit is cankered or worm-eaten, some of the branches prove barren or wither. Again, we must bear in mind the circumstances of time and place. Moral right is always right, moral wrong always wrong. We would not excuse or defend a robber or murderer because he happened to be a mediæval baron. But in the political and scientific world time and place are for much. Washington achieved and solidly established freedom for us; we honor him, we praise his wisdom. What would we think of the man who would undertake to depose Mwanga and establish a republic in Uganda? Besides, we must not expect from the child the learning and wisdom of the sage. The Middle Ages were the childhood and youth of modern Europe. They had to learn with effort what we receive gratuitously from our forefathers. We may, therefore, justly and sincerely praise in those days what we should not wish to see revived in our own. We may award great credit for deeds that to-day would be commonplace. We must not censure our mediæval forefathers for not doing impossibilities. Of modern mechanical, chemical, and electrical discoveries and inventions we are justly proud; ignorance of these same inventions and discoveries cannot fairly be made a ground of reproach to mediæval times. Now that steam presses strike off thousands of pages in an hour, it is easy to have books, to read, to own a library; we have a right to rejoice over our good fortune, and to pity the times when it took months to make a single copy of a work of which we print thousands in a week; we have no right to berate and revile those times. It may be well to remember that the art of printing was invented in 1450, not in the nineteenth century.

To form a correct judgment of the Middle Ages, these principles must be kept in view. If we do so, the picture of those times displayed by modern historical research will astonish us. We will be amazed that there could have been a time, and that not very remote, when scarce a light relieved the sombre color in which it was customary to paint the "dark" ages. A black background of universal ignorance, an atmosphere of superstition, the blood-red demons of fanaticism and cruelty in the foreground, dark gray filth and poverty and wretchedness in the middle distance; the love of morality and justice has sunk out of sight, charity hardly sheds a flickering light, all is darkness, pitch black darkness. Kings and nobles, proud of their ignorance, rob and murder; priests and monks, sunk in idleness, at most, discuss the interesting question how many angels can stand

on the point of a needle; art, science and literature are banished or made little of; the Bible is unknown and uncared for; ambitious Popes enthrall kings and people; the Church crushes the spirit of nationality and hinders the growth of nations; she discourages inquiry and learning, makes religion the slave of worldly ends, neglects charity. How such an age could have given to the world a Charlemagne and an Alfred, a Barbarossa and a St. Louis, an Alcuin and an Aquinas, a Roger Bacon and a Copernicus, a Gutenberg and a Columbus, is a riddle that should have opened the eyes of the shallowest and most ignorant of unconscious, and warned the most daring of conscious libellers.

But times have changed. Even Protestants and infidels are ready to repudiate such self-destructive misrepresentation. "During the last century," says Frederick von Hellwald, a devoted disciple of the materialist, Prof. Haeckel, "men's judgment of the Middle Ages has passed through three stages; it has denounced, admired, and understood them. The second half of the 18th century felt an interest in degrading the Middle Ages as much as possible; by doing so that age strove to become conscious of its own perfection. It gathered the charges made by serious satirists and enthusiastic preachers in the Middle Ages against their contemporaries; every complaint about the moral decay of the times was dragged to light. It described mediæval constitutions and state decrees, and found no difficulty in proving that they little aided the true objects of the State; the ideas of feudalism and the law of brute force (*Faustrecht*) were the most dreadful notions a trained politician could conceive. It pointed out that many useful inventions had not been made, and that, therefore, manufactures and comfort were in a distressing condition. It thought it had fully proved its point, when investigating the state of religion and science, it could show up the blindest obedience to authority and the densest superstition; the natural sciences were at the lowest ebb, philosophy unproductive, philology ill conditioned, theology that controlled all things could not lead to the deliverance of the intellect. So judged men even at the end of the last century. Hardly a dozen years later views had become greatly changed, and the Middle Ages were regarded with quite different eyes. The romantic school discovered an ocean of light of dazzling brilliancy, where their predecessors had seen only dark masses of shadow. But opposed to these two points of view, detestation and veneration, condemnation and worship, there is a third point of view, that of understanding, of intelligence, of objective historical knowledge. We will see neither all light nor all shade: for us, too, mediævalism is a state of comparative imperfection, and we may accept the term 'night.' But it is a clear bright

night, in which sparkle countless stars, beaming some gently, some brilliantly."¹

Von Hellwald's self-complacent superiority over his predecessors of the eighteenth century is a little amusing; still his views are clear proof that light has begun to break. Yet even now there is much darkness among us. "In England," says Prof. Karl Pearson, of University College, London, "there seems no reason why anything but rubbish should be written [on the Middle Ages]. In our universities no training is offered in mediæval thought, and its language, mediæval Latin, is dubbed a barbarism unworthy of scientific study." "It is almost impossible to find a German Mediævalist (I would except such men as Maurenbrecher, Geffken, Kampschulte and one or two others practically of the past) who does not prostitute his scholarship to a preconceived religious opinion, and so remain blind to all but one side of a question."² What admissions, then, are made by non-Catholic German writers are all the stronger proof that the tide of evidence on the other side is irresistible. There are, however, honorable exceptions to Prof. Pearson's rule, and we hope to introduce some of them to our readers. Meantime, whilst recognizing the value of Von Hellwald's concessions, we are not impressed by the happiness of his comparison of the Middle Ages to a star-lit "night," unless he means to imply that the night is the parent of the day. To us Prof. Paulsen, of the Berlin University, seems more happy. "The Middle Ages," says he, "are the school-time of the Germanic nations. Antiquity is their teacher, though not youthful, pagan antiquity, but antiquity grown old and religious."³ Perhaps they have been described even more happily by the author of Barnes' *Modern School History*. "The thoughtful student of history sees in the Middle Ages a time, not of decay, but of preparation; a period during which the seeds of a better growth were germinating in the soil."⁴

But let us come to particulars. Among the bugbears with which the defamers of mediævalism frightened the simple public, let us begin with that which always seemed most dreadful, the Popes. They were either wicked men, or ambitious, designing, worldly-minded men, who aimed at universal empire and crushed nations and the national spirit, or they were no men at all. The popess Joan haunted Protestant historians from the Magdeburg Centuriators down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Still even two hundred years ago Leibnitz was too enlightened to

¹ Von Hellwald, *Cultur geschichte in ihrer natürlichen Enturickelung*, p. 409.

² K. Pearson in the "*Academy*" of Sept. 26th, 1885.

³ Paulsen—"Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts," p. 6.

⁴ Barnes's *Modern History*, p. 12, note.

believe in the spectre. Since the Protestant Church historian Neander has stamped it as a myth, and especially since Dollinger published his "*Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*," the spectre has been effectually laid. No self-respecting, well-informed writer cares now-a-days to mention the tale of the popess Joan except as an exploded fable.

We come next to the power-grasping Popes. Of these, beginning with Gregory the Great, there used to be a whole legion; to investigate them all would take a company of Bollandists. But "Gregory" [the Great], says Arnold, "was the real founder of papal primacy in its later signification. . . . And yet at bottom he did no more than to gather all the elements, which up to that time had developed themselves in the Church, in faith and practice, in constitution and discipline, and to make them the basis of a new development. He is in no sense a 'Reformer'; he only took up the traditions of antiquity and with them entered into the new era, not greedy of honor or power, not a shrewd politician, but wholly full of the spirit which lived in the Church; whilst the patriarch of Constantinople just at that time claimed the title of *Universal Bishop*, Gregory, in striking contrast, called himself the 'servant of the servants of God,' and this title the Roman bishops have retained to the present day."

Perhaps no Pope has been attacked as virulently as Gregory VII., the great Hildebrand. Against him for centuries the older Protestants discharged their bile and their bitterness. *Höllenbrand* (brand of hell) he was called by the Magdeburg Centuriators, whilst Bibliander called him Gog the king of Magog. He aspired to universal monarchy, he unrighteously and cruelly humbled the emperor, he claimed the right to make and unmake kings and emperors, he was ambitious, proud, hypocritical, rash, obstinate. But abuse and denunciation are not history; revilings are not proofs. The day of investigation came, the day of honest historical research, and with it the day of Hildebrand's triumph. Hildebrand, says Johannes von Müller, "was firm and bold as a hero, wise as a senator, zealous as a prophet, strict in his morals, tenacious of one idea." The Protestant Church historians Gieseler and Neander admit that he was convinced of the justice of his cause. Gaab, Voigt, Giesebrecht, Bowden, Luden, Rühs, Leo, Stenzel, Creighton, all of them Protestants, have shown up many of the errors of former historians and done justice to Gregory's great qualities. At present all well-informed writers praise his honesty, his zeal for religion, his justice.¹ Popes Hadrian IV.

¹ W. Arnold—*Deutsche Geschichte*, ii., 1, p. 171.

² For the Protestant authorities on Gregory VII., see Hergenrother's *Kirchengeschichte*, 3d ed., vol. ii., pp. 210 and 230, notes.

(Nicholas Breakspeare, the only English Pope) and Alexander III., the contemporaries of Frederick I., Barbarossa, were also often accused of undue worldly ambition, of attempting to degrade the Empire and the Emperor. But Frederick, though a man of undoubted genius and possessed of the noblest qualities of the heart, unfortunately misconceived his relations to the Church and the Popes. "Towards the Church," says the Protestant historian Leo,¹ "Frederick from the beginning assumed as haughty an attitude as any of his predecessors of the Frankish house; in this respect he was no better than Henry V." "Only a Pope that was ready to sacrifice his own rights and those of others could continue to have a good understanding with such an emperor as Frederick."² "Frederick wished, like Charlemagne, to rule Rome and the bishops of the Empire as his vassals," says Gregorovius. The false conception of Barbarossa and the Popes Hadrian IV. and Alexander III., propagated by former historians, were based on the *Gesta Frederici I.*, written by Otto, Bishop of Freising, and continued by Ragewin, his secretary. Now Otto was Frederick's uncle, and built up his history on notes furnished him by the Emperor. "Otto," says Wattenbach,⁴ "wrote to Frederick 'that he was ready to write the history of his (Frederick's) time if the Emperor wished it, and if he would send him the necessary material by his notaries.' And Frederick accepted the proposal. We still possess a letter of his dated September, 1156, in which he sent a rapid review of his deeds to Otto, which the latter was to expand in his history. We may, in a way, regard this letter as the text on which Otto based his new work, the *Gesta Frederici*." When the Bishop died before its completion, Ragewin, Otto's scholar and notary, continued the work. "The Emperor himself, who manifestly took a deep interest in the work, had approved of Ragewin's choice as continuator, and his chancellor and notary, to whom Ragewin dedicated his work, appears to have furnished him facts and documents."³ No wonder that history derived from such a source should not be too favorable to Frederick's opponents. At all events, now that sound criticism has recognized the need of using these works with caution, Giesebrecht speaks

¹ Leo—Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes und Reiches, II., 648, quoted in "Geschichtslügen," p. 183. The latter little work, a refutation of current historical slanders against the Church and churchmen, is a work full of learning, that briefly, fairly and quietly puts down the chief lies that have disfigured many histories. It is so very handy and so useful, that it richly deserves to be translated.

² Döllinger, Kirchengeschichte, ii., p. 175, quoted in Geschichtslügen, p. 183.

³ Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rome, iv., p. 521, quoted in Geschichtslügen, p. 291.

⁴ Geschichtsquellen des M. A., p. 423.

⁵ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 423.

very unfavorably of the first book of the *Gesta Frederici I.* Most non-Catholic historians justify Hadrian and Alexander on many charges on which their predecessors had condemned them.

Since Hurter wrote his life of Innocent III. it has been unnecessary to defend that wonderful Pontiff. His learning, his ability, his wisdom, his good intentions, his charity have been acknowledged without stint. "Innocent III.," says Johannes von Müller,¹ "was a man full of kindness and affability, full of determination, extremely simple and saving in his way of living, generous to extravagance in his charities." Not unfrequently now non-Catholic writers call him "the greatest of the Popes."

The Popes of the tenth century have been painted in the blackest colors, not only by Protestant but by Catholic historians. No crime was too dreadful to be ascribed to some of them, especially to Sergius III., John X. and John XII. The chief witness against them was Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona and chancellor of the Emperor Otto the Great. At Otto's court, between 958 and 962, he had begun a work on the history of his own time, which he laid aside when appointed to the see of Cremona. "On account of the great political changes in Italy, the work had to a great extent lost its purpose. For this had chiefly been to pay back all those who had been kind or hostile to him according to their deserts, but especially to give vent to his hatred against King Berengar and (his Queen) Willa; hence he called this work of retribution *Antapodosis*. In it he has heartily denounced his enemies."² Unfortunately the Popes in question were Berengar's friends or connections, and would, therefore, naturally come in for a share of Liudprand's retribution. Notwithstanding the scantiness of our information on this period, Liudprand has been proved guilty of numerous misstatements, and more careful study in many other cases has thrown doubts on his stories. The discovery of Liudprand's defects as a historian led to the removal of at least some of the stains that blackened the names of these tenth century Popes, who were forced on the Church by the corrupt and unscrupulous Italian nobles and those wicked, scheming women, Theodora and Marozia. This was the time when the Papacy, to use Döllinger's words, "was bound hand and foot, and, being deprived of her freedom, cannot be made to answer for the disgrace which she was forced to suffer." Pertz, Ranke, Waitz, Jaffé, Giesebrecht, Wattenbach, enlightened by newly found documents and deeper study, are all inclined to judge of these Popes less harshly than former historians. In short,

¹ Von Müller, Allg. Weltgeschichte, vol. ii., p. 149, quoted in *Geschichtslügen*, p. 129.

² Wattenbach, l. c., p. 264.

Pertz's saying is shown to be more and more correct every day: "The best defence of the Popes is the revelation of what they were."

The Popes during the Middle Ages, then, were far better men than they were painted by the Centuriators and their successors. Some of the best abused were men of exceptional merit and greatness. Through the Popes and through the bishops the Church exerted great influence in the political as well as in her own proper sphere. The union of Church and State was close throughout Europe. What were its effects? Did it enslave nations? Did it promote absolutism? Speaking of the consequences of Charlemagne's coronation by Leo III., and especially of the union of Church and State that followed it, Arnold says: "Much more dangerous was the contest which the union of the Empire with the Church made probable. For the doctrine of the two supreme powers could only be carried out as long as they lived in concord. A settlement (*Ausgleich*) between the Papal and imperial powers, each of which rested on a different principle of existence, was impossible by peaceful means. But in spite of the long continued struggle, which arose in consequence of the union, it was fortunate for the West, firstly, that the union took place, and secondly, that it took place only after the Church had become independent. For the last great result of this struggle was no other than the securing of the free development both of Church and of State."¹ "The principle," says Samuel Laing, "that the civil government, or state, or church and state united, of a country is entitled to regulate its religious belief, has more of intellectual thralldom in it than the power of the popish Church ever exercised in the darkest ages; for it had no civil power joined to its religious power. It only worked through the civil power of each country. The Church of Rome was an independent, distinct, and often an opposing power in every country to the civil power; a circumstance in the social economy of the middle ages to which, perhaps, Europe is indebted for her civilization and *freedom*,—for not being in a state of barbarism and slavery of the East and of every country, ancient and modern, in which the civil and religious power have been united in one government. Civil liberty is closely connected with religious liberty, with the Church being independent of the State."²

The Church, therefore, was the bulwark of liberty in the Middle Ages. It was more. The unity, authority, and universality of the Catholic Church, strange to say, did more for the creation, the growth, and strengthening of the nations of Europe, than national

¹ Arnold, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii., 1, p. 305.

² S. Laing, *Notes of a Traveller*; quoted by Bp. Spalding in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. i., p. 67.

churches could have done. "The idea of a national church," we cite Arnold, "which even impartial historians like Rettberg cannot wholly shake off, was wholly inconceivable in the times of St. Boniface. For in the first place it was strange to Christianity in general, which calls peoples to its fold, not as separate communities, but all together; and in this sense the Church in union with the Roman Empire had become an essentially cosmopolitan institution. Moreover, and above all, the nation itself did not exist. Boniface helped to found it precisely by not founding a national church; he overcame the mutual antagonism of races and tribes by the unity of the Church."¹

How many preconceptions, hostile to Church and Popes, has modern historical science thus dissipated? The Church of the Middle Ages, as we have seen, was the bulwark of freedom and the nurse of nations; the Papacy, moreover, instead of being the enslaver of man's intellect, was liberal, liberal to the verge of rashness. "Mr. Creighton" (an Anglican canon and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, at Cambridge, who edits the *English Historical Review*, and has written a "History of the Popes during the Reformation Period"), "Mr. Creighton," says Lord Acton, in the *English Historical Review* (vol. ii., p. 577), "insists on the liberality of the Popes not only at the time of which he treats, but generally. Fanaticism had no place in Rome, nor did the Papal Court trouble itself about trifles. It allowed free thought beyond the extremest limits of ecclesiastical prudence.—The papacy in the Middle Ages always showed a tolerant spirit in matters of opinion. We cannot think that Roman inquisitors were likely to err on the side of severity."

That the organic unity of the Church, that the centring of her authority in one hand, that the Papacy, in brief, was a condition *sine qua non* of the spread of Christianity in Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, is freely and honestly avowed by more than one non-Catholic historian. To Rome and the Pope, therefore, they award the merit of having dealt the fatal blow to barbarism, not only in Northern Europe but also in Gaul, of having civilized those countries, in short, of having established Christianity and the Church there on a firm foundation. "As in Chlodwig's day," says Arnold, "the future of the Church lay not in Arianism, but in the Apostolic doctrine of the Trinity, so now (in the time of St. Boniface) the strictest order and discipline (which Arnold claimed before depended on the union of the German Church with Rome) was necessary if Christianity was not to lose its character, but was to maintain itself in opposition to a rude clergy and people, and a warlike

¹ Arnold, l. c., ii., 1, p. 200.

state, as a power which was to conquer and renew the world."¹ And again: "There was a third circumstance which strengthened the hands of Boniface—his connection with Rome, and the efficient and steady support which it gave him."² "The essential difference," says, Wattenbach, "between this (Anglo-Saxon) and the Scots (Irish) missions lies in their relation to the Roman See. Since St. Augustin, sent by Gregory the Great, had founded the English Church, it had remained in the closest union with Rome, and from Rome it was governed, and its church firmly and securely organized. Hence these (the Anglo-Saxon) missions stood upon a wholly different basis and were not exposed to isolation, and the disorganization resulting therefrom, which limited the success of the Irish missionaries to the foundation of some monasteries."³ Bulwark of civil and religious liberty during the Middle Ages, Christianizer and therefore civilizer of England, Gaul, Germany and Northern Europe, foster-mother of nationalities—surely these are grand titles, and these titles are awarded by modern historical science to the Church of the Popes, to the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. But are these the only claims she has to our regard? Was this the limit of her activity and influence? Did she do nothing to foster art and the sciences? Did she really leave the world she had conquered, in darkness and gloom? Were the Middle Ages really "dark" ages in the world of art and intellect? What says modern critical history?

To the art student of to-day it seems amazing that the Middle Ages should have been called "dark" in the world of art. The very stones cry out against it. Men must have seen darkness, because they shut their eyes. For ancient Egypt its wonderful architectural remains alone have justly vindicated a high place amongst the cultured nations of the world; for mediæval Europe its noble cathedrals and monasteries, not to speak of its civic architecture, utter a loud protest against being denounced as uncultured and barbarous. Stupendous, without doubt, were the temples of Memphis and Thebes, works unsurpassed in grandeur and majesty; surely, the great cathedrals of France, England, Belgium and Germany, as embodiments of the highest principles of taste and art, may well challenge comparison with the great works of the Thothmes and the Ramses. Beginning with the great palace structures of Charlemagne at Aachen, in the ninth century, decade after decade adds to the great masterpieces of architectural art, until, in the fifteenth century, all Christian Europe became a vast workshop, engaged in building countless structures, civil

¹ Arnold, l. c., p. 200.

² Arnold, l. c., p. 188.

³ Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 93.

and sacred. Great cities were few, but each town of moderate prominence prided itself on one or more churches, each fit to be the cathedral of a metropolis. If truthful proportion, correct decoration, fit co-ordination of parts, delicate tracery, beauty of design are marks of true art, and if true art is evidence of culture, then indeed the Middle Ages were not lacking in taste and culture. This art, too, it must be kept in mind, was an original art, born of the times and the people, conceived by the deep and true religious sentiments of the period; not the genial creations of some one or a dozen of master minds, but the creation of monk and mason. Seldom is a church or a monastery ascribed to this or that architect, to such an extent was it the common work of many men. And what does all this amazing activity in artistic building signify? Not that the ages were dark and barbarous, not that they possessed artistic taste in architecture only, or ordinary mechanical skill. To erect the mediæval minsters required profound knowledge of mechanics, of the strength of materials, of the strains to which they must be subjected. The monastery of Mont St. Michel to-day is a marvel of engineering skill. Mechanics and engineering imply mathematics. But this is not all. The sculptor, too, and the painter, were called in, and the artistic worker in metals,—in bronze, in iron, in silver, in gold,—the glass decorator and the ivory carver, the lace maker and the moulder in clay. Every art, high and humble, zealously offered its service to embellish the Lord's temple; every artist was inspired with great and noble ideas, when working for the Lord's house. In technical skill perhaps the modern painter or sculptor may surpass the men of those days; in originality and in the exalted idealism which transcends all technical skill and covers a multitude of technical defects, modern art has failed to maintain the lofty heights of the mediæval monastic artist.

In science the close, not to say slavish, adherence of the men of the Middle Ages to Aristotle, their "philosopher" *par excellence*, hindered any pronounced or striking progress. Besides, they felt it to be their first and paramount mission to preach the Gospel, and to establish on a scientific basis Christian morals and doctrine in a society partly decaying, partly immature and swayed by the titanic passions of victorious barbarians. Herculean indeed was their task, as any one must admit who will read the annals of the house of Clovis, in Gaul. Still the very fact that mediæval scholars accepted Aristotle as their guide in science bears witness to the soundness of their judgment. Equally creditable to their discernment was the choice of Ptolemy as "the geographer" of the age. The masses, it is true, knew little of Ptolemy and the rotundity of the earth, and many illustrious in other walks of learning

may have had very false notions on the shape of the earth. But this is equally true of the ancient Romans in the height of their prosperity. Tacitus, for instance, scholar and philosopher though he was, was wholly mistaken as to the form of the earth, as any one can see who reads his *Agricola*. But in many monasteries Ptolemy's works were known, and we owe their preservation to monks of the thirteenth century. In geography, moreover, the Middle Ages did not rest content with the knowledge they found in Ptolemy. Mr. Major, in his edition of the "*Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno*," for the Hakluyt Society, has made it more than probable that the Zeni discovered America in the fourteenth century. At all events Columbus himself was the offspring of the Middle Ages. In an edition of Pomponius Mela printed at Venice in 1482, the sources of the Nile are correctly traced to two lakes in equatorial Africa. Some unknown mediæval traveler had thus anticipated one of the most brilliant discoveries of the last few decades. The Franciscan monks Giovanni Piano de Carpine, sent by Innocent IV. after the Council of Lyons (1245), and William of Rubruck, sent by St. Louis, in 1253, to the Mongol Khan, penetrated deep into Central Asia to that potentate's capital, Korakorum, and published relations of their journeys that were widely copied and read. Friar William was the first to establish that the Caspian Sea is a lake, and not a bay of the Arctic Ocean, an error, however, which had not died out at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹ The fame of Marco Polo and that of Prince Henry the Navigator also show how much indebted the science of geography is to the Middle Ages. In theoretical science, the names of Copernicus, of Roger Bacon, of Nicolas of Cusa and John Regiomontanus redeem them from the reproach of having made no advance. The mariner's compass, which is first mentioned by Alexander Neckam about 1180, and is now believed by competent authority to have been independently invented in Europe,² is a practical achievement in science equal in importance to the greatest inventions of modern days, and pregnant with far reaching discoveries. To this we must add gunpowder and the printer's press—and we may well pass over in silence minor inventions. The compass, the press, and gunpowder—without these three gifts of the Middle Ages, what would become of modern history, commercial, political, scientific?

But it is time to pass to other subjects and to take up the much vexed question of scholasticism. "On the value of this (the scholastic) instruction," says Prof. Paulsen, "it is difficult to give an unprejudiced opinion. The Humanists never speak of it without

¹ Cf. Ruge, *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 40 ff.

² Ruge, *l. c.*, pp. 21, 22.

exhausting the vocabulary of scorn in which their Latin abounds; their judgment has for the most part been accepted to this day without examination as the testimony of history. We might as well accept without inquiry the judgment of romanticism on illuminism, of the social democracy on the society of to-day as authentic information on the value of these things. It is the fate of every historical development to be put aside with hate and scorn by the next following historical development. . . . He who begins to go over these investigations (the scholastic), so strange to us and so impenetrable, is easily discouraged and led to think that they cannot make him wiser. But is this the case with mediæval philosophy only? Do not most of those who take up Hegel read him with similar feelings and lay him aside again? . . . Do even the Humanists—an Erasmus, an Eobanus, who were sure they wrote for eternity—fare any better?"¹ For most non-Catholics, of course, the works of St. Thomas, of Peter Lombard, of St. Anselm, etc., appear a strange new world of thought; their language seems fantastic, if not barbarous, their teaching is in many respects the contrary of all they have been taught, their concise, pregnant manner of reasoning is the very opposite of the endless entanglements of many a German philosophical oracle. So Prof. Paulsen has made great progress when he casts aside the traditional scornful condemnation and ranks the scholastics as thinkers with a thinker but recently so respected as Hegel. To their Latin he has done full justice. "If to write Latin in a barbarous way means to write it differently from the Romans of Cicero's day, then mediæval Latin undoubtedly was barbarous, almost as barbarous as German and French; but if by writing in a barbarous way we do not understand this accidental variation, but take it to mean writing in a manner unsuitable to the subject matter, writing without feeling for the genius of the language, using senseless and unfitting phrases gotten from all sources, in that case the reproach of using a barbarous language might oftener be justly made against the humanists than against the mediæval philosophers and theologians. To the scientific researches of the latter, their language is, perhaps, no less suitable and necessary than Aristotle's style is to his philosophy. All the newly coined abstract terms, *substantia*, *essentia*, *existentia*, *quantitas*, *qualitas*, *identitas*, *quidditas*, *hæcceitas*, that are wont to be produced to wondering and gaping readers by humanistic babblers as monstrous portents, were clearly necessary to their investigations. Most of them were formed after Aristotle's technical terms as models, and that they are neither useless nor senseless creations is best shown by the fact, that in spite of the efforts of the humanists they live to the present day; for they

¹ Prof. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten*, p. 20.

have passed into modern languages either bodily or in translations."¹ "The reproach so often repeated by humanists, ancient and modern, that Cicero could not have understood the Latin of the Middle Ages, those who used it would have pronounced absurd. They did not speak this language to Cicero, but to men that understood it, which was all they intended; moreover, Cicero's poverty-stricken language did not meet their requirements."

Here, perhaps, it is not out of place to say a few words about mediæval grammarians. "Fr. Haase," says Paulsen, "in his monograph *De Medii Aevi Studiis Philologicis*, finds the mediæval grammarians full of mistakes and errors in matters depending on historical research, *i. e.*, in the etymology and the vocabulary; but where there is question of philosophical acumen, they display the whole vigor of their intellect and deserve our admiration. This is especially the case in syntax. This was built up for the most part independently by the mediæval grammarians, Ebrard Bethunensis in his book entitled *Græcismus* (written in 1124), and Alexander; and they were so successful that the syntax of to-day, though we are ignorant of the fact, is based on their labors."²

But to return to Scholasticism as an embodiment of thought. A writer in the *Saturday Review*,³ criticising F. Harper's "Metaphysics of the Schools," tells us,—in part repeating Prof. Pearson and Prof. Paulsen,—that "on the whole he (F. Harper) has not exaggerated the ignorant contempt and the contempt sometimes not wholly ignorant, and, therefore, less excusable, with which one of the *most active and fertile periods of human thought* has been treated."⁴ "Contrary to the common opinion," he says further on, "the schoolmen by no means reject the criteria furnished by common sense, but, on the contrary, give them a position from which they are entirely excluded in many very modern philosophies." He approves of F. Harper's "recommendation of such studies as he (F. Harper) is handling," as a remedy for the inexactness of thought and expression in this age. . . . It is not improbable that the distaste to the schoolmen has been kept up not a little owing to this very fact (*i. e.*, the general inexactness of thought and expression now prevailing) of which it is also in a way the cause."

The value of mediæval philosophy is also recognized with honorable fairness by the great German jurist, Prof. Rudolph Ihering. In the second edition of the second volume of his great work, "Der Zweck im Recht," he refers to a criticism on his work by a Catholic priest, W. Hohoff, chaplain at Hüffe. "This gentleman," says Ihering, "proves for me by citations

¹ Paulsen, l. c., p. 27.

² September 27, 1884.

³ Paulsen, l. c., p. 26.

⁴ The italics are ours.

from Thomas of Aquin, that this great mind had with entire correctness recognized the realistico-practical and social as well as the historical element in morals. The charge of ignorance, shown by this fact, which he lodges against me, I cannot deny; but with far more force than myself does this charge touch modern philosophers and theologians, who have failed to make use of the grand ideas of this man. Amazed, I ask, how was it possible that such truths, once they had been taught, could have been wholly forgotten by our Protestant science? What errors it might have saved itself had it taken them to heart! For my part, I should, perhaps, not have written my book, had I known them, for the fundamental ideas with which I was concerned are found laid down in that powerful thinker with perfect clearness and in most pregnant language."¹

Protestant science might find many more deep and fruitful thoughts in every department of philosophy and theology, should it consult St. Thomas and the great mediæval schoolmen in the spirit of Prof. Ihering. All that is needed is research,—honest, unprejudiced research,—and enlightened, impartial criticism.

But we must hurry on from the schoolmen to the preachers of the Middle Ages. "Milman," says a writer in the *Saturday Review*,² asserts "that the sacerdotal Christianity of the Middle Ages disdained and almost dropped preaching; 'the only teaching of the people was the ritual.' And he adds, 'that preaching thus ignored by the church became the mark and strength of all the sects and all the heresiarchs.' There is a certain plausibility in this statement, but it has to be balanced by the important counter-statement of the rise and enormous influence of the two great preaching orders of Dominicans and Franciscans in the thirteenth century. . . . Charlemagne urged on his bishops the importance of preaching, probably acting by the advice of his chief religious counsellor, Alcuin, who observes in a letter to Theodulph, Archbishop of Orleans, that as the royal crown is adorned with gems, faithful preaching ought to be the ornament of the archiepiscopal pallium. In another letter addressed to the people of Canterbury, he urges them to secure the services of many preachers, 'lest the fountains of truth be dried up among you.' Elsewhere he refers to a custom, prevalent at the time, of reading homilies of the Fathers in church on Sundays and festivals; contemporary synods and bishops also enjoined the duty of preaching on the clergy with a persistency, which shows that it was already beginning to be neglected." Fair as these remarks are in the main, the last few words are apt to mislead. Preaching was by no means wholly neglected after Char-

¹ Von Ihering, *Der Zweck im Recht*, vol. ii., p. 161, 2d ed.

² *Saturday Review*, June 12, 1886.

lemagne. Speaking of the beginning of French literature, Saintsbury informs us that "by the eleventh century it may be taken as certain that not merely were laws, charters, and other formal documents written in French, not merely were *sermons constantly composed and preached* in that tongue, but also works of definite literature were produced in it."¹ Of St. Bernard we possess forty-four sermons, though whether he wrote them originally in French or in Latin is unknown. Much later, in the fifteenth century, the great Strasburg preacher, Geiler von Kaisersberg, wrote most of his sermons in Latin, though he preached them in German. At all events, "Maurice de Sully, who presided over the see of Paris from 1160 to 1195, has left a considerable number of sermons which exist in manuscripts of very different dialects. . . . In the following century the number of preachers whose vernacular work has been preserved is very large; the increase being beyond all doubt partially due to the foundation of the two great preaching orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The existing literature of this class, dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and the early fifteenth centuries, is enormous."² Some of the oldest English prose writings that have come down to us are homilies or sermons. A German Protestant, R. Cruel, in his "History of German Preaching in the Middle Ages," has proved at length that not only in the fifteenth century, but during the Middle Ages in general, more preaching was done in Germany than at present, and that no German preacher ever preached in Latin to a lay congregation of his countrymen.³

In no respect did the Church of the Middle Ages develop a nobler and grander activity than in her deeds of charity. Charity, of course, is the keystone of Christianity, and charity without works is a hollow sound. Hence, even during the ages of persecution, the refuge for strangers (*xenodochium*) had sprung into existence among the early Christians. After Constantine's conversion one of his first laws provided for the care of infants, and more than one inscription in the Catacombs bears witness to the great number of foundlings supported by Christian charity. In the fourth century a noble Christian lady, Fabiola, founded the first hospital in Rome. At Cæsarea, St. Basil established another, as well as an asylum for lepers. To the Church the weak and the sick were ever objects of motherly solicitude. But never, perhaps, in her history did she unfold this characteristic more resplendently than during the Middle Ages. Catholic Europe was covered with monasteries. "Every monastery," says a writer in the *Saturday*

¹ G. Saintsbury, *History of French Literature*, p. 7.

² Saintsbury, *l. c.*, p. 141.

³ *Geschichtslügen*, p. 387.

Review,¹ "as a rule had its infirmary not only for its own members, but for invalids and convalescents generally, and the nursing of the weak, the blind and the aged. The infirmaries are the patterns of modern hospitals." Founders of hospitals, the same writer informs us, were generally unknown, because such foundations were so common and connected with the very essence of Christianity. "We may be justified in recalling the fact," says the celebrated Prof. Virchow, "that the almost unbounded power of the Church in the Middle Ages was founded not only on the strength and unity of faith and the unimpeachable sanctity of her traditions, but essentially on the active and careful helpfulness with which the Church in every sphere of science and work was the active centre of organized educated society. Innocent III. undertook the organization of hospitals in this magnanimous spirit. . . . In Rome the mother house of all these hospitals still exists, the venerable hospital of *San Spirito in Sassia*. Sprung from a house for pilgrims, founded in 727 by the Anglo-Saxon king Ina, this house, originally called the 'School of Saxons' (*Schola Saxorum*), had grown in the course of time. When Innocent III., in 1204, began to carry out his idea of a hospital organization to be extended throughout Christendom, he could go to this institution as a ready-made existing foundation. From Montpellier he called Guy, the founder of the order of the Holy Ghost, placed him at the head of the whole organization, and with his aid began immediately to found larger inns (*Binnengasthaeuser*) in all countries. In Germany the work proceeded with such rapidity that in the course of a few decades almost every larger and many smaller cities had their Holy Ghost Hospital, often connected with a church of the Holy Ghost, the members of the order always keeping up their connection with Rome. From this centre a fixed set of rules passed to the more recent institutions, which were no longer *inns*, but real hospitals for the diseased and weak."² With the order of the Holy Ghost the order of St. Lazarus vied in charity. Its hospitals, called *Lazarettoes*, were designed for the care of lepers. The grand-mastership of this order became hereditary in the house of Savoy. To-day, however, when King Humbert confers the order of St. Lazarus, neither the grand master nor the new knight gives much thought to the poor lepers, nor, in fact, to the sick and wretched. Besides the order of St. Lazarus the Knights Templars and Hospitalers originally devoted themselves to the care of the sick in Palestine. They, too, gradually drifted away from their primary purpose, and became the bulwarks of Christendom against the Mussulman. But the grand foundation of Innocent III. was

¹ Sat. Review, Sept. 27th, 1885.

² Prof. Virchow, *Hospitler and Lazarette*, pp. 15-16.

cherished and fostered by Popes and kings and free cities until the fatal schism of the sixteenth century. Then with the other monks the brothers of the Holy Ghost were turned out of their homes, and the sick and the stricken given over to the tender mercies of the world. "In Germany," says Virchow, "as the power of the princes grew stronger and the bureaucracy developed more freely, the care of the new hospital fell to the State more and more. It has required a strong moral movement and hard pressure from without to revive the activity of individuals and communities in this direction. Here precisely is the point where our generation must learn from the much abused Middle Ages."¹

Wonderful, in truth, was the power for good exerted during the Middle Ages by Popes and bishops and monks, in short, by the Church. "In the Church," says Wattenbach, "all those took refuge that still had a feeling and inclination for literary culture, which no more found a home in the mad struggles of the world. This we recognize in the lives of Cassiodorus, Jordanis, Apollinaris Sidonius; and Venantius Fortunatus, too, in advanced old age became Bishop of Poitiers, where he died at the beginning of the seventh century. The essentially lifeless and artificial literature of the grammarians died with its last representatives that the Franks had still found, and henceforth only the Church preserved the germs of intellectual life, which she naturally applied to her own service."² "At the beginning of the Middle Ages, as we have seen, the men who were distinguished by literary culture, even if they did not owe it to the Church, yet at last turned to her, and the same happened in Charlemagne's time. The Frankish knight disdained all learning, and Charles's efforts in this direction remained without lasting success. Soon the Church was again the sole protectress of the pencil and the pen."³ And so she remained in most respects during the greater part of the Middle Ages. Her priests and monks copied not only the Bible and the Fathers, but also the Latin classics; they were the chroniclers and historians of those days, the mathematicians, musicians and architects; they were the philosophers and grammarians; they were the farmers and the craftsmen. "It is impossible," says Dean Maitland, "to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the monastic orders, and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped—as a quiet

¹ Virchow, *Hospitler and Lazarette*, p. 16.

² Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 69.

³ Wattenbach, *l. c.*, p. 142.

and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow—as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills and barren downs and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train—as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs of the learning that was to be—as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise and every hand that could execute—as the nucleus of the city which in after-days of pride should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral.”¹ Men have too long looked at what the monks did not do for art and science and Church and State, and closed their eyes to what they did do. They have demanded from them the impossible. They have expected them to produce the fruit before they sowed the seed. They have riveted their eyes on their faults, and forgotten that the monks were human; they have wilfully or in prejudice exaggerated their wrong-doing. They have found instances of ignorance and superstition in monasteries, and forthwith turned all monasteries into sinks of ignorance and superstition. Some monks, they learned from their indignant fellows, were lazy and given to vice, and immediately all monasteries were denounced as hot-beds of idleness and vice. But is it likely that so bad a tree should produce such good fruit? “It has been thought,” says Prof. Brewer, “that the success of the Reformation was mainly due to the purity of the morals it inculcated, or rather to the general corruption of all classes of the clergy in particular in the fifteenth century. The declamations of moralists and theologians, the invectives of satirists, even the evidence of criminal courts on such a subject as this, whether in the sixteenth or the nineteenth century, are too partial to be decisive. Neither authentic documents, nor the literature and character of the times, nor, if national ethics is essentially connected with national art, its artistic tendencies, warrant us in believing that the era preceding the Reformation was more corrupt than that which succeeded it. It is impossible that the clergy should have been universally immoral and the laity have remained sound, temperate and loyal; but if these general arguments are not sufficient, I refer my readers to a very curious document dated the 8th of July, 1519, when a search was instituted by different commissioners on Sunday night in London and its suburbs for all suspected and disorderly persons. I fear no parish in London nor any town in the United Kingdom of the

¹ S. R. Maitland—*The Dark Ages*, p. iv. This book, the work of a fair man, who had deeply studied mediæval times, is full of interesting and important matter to the student of the Middle Ages.

same amount of population would at this day pass a similar ordeal with equal credit."¹ Prof. Brewer's argument may be fairly applied to earlier periods of the Middle Ages, and we shall not go far astray when we assume that whilst, no doubt, abuses, in some cases gross abuses, existed in individual monasteries, yet most monasteries, in the words of Dean Maitland, were truly "quiet and religious refuges for helpless infancy and old age, shelters of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and desolate widow, repositories of learning, nurseries of art and science."

Thus has the modern historical student, by his researches and his sifting of evidence, redeemed the mediæval Church and her servants from many a reproach; thus has he awarded her many a wreath of praise, of which she may well be proud. We have, however, by no means exhausted the list of services which Church and Pope and monk rendered to mediæval Europe. There are the universities which she founded and fostered, and in which was laid the groundwork of the great modern edifice of science. There is music, which mediæval monks developed and delivered over to modern times an all but perfect structure, for they invented or improved musical notation (Guido d'Arezzo); they built great organs, in many respects unexcelled even now; they studied and penetrated deeply into harmony, a side of the art perhaps wholly unknown to the ancients; they invented measured music, and systematized it (Franco of Cologne, 1247); they invented and perfected many musical instruments. There is classical learning, which monks, amidst thousandfold difficulties, saved from perishing, and in which even nuns at times reached such perfection that a Roswitha of Gandersheim not only read Terence, but composed creditable comedies in imitation of that master of elegant conversational Latin. There is agriculture, which monks first taught the barbarians, and which they encouraged from the days of St. Boniface to the days of Luther. But to dwell upon these subjects and exploit these mines of monkish merit would demand volumes.

There is still one element in the culture of the Middle Ages, however, to which we must draw attention. We have left it to the last because, though created, like other branches of mediæval learning, by monks and priests, it was afterwards taken up, nursed and perfected by laymen. We mean the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, especially their poetry. Since the end of the last century untold labor has been devoted to bring to light and to appreciate the mediæval poetic literature of France and Germany. Unlooked-for success has crowned the labors of men like Fauriel, Francisque Michel, Paulin and Gaston Paris, Meyer, and others,

¹ Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 600.

in France, and the impulse given to the study of German mediæval poetry by Wieland, the Schlegels, Brentano, Görres, and the Grimms, has borne equally noble fruit. Buried in university, court, and convent libraries, covered with the dust of centuries, were found treasures of literature, now pronounced by competent scholars to be, in some respects, equal to the great classic masterpieces. Of these, the oldest is the German poetic Gospel harmony, called by its first editor, Professor Schmeller, of Munich, "*Heliand*" (the Saviour). It was written about 830 A. D., and published just a thousand years later. "This poem," says Vilmar, "composed by a Saxon, or, perhaps, in old-epic fashion, by several authors—and several traces point to this conclusion—relates the life of Jesus Christ according to the combined reports of the four Gospels, and is, by far, the most excellent, perfect, and sublime Christian poem of all nations and all times; in truth, apart from its Christian subject, it is in general one of the most glorious works of poetry that human genius has created; and in some parts, descriptions, and features, it may safely challenge comparison with the Homeric songs. It is the only true Christian epic."¹ About thirty years after the *Heliand* another poetic Gospel harmony was written, this time in Alsace. Its author was a Benedictine monk, Ottfried, of Weissenburg. Far inferior as a poem to the *Heliand*, it has decided claims to our interest and attention. "The poem is invaluable as a sample of old High German, and, if possible, even more valuable on account of the uncommon care and precision with which the metres have been treated, so that, if our German prosody is to be scientific, we can to this day gather its fundamental rules only from this work of Ottfried. Alliteration Ottfried replaces by the musical principle which has remained dominant since—rhyme. His work is the first written in rhyme, and at the same time the standard for all succeeding centuries."² About 1300 A. D., the great epic the "*Lay of the Nibelungs*" was combined into one poem; its component songs, detected with wonderful skill by Karl Lachmann, had been sung probably for centuries before by travelling bards and rhapsodists. To emphasize its merits is useless; they are acknowledged by all. It seems strange that this poem, "the chief gem in the poetic crown of Germany," should have been forgotten. should have been unknown for ages; stranger still that, when at last published by a Swiss pedagogue, named Müller, the great Frederick of Prussia, poet and politician and warrior, to reward him for his work, wrote: "You think entirely too well of these things. In my opinion, they are not worth a shot of powder. I should not tolerate them in my library, but should throw them

¹ Vilmar, *Geschichte der Deutschen National Literatur*, fr. 29.

² Vilmar, l. c., 31.

out." Frederick was a better judge of powder than of poems; still, he was a fair representative of eighteenth-century enlightenment, and gives us a clue why these men could not appreciate the Middle Ages.

Epics of the Nibelungen class, there were many; at least a dozen or fifteen have come down to us, whole or in part; the Lamentation of the Nibelungs, the Song of Hildebrand, Sigfrid, King Laurin, the Battle of Ravenna (*Raben Schlacht*), Rosegarden, King Rother, and King Otnit, may be mentioned as some of these poems. But, next to the Song of the Nibelungs for merit, a poem of singular beauty and attractiveness, portraying "the strict fidelity, suffering humility, and ever-dignified nobility of a German woman," comes Gudrun, a German Odyssey, next to the Nibelungen Iliad. Besides these poems, celebrating the heroes of the great invasion of the Roman Empire, we have a cycle of epics dealing with the exploits of Charlemagne and his paladins; another singing of King Arthur and his knights; and the Legend of the Holy Land, as well as romantic tales of Alexander and Æneas. The finest of these epics is the "Parzival" of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the greatest German poet of his age, the friend of Hermann of Thüringen, St. Elizabeth's father-in-law. At Hermann's court, also, we find other distinguished votaries of the epic muse, like Hartmann von der Aue, as well as the greatest of the minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide. Much of their poetry has been translated into modern German, and its high excellence has been most freely recognized. And yet these men lived and sang in the "dark" ages, at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.

We pass from Germany to France. Hardly had the old rustic Roman, transformed by the German influence of the Franks, become French, when we find it used for literary purposes. The tenth century furnishes us the Song of St. Eulalie, a life of St. Leger, and a poem on the Passion. Then follow the *Chansons de Gestes*, heroic poems singing of the noble deeds of the legendary or historic families of France. Even the eleventh century furnishes us one example of these epics, the *Chanson de Roland*, edited for the first time by M. Michel, in 1837. It treats of an episode of the great Charles's wars with the Saracens, and is the oldest as well as the most interesting of the poems dealing with that subject. *Amis et Amiles*, a *chanson* of 3500 lines, written in the twelfth century, was one of the most popular mediæval poems, though its interest is mainly domestic. The wealth of this poetry revealed by modern research is amazing. Every hero had his Homer in those days, it would seem. Roland, Guillaume d'Orange, Huon de Bordeaux, Renant de Montauban, and dozens of others, found

trouvères to write and *jongleurs* to recite their glories. And these numerous works are far from being without merit. "Their versification is pleasing to the ear," says Mr. Saintsbury, "and their language, considering its age, is of surprising strength, expressiveness, and even wealth." "It is neither poor in vocabulary nor lacking in harmony of sound. It is, indeed, more sonorous and stately than the classical French language was from the seventeenth century to the days of Victor Hugo."¹

The *Chansons de Gestes* were followed very soon by the Romances of King Arthur and of Alexander the Great, many of which were subsequently versified. How well they lend themselves to poetic treatment was shown not only by the German poets of the thirteenth century, but also in our own day by Lord Tennyson. The old French romances rank high as works of literature. "The peculiarity of what may be called their atmosphere is marked. An elaborate and romantic system of mystical religious sentiment, finding vent in imaginative and allegorical narrative, a remarkable refinement of manners, and a combination of delight in battle and devotion to ladies, distinguish them. This is, in short, the romantic spirit, or, as it is sometimes called, the spirit of chivalry; and it cannot be too positively asserted that the Arthurian romances communicate it to literature for the first time, and that nothing like it is found in the classics."² To the *chansons* and romances must be added the *fabliau*, a species of poem partaking of the ballad and the Æsopic fable. We must also mention the lyric poetry, both of the Provençal troubadours and the Northern French *trouvères*. Year after year scholars discover and print more of those ancient literary treasures, and year after year they accumulate more proof that the Middle Ages from the tenth to the fifteenth century were far from being a barbarous and barren age in literature.

We see the Middle Ages had truly a culture. Of course that culture was very different from ours. Was it, therefore, in every respect inferior to modern culture? Let us hear the opinion of a scholar well acquainted with both, brought up wholly under modern influences, so to say, steeped in them, a non-Catholic, but a fair and open-minded critic, Prof. Paulsen:

"Between the culture of the Middle Ages and modern culture there is an important difference: it is that the former was what the latter is not—popular; . . . it was the property of the whole people: modern culture, on the contrary, belongs to the learned. In the Middle Ages all had one language, one poetry, one faith, one Church, one art; since the fifteenth century the body of the people has been split into two classes, the learned and the un-

¹ Saintsbury, *Hist. of French Lit.*, pp. 23, 24.

² Saintsbury, *l. c.*, p. 38.

learned, or, in modern parlance, the cultured and the uncultured, who live side by side, but not with one another; nor do they live the same life. . . . Since the end of the Middle Ages unity of language has perished from the midst of the people. The learned, *i.e.*, the bearers of culture, since that time spoke a language different from that of the uneducated masses. True, in the Middle Ages, too, the language of learning, and in part of public life, was a foreign language. But mediæval Latin was not the language of a foreign people; it grew upon the soil, and drew its life from the life of the age; it did not change the turn of mind of those who used it. It was not the reason for pride and display, but a necessary instrument for international and learned intercourse. Those who spoke it did not become strangers to the life of the masses. The clerics, who knew and used it, held the same views of life and the world as the people in general. . . . But at the end of the sixteenth century no one, unless he was forced to speak in German on the commonest matters of every day life, could express his thoughts without borrowing from the Latin. Though perhaps the introduction of some Latin purple patches was due to the desire of showing that the writer did not belong to the rabble, yet not unfrequently he was led to use the Latin because it was handy, whilst he was at a loss for the proper German expression. The contempt for the German language, and its neglect during the sixteenth century in consequence of the schools being carried on in Latin, made it possible for the French language to take possession of the upper classes. For a time it seemed as if the German tongue had died out as a vehicle of culture. When at last it began to be revived for literary uses its connection with the living, spoken language had been almost snapped. Luckily Luther's translation of the Bible had saved a great part of the mediæval German language for better times. . . . Can we close our eyes to the fact that our German literature, and especially the so-called classical German literature, is, to a great extent, strange to the life of the people, and that it will remain so? that the plastic arts among us are exotics, which have never struck root among the people, and which are kept alive by arbitrary means and by imitation? and that our law and political science are learned creations, and not the outcome of the nation's life? nay, that even religion and religious life among us have an artificial, half political, half erudite, character? Can we deny that in this respect the Middle Ages were more blessed? Then the life of the whole people was based on one general view of the world and of life: the same ideals of heroism and sanctity filled the souls of all: art spoke a language understood by all, for it gave form and reality to the ideals that lived in their hearts, and the Church and her sacred ceremonies co-ordi-

nated the life of all with the same world of ideas. With the Renaissance began the great schism."¹

Such is Prof. Paulsen's view of mediæval and modern culture. But Paulsen is far from standing alone; his views, as he remarks himself, are the views of Wackernagel and Pfeiffer, learned Germanists and profound scholars. They, if any, had penetrated deeply into German mediæval literature and the life of the German people in those times. They plodded, they studied, they searched, they sifted, and they saw—what? The frightful images of barbarism, ignorance, superstition, and darkness? the caricature of learning and fainting shadow of national life? No. They saw what Paulsen saw. They saw that most of the fearful pictures of the dark ignorance of the Middle Ages, formerly accepted as correct, were mirages; they saw that many of the current descriptions were myths.

THE LONDON POOR.

TOWN poverty and country poverty are different. Poverty in the country means simplicity—"a dinner of herbs with contentment";—but poverty in towns means starvation, *plus* dirt, degradation and disease. London being perhaps the largest town,—though it is but a combination of small towns,—the contrast between its spirit and the spirit of the country is more pronounced than is the same contrast in other kingdoms. Rural France is in touch with brilliant Paris, so far as borrowed ideas can be assimilated; rural Italy is, or was, in touch with Papal Rome, so far as ordinary Catholic sentiments can be diffused; but between London and the English villages there is absolutely nothing in common, unless it be the "doing nothing" on a Sunday. London life, among the poor, is one unceasing bitter struggle, unrelieved by any sunshine, save that of children's smiles, yet with a constant, painful yearning for better days.

We speak of course of the poorest class of Londoners; not of the average successful workman or artisan, but of the thousands whose life-long element is want. That word, want, does not mean only destitution, it means the craving for most of the necessities of life. Such craving is the normal mood of scores of thousands.

¹ Paulsen, l. c., pp. 291-293.

It is a craving which robs the soul of half its peace, as well as robs the home of half its rights. It is a disgrace, a burning shame, to wealthy England. Scores of good men have tried to get to the bottom of it; to suggest this remedy or that remedy for the great want; but there it stands, worse and worse every year, and with no apparent prospect of elimination. Still, terrible as it is, it has its beauties; there are features in it which are captivating, even fascinating,—especially its heroic patience and charity. Let us briefly trace its story, its lessons.

The commercial condition of England twenty years ago had all the seeming of an enduring prosperity. The enormous increase of manufactories attracted the country-folks to London; and, for a while, all went well with the whole of the working classes; short hours, generous pay, cheap commodities, making their lives at once easy and profitable. Then came the reaction. The lean kine followed close on the fat kine. There has been a fifteen years' spell of depression. And the reasons are easy to be given. The remedies may be purely theoretical, but the causes are as clear as is the sun. Political economy, in the simple groove of depression, is not a science that need puzzle any Englishman. In the groove of the depression of the capitalists there may be some difficulty in working out the problem; but as to all kinds of manual labor, the causes of the depression are as obvious as they are difficult of removal. It is the "removal" which baffles the wise heads. Thus, to tell us that the invention of machinery—of labor-saving contrivances in most of the trades—has lessened the demand for manual labor to the extent of about seventy per cent., is to tell us only that thirty "hands" are now wanted where a hundred hands used formerly to be wanted; but it is *not* to tell us how the remaining seventy hands are to live, either in their old lines or in new lines. So again, to affirm that high wages in machine-factories have been proved to mean a low cost of production, while low wages in hand-industries have meant a high cost, is to affirm what we must readily admit; but it offers no consolation to the "depressed." In the same way, the new system of combinations has been much vaunted as beneficial to the public; but it is not beneficial to the "depressed"; it is, on the contrary, an aggravation. Again, as to means of transit, we have no need to have it proved to us that steam can do quickly and cheaply what the slow method did slowly and expensively; but this is chiefly a benefit to the traders—it lessens the chances of work for the workers. Finally, as to agriculture (for mark that one reason why the "smock-frocks" have rushed up to the metropolis is that agriculture, like manufacture, is depressed); it was once a purely domestic occupation, in which machinery was unknown for thou-

sands of years—and when known was at first cordially detested: it is now an open trade, full of mechanical rivalry, and driving the yokel and the bucolic to their despair.

Let us not linger too long on such subjects (political economy is dry work), yet we must add that quality has now quite ousted quantity as the first desideratum in merchandise; the effect of the invention period being to make the demand on intelligence much greater than the demand on physical force. Brains are now wanted, not bodies. The “unemployed” consist chiefly of the unskilled. Invention necessarily displaces unskilled labor. Brute force is of no use in mental tactics. Whereas, formerly the strong arm was everything, now the faculty, the intuition, are supreme. Moreover the newest inventions are always changing. Each invention is almost sure to be improved upon. So that the skilled workman (and what is to become of the unskilled?) must be always equal to the emergency of freshness, and this freshness may come upon him from day to day. The old-fashioned factory-hand is out of date. As to children, they are scarcely wanted in factories. Inventions have made children “in the way.” Parents cannot “put them out” to science-work. Nor can you educate the old fashioned weaver to the new style, nor the old fashioned farm-hand to machinery, without subjecting him to some discipline of education, such as will quicken him and interest him at the same time; and until this is done he is valueless. Thus the result of the invention period is that machine workmen are well paid, but manual workmen are paid worse than ever. It is now the struggle between fitness and unfitness. And when will unfitness become fitness? Not until—and this is waiting for a distant date—trained intelligence shall take the place of the untrained, and technical education shall become general. “The million” must be educated in a technique for which they have no natural aptitude, nor (perhaps) brains. Truly a big, national aspiration! Since quality must always be aristocratic,—for it is the product of the few, not of the many,—how are we to make the “masses” rich in quality, when even the trained “classes” are not so? Thus, as we said at the beginning, we see the *causes* why the poor are so poor, but the *remedies* remain purely theoretical.

To touch briefly on a few collateral “causes”; causes of the superlative poverty of the extreme class: the recent enquiry before Lord Dunraven’s Committee has made clear these three terrible wrongs: (1.) that the fashionable tradesmen of the West End get their work done by sub-contract, that is, by “sweating” their work people; (2.) that they pretend to employ the best workmen at good wages, whereas they employ the poorest class at the worst wages (of course this is not true of all proprietors; it

has only been proved against some of them); (3.) that the principal "sweaters" are low-class Jews, who, themselves being the slaves of the high class proprietors at the West End, grind their working slaves down to the last farthing. Now here is the explanation of at least one groove of suffering, among the teeming, starving masses of the metropolis. Further, an alien and a physically-enduring population of Germans, Poles, Russians and other foreigners take the bread out of the mouths of the London poor (eighty-three per cent. of the tailors in one parish are authoritatively stated to be foreigners); a competition which obliges women to "work fifteen hours a day on tea and dry bread, for a wage that will not even purchase those luxuries"; thus necessitating a degree of "temperance" which, as one of the witnesses has observed, "is more injurious to health than even intemperance." Meanwhile we are informed that "the number of London work people, even without reckoning the crowds of foreign immigrants, increases by tens of thousands every year."

What may be called the social causes of poverty are also increasing yearly in the metropolis. "Society" must be held responsible for a good deal. The gravitation of the rich classes to one another, and the gravitation of the poor classes to one another, are equally produced by interest and by pride. Interest makes it desirable for the house-builders to keep neighborhoods distinctive as to caste, well knowing that moneyed people will not live among poor people, and that the "genteel tradesman" prefers a "middle class neighborhood." The old suburbs of London, forty years ago, used to be dotted with beautiful houses and large gardens; but now all these beautiful houses have been pulled down, so that a dead level of mediocrity may be established. Well-off people will not live in "respectable" neighborhoods where paltry gentility offends the eye with its demureness, "a good address" being now more thought of than a good house, and a West End street being much preferred to an East End mansion. Conventionalism lifts the hem of its garment, not only from poor districts but from unfashionable ones, so that we may walk through a dozen "merely respectable" neighborhoods without seeing one carriage from the West End. Now how does all this localizing of classes affect what are called the London poor? First there is the complete isolation, physical and mental isolation, of that one class which all the other classes shun. So intense is the realization of this truth by the class which is shunned by all other classes that they instinctively shun the classes that shun them. They get away from them as far as they can. They gravitate, as a rule, to the far East, because there they can live solely among their equals, and not be conscious of being ostracised from society.

The West Enders, on their part, reciprocate the avoidance, and are serenely unconscious of the East Enders. Indeed a dweller in May Fair is no more conscious of the East Enders than he is conscious of the dwellers in Mesopotamia, or of the possible aborigines of the moon. And the middle classes take their cue from the upper classes. *They* too regard the class called the London poor very much as they regard the vermin in their dust-bins, and would be disposed to "destroy" both by a not dissimilar insect powder, should both make themselves painfully present. Such a remark of course applies only to "classes"; we shall have noble truths to tell presently of individuals; yet the fact remains horribly undeniable that there is *no* sympathy between any of the London classes, and worse than no sympathy towards "the poor." Here, however, we reach a point in our subject, which may be best treated by "going among the poor."

II.

Let us first take the dark side, then the bright side.

Sunday is a good day for studying poverty in its mental or cogitative attitudes. It is on Sundays the poor go to their clubs, on Sundays they attend public meetings, on Sundays they listen to infidel lectures. (We are speaking now only of the dark side.) Sunday is largely devoted by the working classes to the propagation of anti-Christian principles, to Socialistic and Communistic disquisitions, to quasi-political and also dramatic entertainments. On one Sunday, a few months ago, twenty-one dramatic performances were given in various districts of the metropolis. On the same Sunday there were twenty-five secular concerts, and seventeen other meetings for amusement. The clubs, for the discussion of all kinds of subjects, have their weekly gatherings on the Sunday. Such subjects as "The Christ of Mythology," "Why Christianity Demoralizes Society," with kindred or congenial blasphemies, are boldly advertised every Saturday and Sunday morning. Politics are of course much affected; such captivating headings being selected as appeal most to poverty or bad temper: "Monarchy a fraud upon the people;" "Royal paupers;" "Criminal classes high and low;" or "Signals of the coming Revolution." It is important to bear in mind that the persons who give these lectures are not adventurers, but gentlemen of education. The arguments are both critical and persuasive. The rooms for such gatherings are the largest that can be had, and they are invariably crowded to excess. Meanwhile out of doors the same sort of propagandism goes on in the streets and in the parks. (There are two or three verdant spaces in the East End.) The most advanced views are loudly preached in the thoroughfares, the police appearing listless or

bored. Sympathy with the best causes is often expressed by the speeches, but that sympathy is a poor apology for such injuriousness. The combination of irreverence with manly protest, of downright blasphemy with the ridicule of hypocrisy, or of rabid radicalism with really generous, liberal politics, makes such speechifying a most corrupting education. And here it may be noted, as an important modern fact, that what *used* to be the unmixed rowdy or vulgar class is now largely leavened by an intelligent class; at least one-half of the London poor being in earnest, as busy-minded polemics or partisans. No longer simply grumbling, they are didactic. They are working up, intellectually, for revolution. They are reading, studying, debating, and even organizing, and getting into a sort of drill habits for campaigning. When their day comes they will be dangerous.

They will be the more dangerous because they have had so much experience of the penalties and hazards of campaigning. Trafalgar Square has been a drill ground for recruits. Those recruits have now become riot soldiers. We shall get to understand the London poor all the better (we are speaking only, be it remembered, of "the dark side") by a little observation of the methods, tactics, or discipline of what may be called the "London poor in action." Now, first, it is perfectly certain that all meetings—and therefore riots—are fathered by the despair of the London poor of getting their miseries attended to by the rich. This despair forces even the amiable and the long suffering to become social firebrands—that is, rioters. The London poor are sternly lectured by the journalists for the immorality of meeting in their thousands, making speeches, selecting deputies, parading the streets; and the London poor reply, "As we can only force you to listen to us by doing the very things you tell us not to do, and as we *have* been successful in gaining your attention by methods which you assure us are insufficient, we regard your stately sermons as hypocritical rubbish, and we intend to go on doing what we have begun to do." In other words, the London poor know—as well as Irishmen know—that if they want to 'get justice, out of the British Government, their only way is to agitate till they get it. The London poor know—as well as Irishmen know—that selfishness and indifference, intrigue or party passion, are the political and social levers of the powerful classes; and that all the cant about philanthropy is mere posing. On a Sunday afternoon of last October, a small detachment of "the unemployed" marched in procession to Westminster Abbey, to listen to a sermon on charity. As the preacher was descanting on the beauties of that virtue, one of the poor men yelled out the abrupt comment: "We want a dinner." The remark might be unusual during a sermon,

but it was a frank protest against a verbal Christianity. So again when one of the unemployed said on the same day of protest, while he was haranguing an audience in Trafalgar Square, "We have abolished black slavery, we are now determined to abolish white slavery to the titled scoundrels of the West End;" the vehemence of the speaker's language only superlatively stated the truism: "Human nature hates indifference from the prosperous classes." Most men will submit to a severe code of laws, but few men will submit to personal indifference. The indifference, in the major part of the wealthy classes, has engendered "revolution" among the working classes. Street riots are the small beginnings of revolution. And now that government is no longer a feudal privilege of the aristocracy, but has been largely transferred to "the common people (and we are hastening forward to the "one man, one vote" principle), it is obvious that unless the multitude can respect the aristocracy—look up to them as superiors in character—the days of revolution are at hand.

Put together the two points we have referred to: the utilizing of Sundays for a sort of political education, and the utilizing of riots for demonstration: and then add one more point—official selfishness—which is a perpetual provocation to popular wrath; and we shall see the tendency of "the London poor in action." That tendency might find its expression in this pleading: "You, the government, who have the conduct of great properties, vast revenues, rich guilds, plethoric societies, ought to consider the interests of the many, while respecting the interests of the few. With what consistency can you, the government, which wastes ten millions of the tax-money in enslaving poor Arabs or poor Africans, refuse thousands to the home wants of your own countrymen. The moment your stock exchange speculators cry out, Oh, my bonds! what ever is to become of my investments? you, the government, increase the income tax for *their* benefit; but while a quarter of a million Londoners are, quite innocently, out of work, you will not make a grant to help *them*. The three grooves of selfishness from which our pauperism arises are: (1) the preference of the British Government for wealthy and vested interests over the interests of mere workers or slaves; (2) the determination of all richly funded societies to prefer dividends to the prosperity of the work people; (3) the indisposition of the rich classes to regulate their expenditure with reference to the special needs of special times. So soon as we get the 'one man, one vote' principle—and Mr. Gladstone will get it for us if he lives—we will make a clean sweep of this injustice."

Perhaps such language fairly expresses the animus of what we call "the London poor in action"; the London poor who are

maddened by their sufferings. But there is one attitude to which it is necessary to attend more carefully, since it is the main distinction between "the dark side and the bright side." Politics may be very much the same on the two sides, but religion is in all respects exactly opposite. Now—still keeping to the dark side—let us notice two or three features of the modern painfully aggressive anti-Christianism. The unbelief of the East End is simply gross; it is not the unbelief of the West End. In the West End there is a vast amount of fantastic speculation; perhaps even some sympathy with such wild nonsense as Mr. Laurence Oliphant has recently elaborated in a treatise which he is pleased to call "Scientific Religion"—the "science" being too occult to be discerned. But such rhapsody is peculiar to the West End. You do not hear in the East End any grave entertainment of the ideas of "inter-atomic energy" or dynaspheric force"; there is no attempt at a realization of the operation of the interlocked atoms which act and react upon one another with a systolic and diastolic motion, sometimes apparently in the brain, and sometimes in the nerve centres and *solar plexus*. Such scientific religion may be hired in Mudie's library, but the East Enders are above it; they have too much sense. Their irreligion is a sort of syllogism: "I am miserable: God is said to be happy: therefore, it is impossible for God to be my Father." This rough reckoning serves for all apology. If we talk to an unbelieving East Ender, he does not bother us about "the pneumatic atomic union which is established between him and his last wife"; he tells us bluntly that his wife went into a consumption because there had been nothing in her larder for six months; and that *this* proved to him that there was no Providence. Having arrived at that conclusion, he proceeds to abuse the Bible, and "the Free Thought Publishing Company, Limited" has supplied him with a cheap library, out of which he will bring us arguments that are incontestable. Here we have the hard state of antitheism. And the "Free Thought Publishing Company, Limited" has helped it on.

All the worst books against the Bible, against religion, against God, have been issued by this Limited Liability Company. The firm may be limited in financial hazards, but it has no limitations in its antitheism. It has its emissaries,—blatant messengers of evil. These emissaries are dispatched to the places where roads meet; and are there encouraged by grinning youths and smirking housemaids to abuse the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the clergy, Catholic, Anglican, and Nonconformist. Probably the "Company" would disown such preaching fanatics; they would decline to be held responsible for their wild readers; but with what object, for what advantage, can a half-educated vulgarian

stand up at a corner where ways meet, and seek to destroy every vestige of popular belief, unless he has that one motive which puts to flight all mental hazards, being grounded on the *auri sacra fames*. An assassin, if he be hired, has a motive, and all such hirelings are known to deplore their task; but an assassin of men's souls, hearts, intellects, and deathbed peace, would probably ask an extravagant sum for his crime. It is for this reason we must assume such men are "sent." If they are not sent, what can possibly be their motive? For, it is obvious that if freethinking have any principle at all, it must be the leaving the human intellect to work out its own conclusions without harass from the opinions of other persons. To force negations on the mind of another person, or even to hazard negations without being asked, is the contradictory of the first principle of freethinking; which is to leave every man to be the architect of his own belief. If freethinking mean anything, it means "let alone." Yet in the poorest districts of London—as well as in Hyde Park—the emissaries of the "let alone" principle thunder their vituperations; as though the truest test of all freedom were to insult everybody, to call everybody a fool who does not agree with you. The poor East Enders,—the worst victims of London poverty, who need religion to support their burden of worldly scrow,—are preached at every Sunday, not to console them with the brightest hopes, but to dash from them the one sustaining prop of faith.

III.

But to turn from this dark side to the bright side.

It is of the non-Catholic poor that we would speak; for as to the Catholic poor, they are the same all over the world, and no eulogium need be passed upon *them*. What may be called, loosely speaking, the London Protestant poor—that is, such poor as are "necessitous"—are often as remarkable for their piety as they are commiserable for the depth of their sufferings. Yet their piety takes this (reasoning) form, that, since they have their miseries in this world, they believe they will have their joys in the next. They almost pity the voluptuous West Enders, in the moral certainty of their future retribution; believing that "it is easier for a camel to go through the needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into Heaven." But over and above this retributive view—this persuasion of a "lex talionis"—they are profoundly impressed by the personality of the Saviour, by His being a man of like sufferings with themselves. They go to their Protestant churches—much more frequently to dissenting chapels—to listen with rapt attention to any earnest, homely preacher who will speak to them *only* of the Saviour. They dislike dogma. For this reason they

avoid Anglican churches; at least, they frequent only such Anglican churches as have the attraction of an earnest and plain preacher. They detest a preacher who "preaches over their heads" as much as a preacher who preaches dogma. They can see through the sham of Anglican dogma, which they know to be the mere clothes of a skeleton. Their being perpetually ground on life's grindstone makes them keen. Reality is what they pine for, and will have. They want to be talked to, not at. They have no reverence for such a preacher as the Anglican clergyman of Bath, "who, when speaking of sin in the abstract, looked his congregation in the face; but when addressing the sinners of his congregation, looked up at the ventilator." The present writer has talked to hundreds of hungry poor, in the direst neighborhoods of utterly scorned East Endon; and he has marvelled at the simple reality of their Christian faith, and the perfect self-containment of their religion. All their religion is inside their own hearts, with a profound indifference to all religions, ecclesiastically.

Such admirable material—the purest innocence of Christian sentiment, untaught, unprejudiced, unspoiled—very naturally finds expression in the most exquisite charity, in the daily, perpetual doing of good works. The charity of these people is a sublime poem. Rich people cannot credit, can scarcely imagine, the self-sacrifices these people make for one another. Not only is their abnegation superlative, but their delicacy and refinement are equally so. They possess all the sentiment, the soul, of Catholic charity, with an almost blank ignorance of the Catholic religion. (Of course we are speaking only of a typical class.) They see the Catholic priests who are often passing their doors; they hear of them from an Irish neighbor or from an English convert; but their general state of mind is a repugnance to any "system"; a sort of idea that any "authority" must be a mistake.

It would be out of place here to dwell on Catholic missions; because we all know priests' work, priests' charities. Suffice it to say, briefly, that the London priests in poor missions have a very exceptional, almost insurmountable, difficulty—the not knowing where to find their own people. For the last six and thirty years it has been very uphill work throughout the whole of the large diocese of Westminster. No sooner has some struggling mission been planted in a poor district, than the poor district has been swept away by the Board of Works, and the Catholic families have been driven into the suburbs, there to necessitate the founding of a new mission. In one way this has spread the Catholic religion, but in another way it has exhausted the stock of priests. Had it not been for Irish help the English hierarchy would have found it difficult—indeed, they would have found it impossible—to serve

not a few of their town missions. The Church in Ireland has sent over numerous young priests, who, equally devoted and appreciated, have fought the hardest battle for religion. The present writer has often met these young priests in strange, out-of-the-way, ill-famed places; where, instinctively, they seemed to hunt up the stray Catholics, and to persuade them to form the nucleus of a new flock. Yet "what are these few priests among so many"? In that huge half-a-county, East London (in those twenty towns which we may be said to pass by in twenty minutes, if we take a London steam-boat from London Bridge and steam past Wapping, Shadwell, Limehouse and Deptford; merely feeling a sort of incubus of a dozen other immense districts, all lying in contiguity to these river ones), a thousand Catholic priests could find mission work to commence, which not even a thousand lives could fairly ripen. Very beautiful and very silent as is the heroism of the few priests who "work" these huge areas of poverty, it is obvious that they can do little more than make a beginning; the field, too, is preoccupied by Protestantism.

To return to the Protestant poor. We must remember that their disadvantages might well condone an immense amount of human frailty. The overcrowded state of their dwellings is absolutely fatal to the "domestic idea," to a realization of what we commonly account "home." Four-fifths of Londoners are said, by the Registrar General, to live in tenements which, by no possible stretch of courtesy, could be called even "respectable lodgings." Their rooms are held from week to week at others' mercy; the broker can seize everything for a week's rent; the tallyman can claim the household utensils, and the furniture man, who has lent the furniture on hire, can take not only his own furniture but others', too. There is no such thing as a freehold homestead for a poor Londoner. And the effect on the poor families is most injurious. The children do not know what "a home" means. A permanent residence is an idea they do not dream of. The sheriff's officer is the presiding genius of their fireside; the County Court bailiff is their guardian. No protection is afforded by the law to the poor families—to wives, mothers, children, sick or dying. A whole family may be "down, sick"; yet even so the cruel landlord may take the bedding and the clothing; nor does the law so much as reprove him for his severity. Here, then, we have the domestic picture of the London poor! In such colors must we paint their "dear homes," their few feet of kennel for bed and board. And if, in spite of such drawbacks, we find one-half of them "very good"; not only uncomplaining but sweetly patient; while they are brimful of charity for their poor neighbors, whom they regard as heirs of Paradise like themselves, we must admit that there are "beau-

ties," as we said at the beginning, "features which are captivating, even fascinating," in that standing National Shame, London poverty.

Naturally, we must say a word about Temperance, while considering "the reason of being" of the London poor. We will keep clear of Legislation, as being too digressive. Suffice it that in the present state of the controversy on the "drinking question," argument pales its force before enjoyment. The poor Londoner is normally a drinking animal, because he is normally a wearied animal. In the same way the poor Londoner is normally a smoking animal; taking his pipe to solace his too ruffled temperament. The arguments against drinking and against smoking strike upon the same shield of defence; the self-indulgent one rejoining: "An unnatural strain upon my energies demands an at least exceptional consolation." "You, Masters," he continues, when defending his two luxuries, "force me to lead an utterly unnatural life, an unhealthy and overstrained twelve hours of toil; and yet you chide me for going a little bit out of the common in search after my restoratives and *solatia*." This is the normal response of the average poor man. It is a sort of "tu-quoque," and a deserved one. No one defends intemperance, not even the fool. Very few of the London poor are (now) intemperate. "The lower orders," not the "humbler classes," are intemperate; but the humbler classes are the exact opposite of the lower orders. The middle classes tipple more than even the lower orders, as witness the multiplication of London wine bars; while the higher classes tipple precisely as they have ever done; habitually, perhaps decorously, yet voluptuously. The simple poor, the superior poor, are not tippers. In the East End, spite of the presence of a low order, there is very little evidence of this folly. The London poor, as a body, must be defended against the accusation that they "imitate the vices of their superiors, for want of finding any virtues that they can imitate." Meanwhile, the League of the Cross, and other kindred associations, are winning thousands to the happy perfection of total abstinence; a happy perfection which even the "moderate people" admire, and not a few of them are sufficiently brave to attain to.

Mendicancy is very uncommon among the poor. The beggars as a professional class are tabooed. In London to ask alms is against the law—that is, street-begging by word of mouth. A man may sell matches; he may pose at a street corner, presenting some modest merchandise to the passer-by; he may sing, very painfully and consumptively, or whistle on a half-penny lute which has few keys; in short, he may demonstrate his need by every appeal to the senses, save only by the simple entreaty to give. In the poorest parts of London we may see the match-seller, the lute-player, the one-leg'd lugubrious singer, the blind fiddler; and it is well known

that such a vagrancy is far more lucrative in humble districts than in the Squares and Avenues and Terraces of the plutocracy. But there is all the difference between "the unfortunate" and "the beggar." The lowest poor of the East End never beg. A few weeks ago some fifteen hundred poor match-makers were thrown out of work by a trade-strike. The Socialists advised them to go in procession to the West End, begging of the rich classes to give them bread. They replied with indignation, "We have not got so low as to go cadging; we would much rather starve than do that." And this is the ordinary spirit of the London poor—that is, of the "bright side" of the London poor; and it is of the bright side we are now speaking. They have an immense amount of what the rich call proper pride; but nothing at all of the improper pride of the rich. There is a striking dignity in their ordinary endurance of crushing woe. Domestic troubles, domestic famine,—which even to think of makes one groan—are borne by them with a profound calm and deep silence, such as the old Greek philosophers would have richly praised, and the old Greek poets would have sung.

IV.

From alms-needing to alms-giving—what a leap! Many an Englishman will shy a copper at a poor man, and will consider that he has merited a paradise. This is not the place in which to discuss alms-giving, save so far as it is an apology for want of charity. And want of charity, on the part of the comfortable classes, is the main cause why the London poor are so unhappy. Let a few words be permitted on this point. "Low Radicalism" is provoked chiefly by the upper classes,—who affect to be so extremely disgusted at it,—by their bad example of dismal egotism and complacency, or by their vulgar treatment of those who work hard for them. This is true in all the grooves of moneyed life. Thus, a "Company," in order to raise its dividends by a paltry fraction, will overwork and underpay all its servants; leaving fathers to keep their families on a very few shillings a week, so as to add one-eighth to the six and a quarter per cent. interest. And then the shareholders in this company will column their Christmas charities in the very newspapers which are read by those very workmen from whose muscles and whose stomachs that extra fraction per cent. per annum was wrung by such simply shameful injustice. Here we have one scandal of London poverty. And in the same spirit business managers, overseers of poor work-people, who have no regard for the health or happiness of their servants, will prate about honesty and integrity and justice, while sapping the nerves and the very souls of young and old by their brutal want of sense and sensibility. "Charities" are no reparation for all

this. A country is Pagan which can contemplate it, and there is more of it in England than in any country. England is the slave country of Christendom. *Par excellence* it is the country of unhappy workmen. It is the country of a sort of national penal servitude, London being the Tullamore of the convicts. And to compensate for a chronic state of barbarism the newspaper-charity-giving is ostentatious. To patronize the poor is to exalt oneself; and this is the most abundant "active" charity. Rich people who would not habitually go into "the slums" if they were asked by an angel guardian to do it, are as proud of their Christmas cheques, Christmas blankets, Christmas soups, as though they had almost sacrificed a dinner. The babbling about social virtues is social cant. The London poor perfectly appreciate the London rich, when Grosvenor Square sends a five pound cheque to Shoreditch.

But just as there is a bright side to the London poor, so there is a bright side to the London rich. And, first, let the highest praise be given to the Anglican clergy—who, though not rich, are the chief distributors of most "charities" which are placed in their hands by the benevolent—for the admirable devotion and constancy with which they work their hardest in the East End. It is not an agreeable lot to live all one's days in neighborhoods where there is no cultured class, no "society;" or to spend one's days among the poorest of the poor, ministering to their bodies as well as souls. These gentlemen deserve infinite praise. They have difficulties of all kinds to contend with. They are sometimes asked, "Why do you not discourage early marriages, which are the cause of much of the misery of the poor?" Their answer is, "Because, if we did so, the young people would get married in some secular or possibly Pagan way, and we think it better to try to keep them within restraint." Again, they have the difficulty of protecting their flocks against the howling infidelity which encircles them; and this difficulty to Protestant clergymen is necessarily twice as great as it would be to priests of the Catholic faith. Moreover, they have to contend against the enchantments of the spirit shops, the drinking clubs, the large variety of cheap allurements to dissipation; nor can they persuade their poor parishioners to come to church in their rough toilets—Sunday clothes being an exceptional luxury for the very poor. On the other hand, they are assisted, and very generously assisted, by exceptional, kind, and wealthy individuals, who provide concerts, evening clubs, and amusing lectures—besides helping to found museums and polytechnics—for the entertainment and the instruction of many thousands. The universities also have sent their emissaries to the East End; educating and also examining the aspiring poor, and thus imparting a high tone to some poor neighborhoods.

As to the normal conventional postulate, "poverty is a crime;" it is national, perhaps Protestant, certainly British. In Rome, in the good days of Pius IX., poor people who were incompetent to work were presented with a sort of medal of incompetency, and were allowed to make their living by begging. In England the rule is: "Go to the workhouse or starve." But the workhouse is in all respects a prison save only that the leaving it is optional. So the very poor, as a rule, prefer to starve. And they do starve. About five thousand people die every year in London from either rapid or protracted starvation. And nobody's night's rest is disturbed by it—nobody whose feather-bed is well made. Now and then there is a spasmodic eleemosynariness; the rich have a sort of fit of pauper interest; H. R. H. goes down into the slums, and a brief fashion of sympathy sets in. Then all is cold again for five years. Unless there is a riot or an epidemic, sweet oblivion lulls the interests of the comfortable.

There is no cure for it. Politico-economic causes may be modified; tradesmen may abandon "sweating," or may decrease it; the foreign immigration may become less; socialism and communism may lose their hold on desperate men who now rush at any theory which looks promising; injurious clubs may be discountenanced by the authorities; an enlarged electorate may bring the poor man's friends into Parliament; wealthy guilds may make better use of their funds; temperance may be enforced by act of Parliament; education may be fostered by the philanthropic; and museums and polytechnics may be multiplied; but—all this granted—ruinous evils must prevail. The gravitation of the rich classes to exclusive neighborhoods; the horror of the "respectable" classes of poor districts; the sense of despair among the poor of being really cared for by the government, by society, by the rich tradesmen; the habit of commercial companies to think only of their dividends and not of the work people who create them; the determination of most landlords to exact the largest possible rent for the smallest and most wretched of lodgings; the brutal indifference of managers and overseers to the health and happiness of their subordinates; and, above all, the prevailing English fallacy that poverty in itself is a crime; these and kindred causes must keep the poor poor, must keep the poorest from even the first rung of the ladder. Nor even if London should become Catholic—one of the most unlikely of hypotheses—would many of the natural evils be removed. Rich Catholics are as conventional as rich Protestants. This, at least, is the general principle. The London poor are partly the product of the size of London; but human nature—not the bricklayer or the politician—is the Alpha and Omega of all scandals.

THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE.

1. *Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Quebec.* By Mgr. Têtu and L'abbe C. O. Gagnon. Second volume. A. Cote & Co. Quebec, 1888.
2. *Biography of Bishop Plessis.* By L'abbe Ferland. G. & G. E. Desbarats. Quebec, 1864.
3. *Etudes Historiques et Legales sur la Liberté Religieuse en Canada.* By S. Pagnuelo, Advocate. G. O. Beauchemin & Valois. Montreal, 1872.
4. *Le droit Civil Canadien.* By MM. Doutre & Lareau, Avocats. Montreal, 1872.
5. *History of Lower Canada.* By Robert Christie. Quebec, 1850.
6. *Rome in Canada.* By Charles Lindsey. Toronto, 1877.
7. *The Maseres Collection of Papers.* Attorney-General Maseres. 1772, et seq.
8. *Reports on the Canadian Archives.* By Douglas Brymner. 1888.

THE second volume of the *Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Quebec*, issued within the past few weeks, is an elaborate work entrusted to the competent hands of Mgr. Têtu and L'abbe C. O. Gagnon, of Quebec, and will be of interest to all historical students.

This volume covers a period of over sixty years, from 1741 to 1806, and embraces the last of the old French *régime* and the first half century of English rule. It closes with Bishop Denaut, and the next volume will be of even greater interest, as certain to contain much of the writings of Bishop Plessis not generally known to the English-speaking public. It was during the episcopate of this distinguished prelate that the vast Diocese of Quebec was divided; and so every part of the Dominion of Canada, as well English as French, is referred back to those times in tracing the origin of its own diocese. The period embraced in the volumes already published is of interest to the whole of North America. In considering in advance some circumstances in the early history of Canada under British rule, the reader will the better appreciate the position of Bishop Plessis and his predecessors; he will be able also to see more fully the whole situation when the next volume of the *Mandements* is put before him. The writer of this paper has necessarily drawn from other authorities, and will look

forward with great eagerness for their confirmation or correction by the work in question.

There are some circumstances in the history of the Church in Canada under British rule, of more than local interest. Towards the middle of the last century it will be remembered that, by the fortunes of war, Canada with all its dependencies fell under the sway of the English. The Canadian population at that time may be set down at seventy thousand inhabitants, all of whom, with the exception of the civil and military officers and a few others, not aggregating altogether five hundred persons, were Roman Catholics. Freedom of religion was guaranteed to the Catholics, but only such freedom as the laws of Great Britain permitted to Catholics. At that time there was no freedom for the exercise of the Catholic religion, there was no legal recognition of a Catholic in Great Britain. Apparently, therefore, the guarantees meant nothing; they seemed contradictory and nugatory, as much as to say the Catholics are to have freedom of worship so far as they can under a system of laws which prevent them from having any sort of freedom whatever. Yet within the first half century of British rule these difficulties were cleared up, and to-day the Catholics are in as good a position before the law as any other denomination. Indeed, they are thought by some to be the favored body under our constitution.

The object of this paper will be to show how the legal inconsistencies and other difficulties of the first half century were met and disposed of; and the circumstances may be worth the passing notice of those learned in the great history of the Church. In a lesser way it may be of interest to those learned in the subtle science of the law, as another instance of the confounding and mystification of that misguided man, be he historian or litigant, who does not first seek counsel from those learned in its mysteries.

The occupation of Canada from 1759, when Quebec was taken, down to 1763, when the treaty of cession was signed, was purely military. So far as religion and other matters were concerned the terms of capitulation of Quebec and Montreal were the interim guides. Everything was uncertain; the ultimate destiny of the colony was in doubt; affairs were managed largely by the English commander as around a drum-head council. Fortunately for the Catholics, that commander was a reasonable, sensible man; and his conduct towards the Bishop of Quebec and the Catholics generally was, in view of his position and his prejudices, not to be fairly found fault with. Bishop Pontbriand, who had ruled the ancient See for nearly twenty years, was ill at Charlesbourg during the siege of 1759, and when, at the end of September, he returned to Quebec, it was to find the Cathedral, the palace, the churches of

the religious communities, all in ruins. The venerable bishop survived the fall of his city less than one year. He died at Montreal on the 8th of June, 1760. His *Mandements* and circular letters in these latter days refer generally to the sad state of the colony, which was reduced to a pitiable condition. "You will say to the poor," were his last words, "that I leave them nothing in dying, because I die poorer than themselves." His last letter, addressed to the Canons, contained some instructions in regard to the approaching vacancy in the See, a matter which he foresaw would give rise at once to complications under the altered circumstances of the colony.

On the 2d of the following month, after his death, the Canons of Quebec met and named administrators for the diocese: one charged with the part dependent on the English Government, one for Three Rivers and that part of the government under the French, one for Montreal and the upper part of the colony. Outside of Canada proper an administrator was sent to Acadia, one to Louisiana, and one to the Illinois country.¹ The first *Mandement* is that of "Etienne Montgolfier, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Quebec," formally addressed to the secular and regular clergy, etc., residing in the Government of Montreal. This is dated 6th of January, 1761. Three weeks later Joseph Francis Perreault, Canon of the Cathedral Church and Vicar-General, addressed his charge at Three Rivers. Both of these refer to the Lenten season, and are silent respecting public affairs. The short circular letter of M. Briand, dated in the interval and coming from the city of Quebec, gives a passing, but complimentary, notice of the Governor. The loyal attitude of the Church towards the civil powers appeared, however, in three several *Mandements*, dated in February, 1762, in which a "Te Deum" was directed to be chanted in all the parish churches on the occasion of the coronation and marriage of George III. In the following year an expression of respect and submission to the king was made to General Murray by Vicar-General Briand. An ordinance appeared on the last day of the year regulating a prayer for the royal family. These are all the official ecclesiastical records between the year 1759 and the treaty of 1763.

The attitude of the civil or rather the military authorities towards the Church should be found in the capitulations of Quebec and Montreal. The inhabitants were preserved in their possessions and privileges; the exercise of the Catholic religion was *conservé*; the Bishop was recognized, and was permitted, freely and with decency, to exercise the functions of his state. This is the substance of the capitulations at Quebec. At Montreal the free exercise of

¹ M. Beaudoin to Louisiana, and M. Forget to the Illinois country.

religion was to subsist in its entirety. As will have been noted, the Bishop died on the 8th of June, 1760, so that when the capitulation of Montreal was signed on the 8th of September following, there was no Bishop. This accounts for the extraordinary-looking request of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that the French King should continue to name the Bishop of the colony. The nomination of a Bishop was the first difficulty, but it did not arise until after the treaty had been signed, and was not adjusted for several years after that date.

The Treaty of Paris (10th of February, 1763) guarantees freedom of religion to the Catholics, "so far as the laws of Great Britain permit." The short fourth clause of the treaty containing this guarantee and this dangerous looking restriction of it must not have appeared to the Canadians so satisfactory as the diffuse wording of the capitulations. The *mandements* that follow the proclamation of the treaty of peace do not contain much on the subject. M. Perreault says: "Ainsi, quand la perfection de la religion que vous avez l'honneur de professer, et dont le libre exercice vous est accordé par le traité de paix, ne vous prescrirait pas une scrupuleuse fidélité envers votre nouveau et légitime Roi, la reconnaissance seule vous y obligerait."

M. Briand refers to the illustrious and charitable General Murray, to whom he had communicated the date and particulars of chanting the solemn Te Deum. M. Montgolfier wrote apparently with a bitterness that cost him the dislike of the English, and for which they revenged themselves later. Speaking of the cession and the king he writes: "Vous goûtez déjà depuis plusieurs années les douceurs de son règne. Lors même qu'il vous a conquis par la force de ses armes, il a semblé préférer le sort de ne vous avoir plus pour ennemis à la gloire de vous vaincre. Il pouvait lancer sur vous son tonnerre, et il ne s'est annoncé que par la voix de ses bienfaits. Depuis que vous êtes devenus sa conquête, quelles grâces, quelles faveurs n'en avez-vous pas reçues! N'en entreprenons pas le détail, il serait infini; la preuve la plus sensible est votre affection et votre attachement respectueux au sage gouverneur qui nous représente si dignement un si gracieux souverain. . . ."

The Canons and Chapter of Quebec in the following month (13th September) petitioned the king that the vacant See be filled. After stating their position and the necessity of continuing the episcopate, they clearly put down what they required.

"On propose un Chapitre dont les membres ne seraient que les prêtres mêmes des séminaires, qui auraient le nom et la dignité de chanoines sans en avoir les obligations, parce qu'ils n'en auraient point les émoluments; c'est-à-dire que les chanoines destinés par

leur état à la célébration de l'office divin ne seraient alors chargés que du service des peuples de la ville, du soin des séminaires, et de l'instruction des jeunes gens et particulièrement de ceux qui se destineraient à l'état ecclésiastique.

“ De cette sorte, avec les mêmes fonds et revenus, sans multiplier les prêtres, l'Eglise du Canada conserverait son même état ; elle aurait son Evêque, son Chapitre et des directeurs de séminaires, on contenterait pleinement la piété et les desirs du clergé, et d'un peuple qui en vérité n'a fait paraître en rien tant de sensibilité dans la révolution présente que sur le fait de la religion dont il appréhende l'extinction dans la suite, si Votre Majesté refusait un évêque. L'illustre et sage gouverneur, Monsieur Murray, à la pénétration duquel le bon caractère du peuple Canadien et son attachement à la foi de ses pères n'ont point échappé peut informer Votre Majesté que nous ne disons rien qui ne soit dans la plus exacte vérité.”

Two days after this the Chapter met to consider the choice of a Bishop. M. Montgolfier was unanimously elected. He set out for England to have his nomination confirmed, but General Murray opposed it and the government would not recognize him. He resigned and named M. Briand, who, in the following September, was elected by the Chapter. The Governor gave M. Briand a letter of recommendation to the Colonial Secretary, and after all difficulties were overcome, on the 21st of January, 1766, the Bulls were sent him from Rome.

The meeting of the Canons in September, 1763, when M. Montgolfier was elected, is worthy of mention on another account. It was arranged then, as appears, by a joint *mandement* of all the Vicars in authority, that the expenses of a deputation to London should be borne—a deputation commissioned to demand the execution of the fourth Article of the Treaty, as to freedom of religion.

An application had been previously made to General Murray, demanding that the Bishop and his Chapter should be invested with the like rights possessed by Bishops and Chapters in all Catholic countries. “ Murray,” Garneau says, “ commended this application to the favorable attention of the British ministry, and, in 1763, sent his secretary, M. Cramahé, to London to sustain the application.”

Shortly afterwards, by reason of deputations, correspondence, reports and otherwise, the British Government were in possession of all necessary facts in regard to Canada and its Catholic inhabitants, and the fourth section of the treaty came in for a large share of legal consideration.

By royal instructions, in force at this time, all Canadians were

bound to take an oath of fealty, and the priests were officially notified that if they refused to take it they might prepare to leave the country. They were called upon to renounce the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome, and were subjected to annoyances in their every-day life. When, therefore, the English Government saw its way to the appointment of a Catholic Bishop, it was no doubt because the position of Catholics in Canada, under the treaty, had been fully considered. The crown officers in England made the amazing discovery that the dangerous words in the fourth section were not in legal intendment such as were popularly understood. When it was conceded that the Catholics were to have freedom of religion so far as the laws of Great Britain permitted, the crown officers gave it as their opinion that by the phrase *the laws of Great Britain* were meant such British laws only as were in force in British colonies. Consequently, none of the penal laws of the Old Country were in force in Canada. Elizabeth's statute as to supremacy was the only one applying to the outlying realms of the crown; and by what must now be deemed a ridiculously strained construction this statute was held to be in force. The freedom of religion was therefore complete to the Catholics, except that the supremacy of the King of England was to be recognized instead of the supremacy of the Pope. This did not read much more favorably to the Catholics than the unknown terrors of the fourth section as it stood. It was much as if an Eastern despot should say to his slave, I allow you perfect freedom of existence as to your body, but you must wear a different head hereafter.

Such was the state of the law and its interpretation when Bishop Briand, the first Bishop since the cession, took charge of Quebec. It was as awkward a situation as could well be imagined, and each year added to the awkwardness.

The Governor, after a time, was surrounded by administrative and judicial officers, all of them Protestants and most of them intolerant of Catholics. The Chief Justice and the Attorney General considered it out of the question that there could be a Catholic Bishop at all, and the Chaplain of the garrison was intended to step into the vacancy at Quebec. The Attorney General, with much care, drafted a commission by which the Chief Superintendent of the Church of Rome could be safely recognized. It occurred to him that there might be two titular bishops for the one See, and this was considered a clever way of getting over the absurdity. From 1763 to 1774 affairs continued in a very unsatisfactory state. The Government endeavored to force the Catholics to take the oath of abjuration and other oaths required in the Elizabethan statute and its amendments; but the people and the clergy refused to accede to this. The result was that the matter rested there.

In 1774, when the Quebec Act put it beyond doubt that the statute of Elizabeth was intended to apply, the British Parliament changed the objectionable oath in it to a milder one. The supremacy of the king in matters ecclesiastical, however, remained; and the one aim of all the governors, presented with greater or less degree of earnestness, was to bring the Bishop and the curés under the control of the crown.

The very first Royal instructions provided that "no person should receive Holy Orders, nor have charge of souls, without a license duly obtained from the Governor. The Governor was strictly to safeguard the supremacy of the King to the exclusion of every power of the Church of Rome, exercised by any of its ministers in the Province, not absolutely requisite for the exercise of a tolerated worship." These instructions were not interpreted very strictly, for, in the very year in which they were received Bishop Briand was paid a pension by the Governor. His coadjutor, Monseigneur d'Esglis, had been previously chosen, and recognized by the State, *cum futura successione*, taking the oath of allegiance in full Executive Council. Each subsequent bishop had his coadjutor in the same way. While over-zealous officials were bringing the subject into prominence whenever it could be done, it so happened that there was always more urgent public business for the Governor to attend to. The war of the American Colonies occupied all parties from the Quebec Act until the peace of Paris in 1783; and the Province of Quebec took the intervening time between that date and its own division, in 1791, to consider more important internal matters.¹ The first Protestant bishop did not appear until 1793, after Upper and Lower Canada were called into existence. When Lower Canada had settled down under its new constitution, it was evident from the writings of the time, that the question was likely to be pressed to a definite solution. A man, named Ryland, had been secretary for a number of governors, and, as he grew older, he increased in bitterness against everything Catholic. There lived contemporaneously with him a young priest who was subsequently Vicar to Bishop Denaut, afterward coadjutor, and ultimately bishop. This was Joseph Octave Plessis. He was the last bishop of the ancient See of Quebec as it existed in its original vast limits. He was worthy of the line of bishops, and worthy of his time; and much needed in the then crises of events, one of which was the freedom of his Church from State control. In the last years of his predecessor, and the first of the

¹ It was a favorite recommendation during this time that no priest, connected with the Bourbons, should be allowed into Canada. Priests from Savoy, Lord North wanted. See letters in the Haldimand collection, Canadian Archives.

century, the estates of the Jesuits were secularized ; the presence of Bishop Mountain was an excuse why no other bishop should be recognized ; the good will of Ryland towards the oppression of the Catholics could always be counted on : and the general peace of the times made everything favorable towards effecting a settlement of a question that, for forty years, had given abundance of trouble whenever it was broached.

In 1801, the Governor, Sir Robert Shore Milnes, finding the popular influence too strong for the sort of government that then prevailed in the Colony, brought the causes of it under the notice of the Duke of Portland. One of these causes was " the independence of the whole body of the Roman Catholic clergy, who are accountable to no other authority than that of their own bishop." His Grace, in reply, directs his subordinate in this fashion :

" With respect to the Roman Catholic clergy being totally independent of the governor, I must first observe that I am not at all aware of the causes that have led to a disregard of that part of the King's Instructions, which require ' that no person, whatever, is to have Holy Orders conferred upon him, or to have care of souls, without license first had or obtained from the Governor. The resumption and exercise of that power by the Governor, and the producing such a license as a requisite for admission to Holy Orders, I hold not only to be of the first importance, but so indispensably necessary that I must call upon you to endeavor to effect it by every possible means which prudence can suggest. You will, therefore, readily conclude that I must see with pleasure your proposal of increasing the allowance to the Catholic Bishop, adopted almost to any extent, if it can prove the means of restoring to the king's representative in Canada, that power and control which are essentially necessary to his authority, and which is expressly laid down by the forty-fourth article of your Instructions, above alluded to."

The Governor, having at this time a quarrel on his hands with the Chief Justice Osgoode, was unable to devote much attention to the Catholics,¹ and, at that time also, the Rectors of the Protes-

¹ No reader of Mr. Parkman can fail to have observed with what avidity the learned historian seizes on the small scandals of the French *Régime*, dwelling with relish on the petty quarrels of the governor, the intendant and the bishop. Should he think well of turning his attention to the first fifty years of British rule in Canada, he will find scandals more in keeping with the dignity of his subject. It will be no longer a question between the bishop and the governor as to which one of them is entitled to the first obeisance of the schoolchildren ; nor need the historian concern himself with deciding what petty functionary is to have precedence in the place of honor in the church. Much graver material is at hand. There was not one chief-justice, within the period referred to, that was not reported against, or impeached, or

tant Church were in need of increased salaries, and official correspondence is mainly taken up with such matters. A letter, bearing the initials H. W. R., and no doubt written by Secretary H. W. Ryland, appeared in 1804, respecting Church establishments :

"The Protestant Church," he says, "ought to have as much splendor, and as little power as possible.

"I would, therefore, give to the Bishopric of Quebec a Dean, a Chapter, and all other ecclesiastical dignitaries necessary for show, and I would endow the See with sufficient lands to support this establishment in the most liberal manner ; but not one grain of civil power would I give to the Clergy, beyond the walls of their churches or church-yards."

It is not to be expected after this that Mr. Ryland would be very tolerant of what he calls the Popish Clergy. He says : "I have long laid it down as a principle (which in my judgment no governor of this Province ought to lose sight of for a moment) by every possible means which prudence can suggest gradually to undermine the authority and influence of the Roman Catholic priests. This great, this highest object that a governor here can have, might, I am confident, have been accomplished before now, and may, by judicious management, be accomplished before ten years more shall have passed over." He then sets out his plan for education, for Superintendents "by the King's (not the Pope's) letters-patent," and the licensing of those having the charge of souls ; "and these instructions once followed up, the king's supremacy would be established, the authority of the Pope would be abolished, and the country would become Protestant."

These views of the zealous official were propagated with great assiduity, and the more so, as at that very time Bishop Denaut was at the point of death, and the power and standing of his successor a matter likely then to be determined. Mr. Ryland failed, however. On the 26th of January, 1806, M. Plessis was to be admitted to the Council, and Ryland writes to his own bishop that, "to his infinite grief, vexation and disappointment, the President (Mr. Dunn) has determined to admit Mr. Plessis to take the oaths in Council to-morrow." On the following day he wrote : "Mr. Dunn, having determined to admit Mr. Plessis to take and subscribe the oath as Bishop of Quebec, and by his special direction,

dismissed from office : Gregory, Hey, Livius, Smith, Osgoode, Sewell, Monk. The governors reported against judges and attorney-generals, and *vice versa*, and, in a couple of instances, the governors were cited before the courts, and obliged to defend themselves. The first chief-justice, Garneau says, was taken out of a prison to be placed at the head of the courts, and one of his successors is, on the same authority, said to have been an illegitimate son of George III.

this title has been entered on the minutes." On the 3d of the following month, Mr. Ryland was fairly beside himself with rage when, in like manner, "the Reverend Mr. Panet" took the oath as coadjutor of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec.

The new bishop, however, found himself surrounded with many difficulties, not the least of which were certain requests or petitions presented to the king and the governor, by his predecessor, Mgr. Denaut, praying for civil existence to the clergy of Canada. These seemed necessary at the time, as the civil courts had refused them recognition. Ryland, the watchful secretary, had communicated this to Mr. Peel, the then Under-secretary of State for the Colonies. Ryland and the Protestant Bishop, Dr. Mountain, had gone to England to advance the Protestant and Episcopal cause, but with only a small measure of success. "I endeavored to give Mr. Peel a clear and correct conception of these matters," complains Mr. Ryland, "God knows with what success!" Writing to Sir James Craig, the new governor, the secretary says: "One particular, however, in the course of our conversation, struck me, and I think it necessarily deserving of notice. It is, that, when I observed to Mr. Peel that you had with you all the English inhabitants, and, consequently, all the commercial interest of the country, he remarked that the Canadians were much more numerous; and he repeated the same remark more than once in a way that indicated a fear of doing anything that might clash with the prejudices of the more numerous part of the community, and this, if my apprehensions are well founded, will be the great difficulty in the way of decided and effectual measures."

Mr. Ryland's apprehensions were well founded. Three days later he had another interview in which he "availed himself of the opportunity to say a few words concerning the character of Mr. Plessis"; and in the course of this interview he managed to give a bad character to most of the Canadian officials. Every week thereafter this indefatigable secretary pursued the unfortunate Mr. Peel, but without making substantial progress. "I was mortified" he says "to find that he has but an imperfect idea of the subject." He was subsequently told that the subject of his concern would be made a cabinet measure, and a meeting of the cabinet was called in which Lord Liverpool discussed every phase of colonial government, except that of the colonial church. In the course of a month, a formal state paper issued from Downing street, but it contained not the remotest reference to the Bishop or the Supremacy. Mr. Ryland, not disheartened by this, prepared a special memorandum in regard "to the proposed assumption of the patronage of the Romish Church," and called later on Mr. Peel about it. "He admitted me the moment I sent up my name."

Ryland describes it, "but he appeared very different from what I have been accustomed to see him. * * * * He seemed quite *distrain*, and I did not stay with him above two minutes."

The reader need not be wearied with the pertinacity with which everything anti-Catholic was pressed on the King's ministers. The law officers of the crown in July, 1801, had reported on the Sulpicians's estates in Montreal, and also on the question "Whether the right of presentation to vacant Roman Catholics living in the province of Canada be in the crown?" The answers were unfavorable to the Church and to the Seminarians. The lawyers in the course of a long report admit the possessory right of the Sulpicians and the impropriety of disturbing them; and as to the other question they say: "We think therefore that so much of the patronage of the Roman Catholic benefices as was exercised by the Bishop under the French Government is now vested in His Majesty"—His Majesty George III. No answer was given to the chief difficulty, which, however, was settled in Canada by the force of circumstances.

In 1775, as the Abbé Ferland says, "Sir Guy Carleton declared publicly that if the Province of Quebec had been preserved to Great Britain, it was owing to the Catholic clergy. He testified his gratitude by allowing the Bishop to exercise his functions peaceably, and to dispose of the cures at his will without having recourse to the Royal instructions, which seemed to him to have been prepared only for the destruction of the Catholic religion." The obligations to the clergy seem to have been forgotten as soon as the services of the clergy were no longer necessary; but when the war of 1812 began, the clergy became important once more. In the interval the governors had tried the methods of persuasion, of bribes and of threats, and in all they were unsuccessful. "They offer the Bishop an estate and revenues," says Mgr. Plessis in 1806; "*haec omnia tibi dabo si cadens adoraveris me. . . .*" In the preceding year, Attorney-General Sewell had discussed the situation with the Bishop, in the course of which the former said:

"The government, acknowledging your religion, and avowing its officers to be officers of the crown, should provide for them as for all others. The Bishop should have enough to enable him to live in a splendor suitable to his rank; and a coadjutor also in proportion."

To which the Bishop replied: "I do not wish to see the Bishop in splendor, but, I wish to see him above want. I do not wish to see him in the Legislative or Executive Councils, but as an ecclesiastic, solely entitled to the rank which is due to him in society." The threats came later and deserve a more extended notice. A year or so prior to the war of 1812, Bishop Plessis had issued a

Mandement on the occasion of the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII., in which he invited the faithful to pray for the Holy Father. He styled himself Bishop of Quebec, as had been the custom at all times in Canada. This offended the Anglican Bishop, Dr. Mountain, and offended the civil authorities as well. "We have been praying for the deliverance of the Pope here," writes the Governor, Sir James Craig, to his secretary, Ryland, who was then in England; and the governor enclosed a copy of the offending pastoral—"as an instance of the complete independence which is assumed." The worthy Ryland submitted a case to the crown officers and asked if the Rev. Mr. Plessis did not render himself liable to a criminal prosecution thereon. The officers of the crown, however, paid no attention to the matter, and it was completely overlooked by the ministry.

A reference to one other circumstance immediately after this will be sufficient to show the perilous position of the Church at this time. The Governor and the Bishop in the course of a lengthy conversation on the whole case laid open the aims and claims of the conflicting Church and State. This conversation has been preserved in two versions and is of considerable importance. It was the last scene before the curtain fell.

The Bishop, writing to his Vicar-general (Roux), says: "I had yesterday a conversation with His Excellency the Governor, which lasted one hour and three quarters, in which he exhausted himself, and me also, in speaking, without our being able to fall into accord upon the only point that was agitated, to wit: the nomination of curés. He viewed it obstinately as a civil affair, and as a prerogative of the Crown which it would never abandon, and which he maintained had been exercised from all time by the Kings of France and England, even before the Reformation of the Church in the latter kingdom. I tried to make him understand the essential difference between the patronage exercised over certain benefices, whether by the king or by private persons, and the canonical institution, which could only proceed from the Church, and without which all the commissions or nominations of sovereigns and other patrons, would be of no effect."

The Bishop in conclusion says: "That having done as much as my predecessors for the service of Government, I expressed a hope that the Governor did not desire to treat me worse than my predecessors; and further, that I would try more and more to deserve his protection, not so much for myself as for the faithful, in whose salvation I interested myself; that divine Providence would bring, without doubt, more favorable circumstances, etc. We disputed much, but the Governor was not angry, and we parted at last, little satisfied with each other."

The Governor's account of the interview is in this way : " I have lately had some conversation with Plessis, relative to his situation and that of his clergy. I had once or twice loosely talked with him on the subject, but without entering very particularly into it, as I wished first to be more master of opinions at home upon it. I was therefore a little surprised when about a month ago he came to me and renewing the subject he expressed a wish that it was finished, and certainly at the moment implying upon the footing upon which it had stood with his predecessor, Denaut. I assured him that I thought there would be no difficulty. He then told me that he was to go to Three Rivers a day or two after, and requested to defer entering more particularly into it till his return. Whether he consulted Noiseux or Calonne, or both, I know not ; but when he returned, I found him entirely changed, for his conscience would by no means permit him to consent to the Crown nominating to the livings. I immediately told him that it was unnecessary to continue any further conversation, as that was a matter which did not rest upon his assent or denial ; the right actually existed in the Crown and would most assuredly sooner or later be resumed. Our conversation did, however, continue two hours and a half, but we parted without either inducing the other to change."

A short time after this conversation Craig was replaced by Sir George Prevost, who fortunately for the Bishop and the Church was of a different disposition from that of his predecessor. The Bishop prepared a memorial showing what was the position of bishops before the Cession, and since that time ; and also the position it would be proper for them to occupy for the future. After tracing the history down to the year 1807, when his own coadjutor, Mgr. Panet, was consecrated, he sums up the change in Craig's administration in this way :

"It is very well known that the bishops of Quebec do not pretend to exercise any other than spiritual authority over the Catholic subjects of their diocese ; and neither their jurisdiction nor their titles were ever contested till these latter years ; when some insinuations artfully spread, and some assertions advanced in the courts of justice of this Province, began to throw over the exercise and even over the existence of the Catholic Episcopate of Canada, certain clouds, calculated to deprive these prelates of the influence which is necessary to them, whether for the conduct of their flock, whether for the success of services which the government of His Majesty might expect from them for the maintenance of good order, or for the security of the Province in moments of invasion. . . For the future, the spiritual powers to be exercised by the Bishop of Quebec should come from the Church by way of the

Sovereign Pontiff. He is not permitted to despoil himself of them either in whole or in part, nor to draw them from any other source. . . . He desires then that he and his successors be civilly recognized as Roman Catholic Bishops of Quebec; having under their episcopal jurisdiction all the Catholic subjects of his Majesty; . . . and that the said bishops may enjoy in an acknowledged manner the rights and prerogatives up to the present exercised without interruption by those who preceded them in the government of the Church of Canada; and further, that the property of the Episcopal Palace be confirmed to the Roman Catholic Bishops of Quebec, and that they may transmit to the bishops, their successors, the acquisitions which they may have made in that quality."

This unmistakable language was preceded by a memorandum which is worth reproducing, as it puts the conduct of the Bishop in its true light. It will be remembered that the Bishops of Quebec had from the time of the Cession been in receipt of a small pension from the Government—a pittance of two hundred pounds a year; Mr. Sewell had proposed that they live in splendor, as officers of the Crown should live; Sir George, that they should be put on a respectable footing, as he termed it.

"I am obliged to declare beforehand," writes the Bishop, when the shilling was again offered, "that no temporal offer can induce me to renounce any part of my spiritual jurisdiction. That jurisdiction is not mine. I merely hold it as a deposit for the Church, which I am in no wise permitted to dissipate, and of which I must render a good account."

Whilst the relations between the Church and the State continued in this way, the war of 1812 began. The Bishop, unmindful of past injuries, and acting only as his duty impelled him, threw himself with great energy into the defence of his country. He provided chaplains for the militia, counselled the curés, and issued a stirring address to the warriors who were exposing themselves for the defence of their country and their firesides. The Catholic subjects of the King gave good evidence of their loyalty to the Crown on this serious crisis, and gave it at a time when the loyalty of every man counted. Their services were praised and publicly recognized: as to the Bishop himself, long before the treaty of Ghent was signed, the Colonial Secretary wrote to Sir George Prevost as follows:

"I have to inform you," Lord Bathurst says, "that His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, in the name of His Majesty, desires that hereafter the allowance of the Catholic Bishop of Quebec be one thousand pounds per annum, as a testimony rendered to the loyalty and good conduct of the gentleman who now occupies the

place, as well as of the other members of the Catholic Clergy of the Province."

The Anglican Bishop and Mr. Ryland objected to the recognition of the Catholic Bishop in this way, but they were repulsed by the Secretary of State, who curtly informed Dr. Mountain that it was not an auspicious time to bring up such questions. In the course of a year or so, Mgr. Plessis was officially recognized as the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. A *Mandamus* issued on the 30th of April, 1817, by which a seat in the Legislative Council of Lower Canada was accorded to him in virtue of his ecclesiastical position. Subsequently, by a circular despatch of Lord John Russell, it was directed that the word "Lord" should be put before the name of the Bishop. So ended the questions of Royal Supremacy, Ecclesiastical Superintendents, Rights of Benefices, and such kindred matters in the Church in Canada.¹

¹ The curious reader will find in the sixth volume of Christie's "Canada" the Draft of Letters Patent for the appointment of a Superintendent for the Church of Rome in Canada, an elaborate composition in four pages of fine type. A paragraph will suffice:

GEORGE III. BY THE GRACE OF GOD, ETC., ETC.

To all to whom these presents shall come:—GREETING.

WHEREAS, ETC., ETC.

Therefore, to this end, we, having great confidence in the learning, morals, probity, and prudence of our beloved A. B., of, etc., have constituted, named and appointed, and by these presents do constitute, name and appoint him, the said A. B., to be Our Superintendent Ecclesiastical for the affairs of the Church of Rome in Our Province of Lower Canada, to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said office of Superintendent Ecclesiastical for the affairs of Our Church of Rome in Our Province of Lower Canada for and during Our Royal pleasure, with a salary of pounds Sterling per annum.

THE CHURCH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé. Par L. Sciout. 4 vol.
Paris. 1872-1881.

IT is a pity that the men who attempted, so many ages ago, to found and perfect on the famous Babylonian plain a city and a state independent of the Almighty Lawgiver and Governor of the universe, have not left us a detailed account of their design, their proceedings, and their final failure. The Book of Genesis, written by a descendant of that Heber who was himself a witness and an actor in the memorable enterprise, only contains a brief, unsatisfactory mention of it. From the very ruins heaped up on that land, the second cradle, in some respects, of the human race, they are yearly digging up monumental records which shed no little light on the narrative of Genesis. This, however, in its very conciseness, is full of a pregnant and far-reaching meaning. It teaches the world that no people can build itself a home, or secure to itself permanent prosperity, greatness, and glory, while setting aside the known will of the Creator, and violating the laws of nature, or His laws rather who is the Author of nature and its laws.

"Come!" said these purblind descendants of Noe, "let us make a city and a tower, the top whereof may reach to heaven; and let us make our name famous before we be scattered abroad into all lands."

It was the City of Pride. The builders, mindful of the then recent Deluge, only sought to erect a citadel so strong and so high that no avenging flood could reach up to its battlements. Had the unnatural crimes in which they indulged made them forget that the Lord of Heaven and Earth can, at His will, submerge beneath the waters the broadest continents with their loftiest mountains, and raise up from the deepest ocean-beds continents broader and fairer with mountains loftier still?

"And the Lord came down to see the City and the Tower which the children of Adam were building. And He said: Behold it is one people and all have one tongue; and they have begun to do this, neither will they leave off from their designs till they accomplish them in deed. Come ye, therefore, let us go down, and there confound their tongue, that they may not understand one another's speech. And so the Lord scattered them from that place into all lands; and they ceased to build the City."

The second Parent of the human race, NOE, was still living among that God-defying generation, together with his blessed son Sem and the progeny of the latter. It is not to be believed that either the great Patriarch or the son, from whose line the Messiah was one day to spring, had any share in the impious pride, the self-worship, the idolatry, or the mad ambition which *then* inspired the designs and ruled the councils of the founders of Babel.

The city and the tower, which at that early age of the world, human policy and pride sought to erect in opposition to the designs of Providence, are typical of all political institutions and civil societies which men would fain build up and animate with a life and an immortality independent of the Spirit of God. But Noe and Sem were the founders of another city, the first parents of another society, with which God was evermore to abide, imparting to it the possession of truth with all the promises of eternity.

"One kingdom is," says Leo XIII.,¹ "that of God on earth, namely, the true Church of Christ, to which all who would belong, from their hearts and with due regard to their salvation, must needs serve God and His Only Begotten Son with their whole mind and most earnest will; the other kingdom is that of Satan, in whose obedience and power are all those who, following the fatal examples of their leader and our first parents, refuse to submit to the eternal law of God, and who, setting God aside, undertake many things against Him. These two kingdoms, like two cities (or states) ruled by opposite laws and following opposite purposes, are those which St. Augustine clearly discussed and described, compressing into the following words the efficient cause to which each owes its origin: *Two sorts of love gave rise to two Cities, the love of self going to the contempt of God to the Earthly City; the love of God reaching to contempt of self to the Heavenly City.*"

Never, since the rise of Mohammedanism, did the permanent conspiracy of "the City of Satan" against the Kingdom of God assume a more formidable shape, or wage a more destructive war against the Church, than in France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. And no study can better enlighten the Christian scholar on the strategy used by the conspirators to compass their end—the annihilation of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood, the extinction of Catholic worship and Catholic education, and the blotting out of Christianity itself from the land in which it was most firmly rooted.

The conspirators seemed, less than a century ago, to have succeeded completely. Providence, and the heroic resistance of the French clergy and people, baffled the persecutor when his power

¹ Encyclical *Humanum Genus*.

was most unsparing and irresistible. Still, though the conspiracy has been obliged to pause and to yield a great part of the vantage ground then gained, it has, all through the nineteenth century, been skilfully reorganizing its forces, reoccupying every available foothold of power and influence, until, exactly a hundred years after its first mighty triumphs, it proclaims itself ready to complete the work interrupted or suspended under the Directory and the Consulate.

A careful survey and analysis of the gigantic struggle which then took place, from 1789 to 1801-1802, will enable us now, as the conspirators return to the fray more powerful, more confident, and more merciless, to weigh the chances of success on either side, and to forecast the result.

As the year 1789 dawned upon the world, France, though fallen from the military supremacy which she had held in the reign of Louis XIV., was still in undisputed possession of that moral supremacy which gave her the first rank among the nations of Christendom. The peoples who had driven her fleets off the seas, and beaten her armies on the battle-field, were the first to yield to her intellectual superiority, to acknowledge the sway of her literature, her arts, and her manners. Before another decade had passed away all Europe would have to tremble before the victorious French legions.

The Popes, who had been the bestowers of all imperial and kingly titles in the Christian society which arose on the ruins of the Roman Empire, had also given to the sovereigns and peoples of Christendom the honorific titles merited by their achievements and glorious services to religion. The sovereigns of Great Britain still cling, with a not very commendable pride, to the title of "Defender of the Faith," bestowed by Leo. X. on the eighth Henry in acknowledgment of the latter's vindication of Catholic truth against Luther.

The Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary still claims the title of "Apostolic Majesty," bestowed by the Pope on St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, the apostle and parent of his people. From the same authority, the fountain of all true honor and nobility, came to the kings of Spain the envied title of "Most Catholic"; to those of Portugal the title of "Most Faithful"; and to the Kings of France that of "Most Christian." This supreme distinction was extended to their entire realm, which the successors of St. Peter loved to call "the Most Christian Kingdom"; and France herself from olden times was fondly designated as "the Oldest Daughter of the Church."

By a singular coincidence, the same volume of the Pontifical Acts of Leo XIII. which contains the magnificent encyclical on

Freemasonry also gives us the authentic text of another encyclical (*Nobilissima Gallorum gens*), addressed to the archbishops and bishops of France. The former encyclical describes the anti-Christian conspiracy which was directed in the last century toward the overthrow and utter destruction of the Church in France; the latter aims to encourage, sustain and direct the faithful hierarchy, priests and people, of "the Most Christian Kingdom" in their present gigantic struggle with the triumphant Masonic conspirators.

Weisshaupt and Voltaire chose the Most Christian Kingdom, while it was under the corrupting and degrading sway of Louis XV., as the field on which they could most successfully conspire to ruin the Church, to discredit and destroy the Catholic religion, and with it Christianity itself.

Certain it is that now, as we write, there is no longer a "Most Christian King" in the political order to represent the "Oldest Daughter of the Church"; and that the men who now govern France are anything and everything but jealous of claiming for themselves and the nation the once proud and glorious title of "Most Christian."

The overwhelming majority in both houses of the French Legislature are daily becoming more noisy and more pressing in their demand for repealing the Concordat of 1801-1802, and thus undoing what the first Bonaparte had done to restore the Church overthrown by the French Revolution. The Masonic lodges, represented by this parliamentary majority, are loud in declaring, through the all-powerful daily and periodical press which they own, that this repealing of the Concordat will clear away the ground for the anti-Christian social edifice which they contemplate erecting in the ancient kingdom of Saint Louis.

Nothing but the most preternatural forbearance on the part of Leo XIII., of his official representatives in Paris, and of the French archbishops and bishops themselves, could have staved off, from month to month and year to year, the final and inevitable rupture between the French Government and the Vatican.

There is no use in endeavoring to demonstrate to men who are either irrevocably pledged to a certain course, or forcibly urged forward by the mighty Masonic power behind them, that it would be a most sound and salutary policy to keep up friendly relations with the Holy See, the great moral and conservative force of the civilized world. It would require superhuman wisdom and superhuman eloquence to make men wilfully blind to open their eyes to the folly, the madness, of weakening the national unity by paralyzing or destroying the mightiest of all vital forces—religious conviction

and sentiment—at a time when the nation is isolated, doomed and perishing.

Such are some of the perils of the actual condition of things in France, among a people whose national character in their glorious Christian days, and whose achievements in the past, both in peace and in war, must win the admiration and sympathy of mankind.

Leo XIII. never uses words in vain. France, and even the infidel and Voltairian press of France, read with a thrill of pride the praise so justly bestowed by the Pontiff on the Frenchmen who had raised the name of their country to such a height of fame. "The most noble French nation," he says, "by their many illustrious achievements in peace and war, acquired in the eyes of the Catholic Church the singular glory of meritorious deeds for which she preserves an undying gratitude, and the glory of which can never wane. By the Christian training and institutions, to which, under the leadership of Clovis, she was initiated at an early period, she did indeed well deserve, as a testimony and reward of her faith and piety, the name of the '*Oldest Daughter of the Church*.' From that distant period . . . your forefathers seem to have been the helpers of Divine Providence itself in accomplishing mighty and salutary results; but in an especial manner has their courage gloriously shone in maintaining the Catholic name, in spreading among barbarous peoples the Christian faith, in freeing and protecting the holy places of Palestine, so as to justify the truth of the popular saying, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,—the exploits of God through the Franks.'

"And on this account it came to pass that [your ancestors] by devoting themselves in a spirit of faith to the interests of Catholicity, have become in a manner intimately associated with the glories of the Church, and have founded very many institutions, public and private, in which are displayed the powerful influence of religion, of charity, and of greatness of soul."¹

It was, therefore, a masterly stroke of the Satanic policy of the eighteenth-century conspirators to destroy the Church in such a nation; to blot out Christian faith from the lives of the people; to turn the chivalric and heroic genius which had spread, protected and represented the Christian name all over the globe into the genius of Antichristian propagandism.

But how did the conspirators go about their work?

Here lies the chief interest for the serious-minded Christian or student of history. The facts themselves, as they are rapidly and tragically evolved from month to month, from year to year, bring with them such examples of sublime heroism, in men and women

¹ Encyclical *Nobilissima Gallorum Gens*, Feb. 8th, 1884.

of all classes, as have never been surpassed in any age or in any country.

If among the 60,000 members of the French clergy at the beginning of 1789 there were found a small, a very small minority of worldly, ambitious, weak, or unworthy men, the fidelity, the purity, the devotion, the invincible constancy of the remaining host of Christian priests offer a spectacle never beheld on the same scale of grandeur.

The priesthood and people of Ireland can alone furnish a parallel to the trials to which the French Catholics were subjected during the twelve years which followed 1788. In France they were indeed twelve years which tested to the utmost the supernatural virtues of the persecuted millions. In Ireland the persecution raged for centuries. All the powers of Hell seemed let loose on the then living generation of Frenchmen. In Ireland generation after generation passed unshrinking through the fiery furnace. Nor are the present sufferings of the majority of Irishmen without their deep cause in the anti-Catholic passions inherited from an unhallowed and oppressive ascendancy.

Since 1878 the Church of France has again fallen *sub hostili dominatione*. As we write these lines the measures taken against her hierarchy, and the open persecution authorized or tolerated against her clergy, secular and regular, as well as against her religious congregations of men and women, are only the shadows—shadows dark and portentous—of mighty events near at hand.

Strange to say, the first step of the Antichristian conspirators of 1788–89 was to impose on the Catholics of France an ecclesiastical establishment that resembled in more than one feature the Protestant Establishment sought to be forced on the acceptance of Irish Catholics by Henry VIII., Edward and Elizabeth.

What is known in history as the Civil Constitution of the French Church was a part and parcel of the new political Constitution forced on Louis XVI. in 1789. In the Constituent Assembly, which framed that instrument, both the higher and lower clergy were represented. But these representatives were both insufficient in numbers and without any express or adequate powers from those who sent them; to make or sanction the mighty changes in Church and State brought about by the revolutionary majority.

Moreover, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was simply devised to create a schismatic church, wholly dependent on the State, bound hand and foot to the civil authority, destined to exist, to act, to live and move, and exercise its functions, without deriving its jurisdiction from the Vicar of Christ, or being in any wise subordinated to the centre of Catholic unity and government.

It is a fundamental doctrine of the Catholic faith that the

Church, wheresoever she exists, constitutes a society perfect in itself, with its own divinely given power to legislate, teach, administer the sacraments, to direct and govern all its members in whatever pertains to their spiritual welfare and eternal salvation.

In the national church of France, as conceived by the Constituent Assembly, as it came, modeled, moulded, trammelled, and fitted for action, from the brain and hand of its creators, there was nothing but a State machine, adapted for the performance of State functions. Its ministers were only public functionaries, made by the State, liable at will to be unmade by it, working for it alone, salaried by it like any other of its officers, receiving from it the breath of life, and looking to no other authority or power beyond the State for its *raison d'être*.

This Civil Constitution left, therefore, to the enslaved Church of France no shadow of that divine independence and inalienable freedom which the Church of Christ holds by her institution from her Divine Founder.

The first step taken toward destroying this independence was the confiscation of all church property. The needs of the public treasury were put forth as a pretext for this. But the Jansenists, Protestants, Voltairians, and Jacobins, who formed the dominant faction in the Assembly, wished to take away from the Clergy all their property, because they considered property to be, in every well ordered and stable community, the basis of independence and social freedom.

Not only was ecclesiastical property of every kind taken gradually away from its owners, but the State at length claimed the sacred vessels on the altar and the vestments used in the sanctuary.

Thus despoiled and enslaved, the French clergy would, its enemies thought, accept whatever functions or conditions the State chose to impose on them.

The Revolutionist majority in the Assembly fancied, it may be, that such of their clerical colleagues as the Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, or the Jansenist Abbé Grégoire, could be taken as samples of priestly virtue and constancy. Such men only represented the small worldly-minded minority among the glorious priesthood of France. They were the dross among the mass of pure gold which, cast into the fierce flames of the revolutionary furnace, came out thrice chastened and most worthy of the divine acceptance.

We have before us, as we write these lines, the text of the Civil Constitution sought to be forced on the French Clergy as the everlasting code of their degradation and servitude.

By a stroke of the legislative pen all the ancient sees of France

are suppressed. The old provincial demarcations have been obliterated, and the surface of the kingdom is divided into eighty-four departments. Each of these departments is to form a diocese to be presided over by a bishop. The Holy See, to which it belongs by inherent right to found a diocese and fix its limits, to institute a bishop and to give him jurisdiction over a definite portion of the flock of Christ, was entirely left out of the question both in the creation and limitation of these new dioceses, and in the nomination, consecration, and institution of the new bishops.

The political quacks and knaves who manufactured this strange code of ecclesiastical polity, boasted aloud that they were only remodeling Christianity in France on the ideal of the primitive Christian societies. Therefore did they reduce the clergy to a state of the most dependent, and, therefore, the most degrading poverty.

Moreover, as they were inaugurating a new democratic era, they would have the appointment to every office in their new church made by popular election. The departmental electors chose the bishop and submitted the choice to the state authorities. The bishop-elect thus approved by the civil power was, upon presentation of the proper official documents, to be consecrated by the neighboring bishops. These were bound to give their brother consecration and institution in the name of the State, without in any manner waiting for the consent of the Pope. The bishop thus inducted into his see was at liberty to notify the successor of St. Peter of his appointment, such notification being deemed by the legislators to be all that was required to keep up communion with the head of Catholicity!

In like manner the rectors of parishes were chosen by the district electors, the bishop being notified of the choice, and the nominee inducted into his charge by the local civil authorities.

The creative power of the State ran through every part of this Civil Constitution of the Clergy, calling forth everything into being, giving to persons, offices and functions their existence, form, and vitality.

It was all of the earth—earthly—of heaven, of what pertained to the really spiritual, supernatural, Christian order, there was no element there.

Of course no priest but an ambitious, unscrupulous, reckless one, would aspire to the evil eminence of becoming one of these "Constitutional" bishops, or would accept such a nomination when it came unsought to him. Of course, every cleric who sought or obtained office or benefice under such a bishop, felt that he acted in opposition to his own conscience, as well to the traditions and laws of the Church Catholic.

As we have said, the Pope was not consulted in this religious revolution and transformation. On the contrary, the authors and leaders of this momentous change openly professed their contempt of the Papal authority, and spoke of the Holy See and its prerogatives in the most insulting terms.

The weak Louis XVI., after many protestations and much hesitancy, gave his signature and sanction to this Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

The members of the lawful hierarchy in France, with two or three exceptions, refused to acknowledge the new ecclesiastical order of things. The dignified and the parochial clergy stood firmly by their chiefs. The only defections were among the few of the unworthy and ambitious who sought elevation, office, and pelf for their own sake.

And then began the struggle between the new intruders and the lawful hierarchy and priesthood of France. On the side of the former was arrayed the omnipotence of the State, wielded too with the violence and ferocity which an anti-Christian revolution lent to legal proceedings and popular movements.

Be it said just here that the fearful rapidity with which events were precipitated in France during 1789 and the four following years, went far to unsettle men's minds. Pius VI., so long as the Constituent Assembly only dealt with political changes and reforms, prudently abstained from all interference.

But it was otherwise when the Assembly laid its hand on the Church and invaded the sanctuary. The Pope was deeply pained by the king's action in giving the royal sanction to the Civil Constitution of the clergy. He wrote to his Majesty condemning both the royal act and the schismatic legislation which it approved. Pius VI. also wrote to some of the most exalted dignitaries in the French Church, formally reproving all that had been done against the canons and the essential rights of the divine society established by Christ.

As the French law forbade the publication in the kingdom of all Pontifical letters without the previous permission of the Council of State, these briefs of Pius VI. had not been officially published. The civil authorities and the new State bishops sturdily affirmed that no such documents existed. They went even so far as to maintain that the Pope had given his sanction to the Civil Constitution, and spurious briefs and Pontifical letters were printed and scattered broadcast throughout the country, approving all that had been done by the King and the Assembly.

In the midst of the revolutionary whirlwind and storm which prevailed in France, without intermission and with ever-increasing

fury all through these years, it was, unhappily, easy enough to deceive, or to be deceived, on such matters as Pontifical briefs.

Certain it is that long after the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had become a dead letter, and the schismatical body, which it substituted for the Church of France, had become a foul odor and evil memory, a good many persons, lay and clerical, were found who still believed that Pius VI. had approved the *Constitutionnels*, and that the condemnatory bulls issued against these were mere forgeries.

Authentic history has furnished many peremptory proofs of the fact that the schismatic church, thus created by the French Assembly, was only intended by its authors to serve to discredit the Catholic religion, and thereby to prepare public opinion for the destruction of Christianity itself.

As all the churches in France were forcibly handed over to the schismatics, so no form of public worship would be tolerated save that performed by the Constitutional bishops and their clergy. Every argument and effort, short of the most extreme violence, were made use of to compel people to be present at the Mass celebrated by the intruders. And in Paris, as well as in all the cities and country places in France, the most extreme violence, torture, bloodshed, and death itself, were resorted to against all who ventured to assist at Mass celebrated by a good priest.

The shameful and terrible scenes which were thus enacted everywhere, either in the name of the law or by the murderous villains who pretended to uphold its authority, were knowingly intended and encouraged by the revolutionary leaders for the purpose of making public worship itself odious, the most solemn rites of religion ridiculous, and thus leading, by a natural and practical sequence, to the suppression of all religious worship.

This sequence, in its logical and chronological order, is clearly marked in the records of the French Revolution.

Women, as is their wont, were most forward in their zeal to hear Mass and seek the consolation of the Sacraments from the faithful and proscribed ministers of God. The weakness of their sex proved to be no protection against the mingled ferocity and brutality of the street mobs, intoxicated by the strong wine of Jacobinism and frenzied by the blood they daily shed with perfect impunity, if not with the connivance of the clubs.

"On the 9th of April, 1791, a band of char-women, who had become an integral part of all street riots, together with a crowd of men, some of whom were dressed in women's clothes, . . . broke successively into the convents of Paris, seized the nuns and other ladies who had retired to the convents, dragged them forth into the street, and there amused themselves by beating and scourg-

ing them publicly with rods. The municipal authorities were careful not to interfere with their pleasant occupation."

Such is the first act of this kind of torture related by the historian of the Civil Constitution.

These abominable scenes took place in the capital soon after the instalment of the infamous apostate Gobel as Archbishop of Paris. "The number of nuns and other women who were thus scourged," the same author says, "was enormous. Three Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul, residing in the parish of Sainte Marguerite, died in consequence of this odious treatment."

It became the rule, wherever people were seen to go to any church but the Government churches, to assemble at the door, seize the women who came out or attempted to enter, and to whip them, no matter what their age or their condition. In Brittany and elsewhere the most shocking scenes of cruel brutality were enacted, in which the wives of the Government officials were the leading actors and the victims were cloistered nuns and Catholic ladies guilty of no crime but that of fidelity to their vows and their religion.

The poor king was himself continually besieged and his life even threatened in order to compel him to send away his Catholic confessor and chaplains, and to submit to the services of "Constitutional" priests. As Eastertide came round, the revolutionary press clamored loudly for his giving a proof of obedience to the laws, by receiving communion publicly from a schismatic priest. He compromised the matter—weakly and without pleasing anybody—by assisting with the queen and the court at a High Mass, celebrated in Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, by one of Gobel's priests.

Poor king, indeed! who knew how to die heroically, but who had never known what it was to rule and govern!

As the law imposed an oath of loyalty and obedience to the new Constitution on all who held any kind of office in the transformed French Church, a new term came immediately into use, designating and dividing into two classes the clergy of France, the schismatics or "Constitutionals" being called *prêtres assermentés* ("priests who had taken the oath"), and the Catholics being called *non-assermentés*, *non-jureurs*, or simply *prêtres réfractaires* ("disobedient priests"). The oath itself, in so far as it demanded the formal validity and approval of a Constitution at once schismatical and heretical, could not be taken in conscience by any true child of the Church.

Presently the denomination of *réfractaires* began to attach to the faithful laity as well as to the faithful priests, and marked both of them out for the assassin, the prison, or the guillotine. At first, and while the most strenuous efforts were employed to have

the Constitutional Church, its worship and ministrations accepted by the Catholic masses, the Jansenists and Protestants (like Camus and Barnave), who were the parents of this new establishment, borrowed from the religious history of Great Britain and Ireland the terms of Conformist and Nonconformist and applied them to the schismatics and Catholics respectively.

But events in France went forward with a rapidity which baffled the forethought and calculations of statesman, legislator, and philosopher. The masses in the cities, indoctrinated with the theories of the Illuminati and Voltairians, allowed the clubs to plan and the legislative assemblies to discuss laws, and to mature grand financial schemes, while they turned into acts of wholesale plunder, massacre, and oppression the notions thinly disguised under the splendid eloquence of Mirabeau, or boldly advocated as immediately practicable by Marat or the *Père Duchesne*.

The revolutionary torrent, once let loose, is an Alpine stream in springtide, which bursts over its banks, rushes madly down the declivity, inundates and devastates the plain, carrying with it bridges and dikes, and bearing along among its numberless victims both the strong man who tried to breast the current and the weak man who had sought to save himself by swimming with the tide. Such was the thought, if not the very language, of one who had witnessed the ravages of the French Revolution—the illustrious De Bonald.

The decree of the Assembly prescribing that all loyal French priests should take forthwith the oath of obedience to the constituted authorities and the established order of things, was accompanied or closely followed by an order banishing from French territory or imprisoning the non-conformists. Hundreds of priests were assassinated by bands of Jacobins in the interior of France or as they sought to reach the frontiers. The cry had been raised and re-echoed industriously that the emigrated nobles and priests were conspiring near the borders of the kingdom with the enemies of France. Armies of invasion were already in motion, it was said, led by "the monsters which France had vomited forth."

In Paris, in Versailles, and their neighborhood, the prisons and the monasteries confiscated by the Government were filled with men and women, with priests, nobles and magistrates, who had, as non-conformists, incurred the hatred of the Jacobins, or who, on simple suspicion, had been denounced by the clubs and arrested.

Who has not heard of the September massacres in Paris? The "History of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy"¹ affirms that the then Minister of Justice, Danton, organized these massacres, as he plainly paid the murderers out of the public purse.

¹ This work has received a premium from the French Academy.

During the last month the streets of Paris bore placards in flaming characters inviting proposals for a monumental statue to Danton to be set up next year. For is he not one of that giant brood of the Revolution who, after deluging France with blood, ended by destroying, devouring each other?

Surely, as the centennial celebration of 1789, the Revolutionary period it opened, approaches with rapid strides, we are justified in believing that it is not without a purpose that such names are called up and glorified in presence of the posterity of the men who did these deeds of blood.

Will the present rulers of France learn no wisdom *now* from the fearful lessons given *then* to their country and the world? With all our heart we do pray God to save Frenchmen from themselves and the logical consequences of the memories and the doctrines they cherish.

We have only made a passing allusion to the "September Massacres." They may be said to mark the real beginning of that Reign of Terror than which nothing more fearful has ever been recorded in history. It dates from August 10th, 1792, when the two rival factions of Girondists and Jacobins united their forces and compelled the king to abdicate. The authority of the Legislative Assembly was set aside by the insurgent clubs, and the Commune of Paris became the supreme power in France.

On the 11th of August, in a public session of this same Commune, it was boldly proclaimed that every member of the Royalist party and its abettors, who had been worsted and humiliated the day before, "were devoted to the guillotine."

It demanded—commanded, rather—that the Assembly should give over six millions of francs to pay the services of the men it had hired; and that very day the Assembly bestowed on every one of the 36,000 municipal councils of France the absolute right to take cognizance of all crimes of a nature to threaten either the internal or the external security of France.

This was giving to each city, town and hamlet the power to hunt, arrest, judge and execute every man, woman and child hateful to the Jacobins, who at that moment covered the entire kingdom with the network of their clubs and fearful espionage.

On August 17th, at the demand of the Commune, the Legislative Assembly created the Revolutionary Tribunal. Forthwith, and without a moment's delay, the now all-powerful Commune established a Committee of Surveillance, to receive and enregister all denunciations. It received on the spot the prophetic and truthful appellation of the Committee of Execution. Thus was wholesale murder organized and legalized; its machinery all ready and only waiting for a signal to begin its bloody work.

Already, on August the 11th, the Jacobin Central Club in Paris issued an order to all its members to spread everywhere the report that on the preceding day the non-conformist priests had disguised themselves as Swiss guards and had attempted to massacre the friends of the Revolution.

On the 13th it was announced in the Assembly that the town council of Rouen, friendly to the king, had purchased eight cannons, three thousand muskets, and that the city was drilling five thousand priests to the use of arms.

The next day the Assembly decreed that all the bronze monuments to be found in the churches of Paris and the provinces should at once be melted and made into cannons. Then came, in hot haste, an order from the Commune to break up and melt all the crucifixes and lecterns in the churches and chapels, to leave but two bells for each parish, and to deliver forthwith to the mint every vessel of gold and silver in the sacristies or on the altars.

"The most sacred worship of all," said the Mayor of Paris in a proclamation, "IS LAW. . . . The misery of the people calls for the suppression of these superfluous bells. They only sound to flatter the pride of the rich, the enemies of equality even after death, who will have these bells disturb the poor man's sleep."

One can imagine the agitation, the excitement, the terror, which all these decrees, these orders, these rumors, tended to create in the minds of the peaceful masses.

But, the reader will ask, was there no army in France, to stand by the king, the head of the State, to protect citizens from anarchy and riotousness?

No! Step by step the military forces of France had been disorganized, broken up, scattered, annihilated. A kind of citizen-soldiery, called the National Guard, arose in the cities at the bidding of the Jacobin clubs, with which most of the members of this force and all its officers were affiliated. These guards became everywhere the shameful abettors of illegal violence and murder.

Moreover, in every locality, the municipal government was, in fact, supreme. Its decrees and its acts were all the more sure to be applauded in Paris, that they displayed a greater zeal in punishing and exterminating "the enemies of the Revolution."

The Catholics were, in city, town, village and country-side, the "mad dogs" which all could hunt and kill and be thanked for it. Why wonder, then, at the September massacres?

On August the 31st, the eve of this never-to-be-forgotten saturnalia of blood, Tallien read in the Legislative Assembly a long address or message from the Commune in which was found this striking sentence:

"We had all the priests, disturbers of the peace, arrested; we

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have had them placed in confinement in conformity with your decree, *and before many days are over the soil of Liberty shall be cleansed of their presence.*

Examining the official daily reports of the National Guard of Paris on September 3d, the third day of the massacres, we have the following entry :

"A crowd of armed persons went last night to the prisons and did justice to the evil-disposed of August 10th. *There is nothing else. Patrols and rounds made exactly in the legions (districts).*"

This is eloquent enough and needs no commentary.

To the Legislative Assembly succeeded the National Convention, elected on the very day when the prisons and streets of Paris were running red with the blood of priests and bishops. Thus, born in blood, its baneful existence was marked by the hecatombs unceasingly immolated in the desecrated names of liberty, equality and fraternity.

On September 21st the Convention declared that royalty was abolished in France. The Republic was proclaimed the next day. Within the bosom of this sanguinary assembly the two great parties, Girondists and Jacobins, or Sans-culottes, began the bitter conflict to be ended on June 2d, 1793, by the defeat and proscription of the former.

Before then the ill-starred Louis XVI. terminated his life on the scaffold, displaying in his captivity, his trial and his death, the virtues which atoned for the weakness and mistakes of a reign which he would have made a happy and a prosperous one had his lot been cast in other times.

His heroic wife and sister perished after him, the former standing forth amid the lurid light of that epoch as the sublimest tragic figure of all time; her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, appearing by her side as the angel of Divine consolation and gentleness.

How many other noble men and women, noble in every sense of the word, but rendered infinitely so by their sufferings and their Christian fortitude, pass in countless procession before the eye of the historian during that year of terror, 1793! Where can be found such a vindication of Christian culture, Christian civilization at its highest, as in the conduct, under unequalled trial, of these leading classes of French society, offering calmly the flower of their manhood and womanhood to be cut off by the pitiless guillotine, while the mob jeered and they prayed for France and her people with their latest breath?

The leading classes in the kingdom of Saint Louis had, in the preceding hundred years, given examples and favored opinions which Providence could not allow to remain unpunished. France had been raised to a sort of primacy among the nations of Chris-

tendom. The scandals of the two long reigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth Louis had to be expiated by the martyrdom of Louis XVI. and his magnanimous queen.

We see around us in the Paris, in the France of 1888 the descendants of that old nobility devoting their whole existence to the defence of religion and the welfare of the laboring classes. They are the men on whom the world relies for the final regeneration of their people and country.

Others there are, also, who seem bent on following the giddy, pleasure-loving, self-seeking crowd around them in their blind, headlong race to perdition. They seem to have learned nothing, nothing, from the glorious examples of their kinsfolk and class in 1792 and 1793.

Does Providence, or shall we rather not say nature, whose laws and lessons these men and women so criminally violate, intend to renew for them within the next decade the teachings and trials of a hundred years ago?

But while clergy and nobles were thus leading all classes of the French people in that right-royal road of suffering and devotion, the revolutionary factions were destroying each other.

Robespierre and Saint Just immolated hecatombs of the Girondists who had been so ardent in proscribing, banishing, massacring the faithful French clergy and non-conformist laymen.

Then came the turn of the ferocious Danton and his blood-stained acolytes, sent to the guillotine by the same Robespierre. And so the terrible orgies of mingled impiety and bloodshed went on, till the demons who governed France, appalled and horrified by the monstrous cruelty of the leading terrorist, seized him, tried and sentenced himself and his peers in atrocity to the death they had meted out to so many thousands.

Then came a momentary lull in the storm. The earthquake, the whirlwind, and the flame ceased awhile to rob men of their sleep by night and their reason by day. But the persecution against the devoted, the unconquerable, priests of France continued without abatement.

Without speaking of the thousands who perished from 1789 to 1801, within the limits of French territory, falling by the hands of the Jacobin murderers, by the guillotine, the wholesale fusillades, the *noyades* or wholesale drownings at Nantes, hundreds upon hundreds met a premature death in the prisons, in the convict ships at Rochefort, in the fetid transports which conveyed them to the coasts of Spain and Italy, or bore them to the distant, fever-haunted shores of French Guyana. Here they were, of a set purpose, sent away into the most unwholesome part of a country which at its best is fatal to the European colonist. They were huddled to-

gether in long sheds built of wattles and covered only with branches, the breeding place of venomous reptiles and insects innumerable.

Through this roof the equatorial rains poured down in torrents on the wretched inmates, who were compelled to sleep as best they might on the soaked ground. And as to wholesome or sufficient food, or care for the sick and the aged, such things could not be thought of in a place of perpetual torture, well called *la guillotine sèche* (the dry guillotine), because the blood of the martyrs was not daily poured forth on the earth that witnessed such cruelty.

No; the blood of these heroic sufferers did not cry out to Heaven from the soil of our America. But the voice of their daily prayers did continually ascend to the Mercy Seat on high. For, in the authentic accounts left us of these confessors of the faith in Guyana, we are told that, with all their unspeakable sufferings and wretchedness, the daily life of these prisoners was as regular and edifying as that led at Clairvaux by St. Bernard and his first disciples. The divine office was recited at the appointed hours; the long morning meditation was made in common—a bath of life, renovating all the energies of the soul, and lifting up the infirm body itself to share the sublime energy of the spirit.

All this happened under the Directory. When, at length, an order came to bring back to France the remnants of that martyr-band, it was only to pen them up once more in the naval fortresses of the Isle of Rhé—as if the persecutor hoped that not one of his victims should survive to relate what they had been made to endure.

As to the exiled French priests, England, Ireland, the United States, and Canada have not forgotten their virtues. In our New World they seemed naturally to take up the work begun and carried on two centuries before by French Franciscans and Jesuits, by the priests of Saint Sulpice and the missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec. We can never repay the debt we owe them.

But we can, as 1889 brings to our mind the centennial memory of their sufferings, give to their brethren and successors in France, and to the noble people so honored by their Christian heroism, the hearty tribute of our sympathy and prayers.

For, unless we sadly mistake the signs of the times, both the French Catholics and their clergy are about to pass through an ordeal which shall test that same Christian heroism as fully as the persecutions of Girondist or Terrorist.

One fearful engine of persecution and torture exists in the France of to-day, which was only feebly represented a century ago by Marat's *Ami du Peuple*, and by the ferocious *Père Duchesne*; that is, the ubiquitous, all-powerful, and anti-Christian press of Paris and the Provinces.

The Jacobin Clubs of the French Revolution, covering as they did the entire kingdom, created among the masses, among the needy and turbulent working city classes especially, a murderous public opinion directed against religion, against the Church, the clergy, the religious orders, and all ecclesiastical institutions.

This public opinion, systematically fostered, kept up a Satanic hatred of the very name of priest, and of everything connected with his profession. Side by side with this monstrous hatred a contempt of religion was fostered, which was as effective as the homicidal hatred itself.

As I read the discourses pronounced in the States General of 1789, in the Constituent Legislative Assemblies, and in the National Convention, I find that the foremost orators give continual vent to both of these sentiments. They give their coloring to the legislative decrees, the official reports, the language of the clubs, the editorials in the press, the countless, clever, and inflammatory pamphlets with which the country was deluged. These same pamphlets, more perhaps than anything else, continually excited the people to contempt and hatred of religion, and then to the murder of all religious persons.

The assassins in the pay of Danton, who broke into the prisons of Paris and slaughtered indiscriminately men and women, had but two words by which they addressed their victims—*scélérat* (villain), *misérable* (wretch). Not a bishop fell, unresisting, beneath the hand of the executioner, or the stroke of the assassin, but was apostrophised in this way.

The cargoes of priests who were sent across the ocean to perish miserably on the voyage, or to suffer and die obscurely in the swamps of Guyana, were all spoken of as if they were the deepest-dyed criminals, the vilest among the vile. And this language is persistently applied to them by the men in power, by legislators and officials, down to the time of the First Consulate.

This same policy and practice is skilfully pursued in France at the present time. One needs only to be present in the French Chambers during any discussion where the interest of the laboring classes, the question of education, the maintenance of the Budget of Public Worship, or the exemption of clerics from military service are concerned, to be convinced, by the insulting and outrageous language of the radical majority that they despise religion and the priesthood with a heartiness which only equals the fierce and ferocious hatred expressed against the Church, her ministers, and institutions.

The whole civilized world is thoroughly informed about the success and completeness with which the party in power in France is carrying out the programme of the Masonic Lodges in de-Chris-

tianizing France and *laïcising* (as they term it) school and hospital, almshouse and prison, the army and the navy.

The religious orders of men and women—even those devoted to the care of the orphan, the aged, and the sick—are pitilessly proscribed, and must disappear. Few, indeed, of them are left in the institutions where they so long ministered, like angels of light and mercy, to the deepest needs of our poor stricken humanity.

But the Masonic press must needs cover these men and women, the honor of France and the glory of their kind, with infamy before they drive them forth from their homes.

Several instances of this kind of wholesale moral assassination have quite recently occurred. The most monstrous vices are imputed to the members of these devoted communities. The entire infidel press has repeated the foul assertion again and again before any refutation can reach the public. And even when this refutation, peremptory and triumphant, appears, who but Catholics will read it in the columns of the Catholic journals?

It is the purpose of the slanderers that the lie should start on its rounds far ahead of the refutation. They know that the lie will take root and flourish and bear fruit among the classes from which truth is as carefully excluded as the light of day is from the caves of Kentucky.

It would seem a hopelessly unequal battle. But French Catholics do not lose heart, or despair of their Church or their country.

It was the most splendid achievement of the anti-Christian conspirators to weaken, humiliate, dismember, and isolate France. There is no longer any Congress of Christian powers in which France may claim the first seat as the most Christian nation. They have humbled her in the dust. And now it is sought to extinguish in her bosom the last spark of that Christian faith which sent St. Louis to Palestine and Samuel de Champlain to Quebec.

They will not succeed. The insane effort to build up a new nation, or to restore a fallen one, by giving it atheism as a cornerstone or a crowning, is as futile as to think that the Eiffel Tower, when completed, will be as splendid a triumph of the builder's art as Notre Dame, or St. Peter's in Rome, or the Cathedral of Cologne.

ANGELS AND MINISTERS OF GRACE.

OUR mortal eyes are held in that, through their agency, we have but small knowledge of a yet smaller portion of the creation. "Who," asks the inspired writer, "is able to declare His works?" And because our vision is so held, except we are blessed with the faith which is "the substance of things hoped for, the conviction of things which appear not," we gradually lose the remembrance of, or belief in, the existence of things not seen. So in the rush and turmoil of this, our nineteenth century, we are carried upon its flood with such an impetus that it is impossible to give our souls pause, or to cast a retrospective glance at the period when time was not—nor aught else, save God.

The era of the Creation looms up but dimly from out the mists of the ages, and the days when Adam walked in Paradise seem so lost in the perspective, that many of his sons, impatient of the mental strain required to trace yesterday into yesterday through yesterdays innumerable, have taken refuge in a total denial of the yesterday sought:

"In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved over the waters."

Until then, since an eternity, so incomprehensible that in the endeavor to realize it the first of Creation's mornings presses so closely upon our own little day as to seem a part of it, the perfections of the Godhead had been revealed to no created sense. Reflected in that vast crystal sea which St. John saw spread before the Throne, the beauty and the grandeur of the adorable Trinity had sufficed unto itself.

That boundless Love, ever springing from the Nature of the Father, found no created being to revel in the beauty of it; to thank Him for the boon of it; no responsive spirit to bow in adoration.

But "God said, 'Be Light made,' and Light was made, and God saw the Light that it was good!"

He spoke, and lo! the refulgence of thrice three thousand suns could not make up the sum of that material light's intensity. Whence was it? Did it emanate from the Face of the Triune God? Or was it a radiance from the wings of those ethereal beings to whom that Word, gifted with twofold power over the material and the intellectual, was the Word of Life?

Endowed with a wisdom and a knowledge of which the finite mind of man cannot conceive, the Angels understood the scheme of the Creation, and that it included a being gifted with an intelligence only a little lower than their own, whose place in heaven should be nearer the Throne than theirs, won by the sacrifice of God to God; that this Sacrifice was to be the outcome of the Creator's love for this creature, all ungrateful and disobedient though he be. Their jealousy at this choice of a nature wanting in so many of their own high gifts, and, therefore, so immeasurably beneath the Godhead, and their astonishment at this revelation, fructified into insurrection. One-third of their number, led by him who, even amid that refulgent throng, shone as the Star of the Morning, fell into rebellion against the Will they had so lately worshipped.

And for their sin there was no mercy; awful beyond the power of words was their instantaneous punishment.

I.

For an account of the fall of the Angels, which, according to theologians, took place before the creation of man, and about the first day of the six devoted by the Creator to His work, we must go to the last book of the Scriptures—the Apocalypse. By a retrospective revelation St. John was allowed to witness this engagement, short, sharp, and decisive.

“And there was a great battle in Heaven; Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and they prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, the old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world; and he was cast forth into the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.”

Let us rise on the wings of Faith, guided by the Word of God, to the Footstool of the Throne. Here, nearest to Jehovah, stand the Seven; St. John saw in His hand the seven stars, which “are the angels of the seven churches,” and that each angel held a trumpet. Very beautiful is the vision which the Scriptures permit of these:

First of the mystic group is the princely Michael; he whom we saw but now flushed with victory. This radiant figure stands forth distinct and glorious, even in the white splendor which surrounds his God.

Gabriel, the gentle angel of the Annunciation, the Trumpeter of the Judgment Day, is particularly dear to us, as it was through him came the glad tidings of redemption.

Raphael, he whose nature responds to the heart-throbs of hu-

manity, to whom he brings most tender comforting, is the prince of guardians.

Uriel is mentioned in the Fourth Book of Esdras, "The angel who was sent to me, whose name was Uriel."¹

The nine choirs form the next division, but the sacred text does not give the order of their service.

Although the sacred writings do not tell us of any special ministry of the angels while our first parents were untempted, the sense of Scripture is that Lucifer, the fallen Archangel, spoke by the Serpent's crafty tongue. Then came the act of disobedience, and the man and woman were driven from their earthly Eden while Cherubim and a flaming sword turning every way kept the gates.

Hagar, fleeing from Sarah's anger, is met by an angel and sent back, and the future greatness of her unborn son is told her. Afterwards, the innocent victim of a jealous woman's anger, she is turned into the wilderness with her child. Her small stock of provisions soon fails, and where in all that stretch of sand will she find water? She puts the child down, and, going a distance, covers her face and wails out her plaint to God. The heaven opens and an angel speaks. A fountain has sprung up at His bidding, and the outlawed boy is saved.

The three men whom Abraham entertained in his tent, and at whose prophesy Sarah laughed, were angels. An angel prevented the sacrifice of Isaac; because of Lot's hospitality to two angels he and his escape the destruction of Sodom. Jacob has the vision of the ladder upon which angels are ascending and descending. Again, angels meet him when fleeing from Laban, but no mention is made of their mission. Later an angel wrestles with him, from whom he afterwards asks a blessing.

Night falls over Egypt and in its silence the dread angel of God goes through the land touching with fateful finger the hearts of the first born and bids their pulsations cease. Then, and not till then, does Moses lead out the chosen people. An angel guide is provided for them, to whom God advises them to listen:

"Take notice of him and hear his voice, and do not think him one to be condemned, for he will not forgive when thou hast sinned and My Name is in him."

There is another battle between Michael and the fallen Lucifer, which is mentioned only by St. Jude in his epistle, and that was "when Michael the Archangel, disputing with the devil, contended about the body of Moses." It is Michael whom Joshua meets in

¹ The Fourth Book, however, it must be remembered, is not recognized by the Church as canonical Scripture. She, nevertheless, has adopted from it one of her Introits in Easter week. From the same book is derived the text current through all Christendom, "*Magna est veritas, et praevalerebit*" (Truth is great, and shall prevail).

the field of Jericho. Unlike the wrestler with Jacob, he does not refuse to tell his name. After Joshua's death the people fall back into idolatry, and an angel is sent to reproach them, whereupon, with equal facility they repent and lift up their voices in weeping. The place of their lamentation is called the Place of Tears.

Gideon was called while engaged in preparations for flight from the Madianites. To the salutation of the angel, "The Lord is with thee, O, most valiant of men," he returned an answer very natural under the circumstances: "I beseech thee, my Lord, if the Lord be with us, why have these evils fallen upon us?" And when, after the burning of the victims of the usual sacrifice offered on such occasions by means of the fire communicated through the touch of the angel's rod, Gideon recognized the character of his celestial visitor, he was alarmed lest death follow, and cried out, "Alas! my Lord God; for I have seen the angel of the Lord face to face." And the Lord answered, "Peace be with thee; fear not, thou shalt not die."

The story of the birth of Samson is a long one. When upon the offering of the sacrifice "the flame of the altar went up towards heaven, the angel of the Lord ascended also in the flames," and Manoe also feared death from having seen the face of an angel.

Sennacherib sought to destroy the holy city, and lo! an angel of the Lord goes out and smites his forces during the night.

There is no more exquisite idyllic picture in all the old Testament than the story of Tobias and his archangelic companion. The meeting, the journey, the return—each is perfect in itself, and through all the sweetness of the great prince of the heavenly cohorts is seen his prudence, wisdom and charity supreme.

The prophets held daily converse with these celestial messengers, receiving the word of God through their agency. Isaias saw the Seraphim gathered about the Godhead making a shield of their wings. And they cried to one another: Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of His Glory! And one of the Seraphim flying to the prophet, touched his lips with a live coal which he had taken off the altar, with the tongs, saying: Behold this hath touched thy lips, and thy iniquity shall be taken away, and thy sin shall be cleansed.

The vision recorded in the first chapter of Ezechiel was of the Cherubim: "The noise of their wings, like the noise of many waters, as it were the voice of the Most High . . . and when they stood their wings were let down." In Daniel we read of the angel who walked with the three young men in the fiery furnace. The prophet's vision of the ram and goat is interpreted by Gabriel, and, again, that later vision, relating to the coming of our Lord, is read by the same messenger. The third vision vouchsafed to Daniel is after

he has humbled himself by fasting and penance. Again, Gabriel, although he is not named, comes to comfort him, for the vision was most awful in its grandeur. He explains it at great length, but before doing so recounts a battle which he had with the "Prince of the kingdom of the Persians," in which Michael had assisted him. After recounting the meaning of the vision, he says: "And now I will return to fight against the prince of the Persians. When I went forth, there appeared the prince of the Greeks coming, . . . and none is my helper in all these things but Michael your prince, that is, the guardian angel of the Jews." Gabriel also tells Daniel that from the first year of Darius the Mede, "I stood up," *i.e.*, "fought for him, that he might be strengthened and confirmed"—to assist God's chosen people. When Daniel was thrown the second time into the lion's den, Gabriel was ordered to carry Habacuc by the hair of his head from Judea to Babylon, that he might feed the imprisoned prophet with the dinner he had prepared for the reapers, "and he had boiled pottage and had broken bread in a bowl."

When Zacharias questioned as to the meaning of his vision of the angels, the Archangel Michael replied. Afterwards the Archangel made that touching supplication for the people: "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou have mercy upon Jerusalem and on the cities of Judea with which thou hast been angry, this is now the seventieth year?" This book is replete with angelic explanations of prophetic utterances.

And when Heliodorus would have seized the treasure of the Temple, he was baffled. "For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, adorned with a very rich covering, and he ran fiercely and struck Heliodorus with his fore-feet, and he that sat upon him seemed to have armor of gold. Moreover, there appeared two other young men, beautiful and strong, bright and glorious, and in comely apparel," who added the scourging with many stripes to the trampling of the hoofs.

As the priest Zachary is performing the duties of his office by offering incense within the Temple, an angel stands beside the altar and foretells the birth of John. He announces himself to be "Gabriel, who stands before God." Meantime the Sinless One has been assigned by marriage to the protection of Joseph, and six months after his visit to Zachary the same benignant being stands within the humble Nazarite house and hails its mistress "Full of Grace!"

The work of redemption is begun.

An angel dispels the doubts of Joseph regarding his beloved spouse, and saves the Immaculate from vulgar judgment.

"Whilst deep silence dwelt on all things below, and the night was in the midst of its course, the Almighty Word came down

from its throne." Mary and Joseph kneel in humblest adoration, angels throng the stable, while out there, where there are shepherds watching their flocks by night, an angel of the Lord appears and bids them "fear not, for I bring ye glad tidings. This day is born to you a Saviour who is Christ the Lord," . . . and presently there was a multitude of the heavenly hosts with him singing "Glory to God on high and on earth peace!"

An angel warns Joseph of the designs of Herod, and directs him to carry the Child into Egypt. When the danger is over, by the same messenger, he is ordered to return to his own country, but to Nazareth, not Bethlehem.

After the going up to Jerusalem and that mysterious three days, loss, there is silence, and the next eighteen years are summed up in five little words: "He was subject to them."

The three years so full of mystery, of awe, and of awe-dispelling love, began, as we know, with the Baptism. If the Dove which descended upon the Son of Mary on that occasion was accompanied by angels, there is no record of them. Only after the temptation is there mention of any such spiritual ministrations. Again, in that most awful dereliction in the Garden, when the precious blood streamed from every pore, St. Luke tells of an angel coming to strengthen Him. The sacred writings make no more mention of angels through those hours of torture; only on the morning of the resurrection do we again see their radiant faces. And once more upon the hill of the Ascension is their gracious presence visible.

In the Acts we read of the revelation by an angel to Cornelius of the Italian Legion; of the sending of St. Peter to him; of the release of St. Peter from prison, and of the constant interest with which they fulfil their Creator's bequests in His ordering of His Church.

The Apocalypse teems with angel ministrants.

At the last day—that direful day, sung by sibyls and prophets, at the very thought of which our bodies faint and our souls shrink into nothingness, the power and the beauty and the multitude of the angelic hosts will be fully revealed, as God's messengers and assistants; led by Michael, Gabriel, and their compeers, they will bear to each the blessing or the ban as the soul shall merit. With triumphant hosannas they will marshal the saved into their own bright realms; with pity, perhaps, but with unquestioning obedience they will drive the lost into the yawning pit.

II.

In the preceding remarks the Scripture story has been followed, if not in its entirety, at least with no presuming note or comment. All flights of fancy, all dreams of poets or of painters have been

intentionally ignored, although the temptation to fill out the outlines as they ran was great. But in portraying the angels as guardian spirits, it will not be possible to preserve so colorless a tone.

In what has been collected we see that the angels were indeed ministering spirits, guarding and watching, not only individuals but nations, not only cities, but temples and altars. Hence the doctrine referring to the guardian angels is built upon foundations coming up from the beginning of the world, although not defined as *of faith*. The conviction has always been general that angels are the agents of Divine Providence.

"The angels," says Origen, "preside over all visible things, earth, air, fire and water; that is, over the principal elements, the animals, the celestial bodies. Their ministries are divided. Some take the productions of the earth; others preside over wells and rivers; some again preside over the winds, others over the sea."

Nor is this the only patristic testimony. Even pagans support the idea, as Apuleius. "If it is not becoming for a king to govern all things by himself, much less would it be so for God. We must, then, believe that, in order to preserve his majesty, he is seated on a sublime throne, and rules over all parts of the universe by celestial powers. It is, in fact, by their ministry that he governs this lower world. To do so costs him neither trouble nor calculation, things which are inseparable from the ignorance and the weakness of man."

They preside also over the government of the invisible world. Ministering spirits sent to procure the sanctification of the elect, the angels execute the will of God towards man. It is certain that He has almost always made use of their services in the wonders which He has wrought, in the graces which He has bestowed, and in the just judgments which He has executed in favor of His Church, as well under the old as under the new law.

Judith went forth into the camp of Holofernes restful in her confidence in the protection of her angel-guardian. In the Acts one of the most prominent displays of angelic interference is the sending of Philip the Deacon to the road leading from Jerusalem to Gaza, that he might instruct and baptize the envoy of Queen Candace.

They keep guard over the human race, and it is chiefly to this guardianship and care that the celestial intelligences are appointed. "God," says Lactantius, "sends His angels to guard, and, as it were, to cultivate the human race; they are our guides and tutors."

They guard empires, as we have seen in Daniel, the archangel Gabriel is engaged in dispute with the Prince of the Persians. From this passage and some others, the Fathers absolutely conclude that every nation or kingdom has its tutelary angel. St. Basil positively distinguishes national from individual guardian

angels, and proves, by Scripture, the existence of both these angelic ministries. The other Fathers of the Church teach the same.

They guard each church. That which St. Basil, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and many other ancient writers say of kingdoms and nations they also say of each particular church, which they do not doubt is placed under the protection of a special tutelar angel. Origen states in several places that it would be too long to prove it. Eusebius, of Caesarea, is no less formal. "God wishes," he says, "that every angel should watch as a guardian over the Church committed to it."

St. Gregory Nazianzen believed the same thing. Hence in the beautiful discourse which he delivered when quitting Constantinople and bidding a tender farewell to all who had been connected with that great metropolitan Church, he placed in the first rank the holy angels who were the protectors of it. All the Fathers were persuaded, with St. Ambrose, that God is not content with establishing a bishop over each flock, but He has likewise appointed an angel to guard it.

They guard the universal Church. If each particular Church has a tutelar angel, with much greater reason must we suppose that a very large number of angels watch continually over the welfare of the universal Church. "The celestial powers," says Eusebius, "guard the Church of God." St. Hilary represents them as surrounding the sheepfold of Jesus Christ, and fulfilling in its regard the duties of soldiers, who are appointed to the defence of a city. St. Gregory of Nyssa compares them to that tower which is mentioned in the Canticle of Canticles and from which hung an immense number of bucklers, to teach us that these blessed spirits protect and defend the Church in its continual warfare against the powers of darkness.

They guard each one of us. Every man has a guardian angel destined to enlighten, defend and guide him during the whole course of his mortal life. This consoling truth is, next after dogmas expressly defined, one of the best founded in Scripture and tradition. Although it is neither expressed in formal terms in the Holy Books, nor absolutely defined by the Church, it is, nevertheless, received by the unanimous consent of this same universal Church. It has, moreover, so solid a foundation in texts of Scripture, understood according to the interpretation of the holy fathers, that we cannot deny it without very great temerity and almost without error. Such is the opinion of Suarez, who remarks, moreover, that Calvin was the first who dared to call this truth in question and then to reject it.

So far the Catechism of Perseverance, which we have followed almost verbatim.

"He has given His angels charge over thee, and in their hands shall they bear thee up, lest, perhaps, thou hurt thy foot against a stone." These words of the royal prophet and sweet singer of Israel, although pointing especially to our Saviour, as is seen by Satan's quotation after the temptation, yet are equally applicable to each one of us. Our Saviour Himself says of the little ones that "their angels do behold the Face of my Father who is in Heaven."

The love which these guardians bear us is so ardent that the prophet asks: "Who makest thy ministers a burning fire?" According to St. Augustine their love is beyond all conception; it is fanned into a flame by the consideration of God, of man, and of themselves. It is the perfection of charity. They are so ravished by the ineffable dignity, beauty and loveliness of the Sacred Humanity that, according to St. Peter (1 : 12), the more they gaze upon it the more they love it, the more they would like to love it, the more they consecrate themselves to it, the more perfect still they would wish to make their holocaust, "on whom the angels desire to look." And again, "when He bringeth in the first begotten into the world, He saith: "And let all the angels of God adore Him?"

St. Augustine calls them the "enlighteners of our souls, the protection of our bodies, the warden of our goods." In Jacob's blessing upon his grandsons, "the angel that delivereth me from all evils, bless these boys," we have authority for begging their blessing upon our avocations and ourselves. And in the angel who walked in the fiery furnace with the three children we see how they sympathize with us in our afflictions. Also in Isaias: "Behold they that see shall cry without, the angel of peace shall weep bitterly." But also—O blessed and most sweet comforting! "there is joy among the angels of heaven over one sinner who repenteth more than over ninety-nine just."

How triumphantly do Peter's words sound, after his liberation: "Now I know in very deed that the Lord hath sent His angel and delivered me out of the hand of Herod and from all the expectation of the Jews." And Judith proclaimed, with the same triumphant spirit, to the people how she had trusted to her guardian angel: "As the Lord liveth, His angel hath been my keeper both going hence and abiding there and returning from thence, hither."

"Our weakness," adds St. Hilary, "could not resist the malice of the evil spirits without the assistance of our guardian angels." "God aiding," says St. Cyril, "we have nothing to fear from the powers of darkness, for it is written: the angel of the Lord will encamp round those who fear Him and will deliver them."

"Our guardian angels," to quote Origen again, "offer our prayers to God through Jesus Christ, and they also pray for him who is confided to them." "It is certain," says St. Hilary, "that the angels preside at the prayers of the faithful." And St. Augustine once more: "The angels not only bring us the favors of God, but they also offer Him our prayers." Not that God is ignorant of them, but the more easily to obtain for us the gifts of His mercy and the blessings of His grace."

St. John saw, as he tells us in the Apocalypse, "another angel came and stood before the altar having a golden censer, and there was given him much incense, that he should offer the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which is before the throne of God, and the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God, from the hand of the angel.

But above all, in his gracious, tender patience, his pity and compassion, as type of angelic compassion, stands forth the star-crowned Raphael.

This dispensation is not the least among the adorable rulings of God's mercy to men. These friends of ours, closer and more intimate than any mortal companion can be, never leave our side. Some favored few among us, of exceptional holiness have been permitted, either to see their guardian in material form, to realize his guiding by sensible touch, or to receive his advice through their sense of hearing. The fathers do not agree as to the extent of the protection of the angels to all men. Some think that each human being in existence has a guardian who never leaves him; others that only the just are so favored and only for the time that they persevere in justice. Sin seems to move them to a distance. St. Basil says: "The angels are always near each faithful soul, unless they are banished by evil actions." He says also that the guardian angels assist those more especially who give themselves to fasting. St. Thomas says that no sinner is entirely abandoned by his guardian angel.

Adversaries of the doctrine of the invocation of saints and angels seize upon the use of the word worship, as implying an adoration as to God. In this they do not distinguish between worship and worship; the Church does so, very strongly. Supreme homage or worship has, in the language of the schools been denominated *Latria*.¹ There is a lower honor or worship which we are even commanded in the Decalogue to give to superiors and rulers, religious and civil. How much more is such honor owing to angels and saints, whom God is pleased to honor as His friends?

¹ From the Greek *λατρία*,—the worship due to God only;—from *λατρεύω*, to serve, to worship. (See Rock's "Hierurgia," p. 227.)

In the Western Church there was no such difficulty of misinterpretation of the honor paid as there was in the East. Here the devotion has grown with the centuries. The mention of the Angels is frequent in the Psalter, of which the canonical office consists. There is a commemoration of them in the Preface and in the Canon of the Mass and so incorporated was the reverence of them into the daily prayers of the people and the festivities of the Church, that no special day was assigned in which to honor them for some years. Afterwards the 2d of October was made the Feast of the Guardian Angels, setting this special phalanx of the heavenly army aside from the others. But as the Church, gathering the months into her hands, transforms them into spiritual blossoms and with them weaves an unfading wreath to lay at the Tabernacle door, so the month of October is the flower of the angels and during its thirty-one days, they are kept particularly in the minds and hearts of her children.

"White winged angels meet the child
On the vestibule of life,"

And they follow it through all the years allotted to it upon this terrestrial globe; nor does the bright spirit leave its charge until the soul, having been withdrawn from its earthly tenement, receives its sentence, whether for weal or woe.

This teaching regarding the angels is only one of the many charms with which our Mother would charm her children. In fact, the Catholic lives in an ideal world of which those outside the Fold have small conception, a world of ideals and symbols—which elevates, consoles and purifies—a world within this one of human wants and weaknesses, yet above and beyond it and by means of which the Mighty Mother draws her little ones as by silken cords up to the tender Heart of her heavenly Bridegroom.

"Thou art all beautiful, O my Beloved, and there is no spot in thee!" Such is the Church, the Pillar and Ground of the Faith.

III.

The first poet to commemorate these ethereal and intangible creations was the Shepherd-king of Israel. But at the mention of them in connection with the literature belonging to them, one naturally turns to Milton and his immortal epic. To be sure, he gives us angels as grim, stern and solemn as himself and his poem; here and there, however, will break forth a picture of airy grace and beauty which astonishes. He evidently shared St. Thomas' idea regarding the action of the angels in the creation; as in the tenth book of "*Paradise Lost*:"

“ Such was their song,
While the Creator, calling forth by name
His mighty angels, gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things.”

This description of the fallen spirits thrills with a horror which fixes rather upon the punishment than the crime, and he portrays his Lucifer more the proud, rebellious mortal than the incarnation of sin. In reading Milton's Satan, we are more inclined to pity than to blame:

“ What time his pride
Had cast him out of heaven with all his host
Of rebel angels, by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,
He trusted to have equalled The Most High.”

Picture the conquering spirits hanging motionless amid the blue empyrean, while with awe-struck vision they watched his fall. And in that fall did some, ere the sulphurous fumes of the fiery lake hid them from their agonized gaze, turn, touched by a too late repentance, one backward glance at the crystal battlements of their lost inheritance, the glory and the beauty of which no human tongue can portray? utter a cry for mercy which mingled and lost itself in the triumphant hosannas of the celestial army?

And Lucifer?

Did an all too late submission come to him with the remembrance of his vacant place, up there, before the Face of God? Or, perhaps, as he, in his unconquered insolence, proclaimed that it were better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven—even his own vaunting words may have aroused the fell despair which was ever after to be his other self and forced him to exclaim:

“ Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and Infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell;
And in the lowest deep a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven.”

The battle over, what joy amid the triumphant choirs! What sheathing of celestial swords, what massing of heavenly standards. How the archangelic cohorts must have awaked the soft zephyrs of that higher Eden, as, on silvery pinions they swept through the radiant masses to meet and escort the victor to his place before the throne, casting one glance of regret, perhaps, towards the vacant spot where erst resplendent Lucifer shone amid his princely compeers!

Not all the physical perfections yet left to fallen humanity, were they centred in one being, could compare with those of the first of the star-crowned seven. As, however, in the performance of his

Creator's behests, Michael has shown himself to us a young man clothed in full and radiant panoply—so only can we bring him before our mental vision. But even then we dare not raise our eyes to the splendor of that heavenly armor, else we lose all power of future seeing.

Come we now to the earthly Eden, and entering walk beneath the umbrageous branches of the tree of knowledge. The Creator's task is done, and he has supplemented it by the last and loveliest of his handiwork, our fair, first mother, Eve.

Ah, how fair she was! Fair with the beauty of her womanhood, fresh from the hand of her Maker—fairer still with the beauty of that perfect sinlessness—a beauty the like of which was to bless this earth of ours but once again in all the myriads of her daughters—only once again in her, the second Eve, who was to crush the serpent's head and give the world a Saviour. We are left by Holy Writ to imagine only how the angels must have watched and marvelled over the work of these strange six days. That they were not all jealous of the love with which the Son of God even then loved the new creature risen from the dust of the young earth, we know through their subsequent obedient service. But we do not see them in the garden until the last sad hour.

The poets, however, take a greater license: Milton establishes Gabriel upon an alabaster rock near the eastern gate, a vigilant sentinel; to him when "twilight grey hath in her sombre livery all things clad," comes Uriel with his cherubim to keep the night watches. Within, with the eye of faith, we may see them, more numerous than the sands of the sea-shore, crowding around that man and woman. The soft movement of their pinions ruffles the air of Eden; the trees bend and sway to it while they look forth from among their luxuriant foliage; they sweep over the surface of the waters and the streams ripple beneath the stirring of their wings smiling back at them. The light from their benignant faces reflects itself in all nature, and adds to the brilliancy of newly created sun and moon. Entranced, they follow every act, listen to every word, note every footstep. Some, assuming an appearance similar to that of this marvellous pair, but still retaining their ethereal character, alight with airy tread upon the sward and walk beside them, entrancing in their turn the objects of their solicitude by the charming of angelic voices recounting the wonders of the heavenly paradise of which their own is but a faint reflection, Alas! that the cunning of the serpent should evade their loving vigilance!

"What sudden turns,
What strange vicissitudes in the first leaf
Of man's sad history! to-day most happy;
And ere to-morrow's sun has set, most abject!
How scant the space between the vast extremes!"

Satan having made his first journey round the earth "seeking whom he might devour," disguises himself as an angel of light in order to effect an entrance into the earthly paradise. Thus he deceives the archangel Uriel, whom he finds on guard, since "neither man nor angel can discern hypocrisy, the only evil that walks invisible, except to God alone," who points down to the spot occupied by Eden, to which Satan at once betakes himself. Uriel, having discovered his mistake, descends to warn Gabriel, who, when Uzziel assumes his guard, sends Ithuriel and Zephon to investigate the condition of the garden. They find the tempter "squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve," and the former drives him forth by a touch of his bright spear.

Raphael is sent to warn Adam, and he is thus described :

"Six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold,
And colors dipped in heaven; the third, his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
Sky tintured grain. Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide."

All too soon the idyllic days of innocence are ended. Driven from their home by the very spirits, led by the glorious Michael, who had so lately been their playmates—we see the man and woman pass through the gates of Paradise while

"The world was all before them where to choose."

And the flaming sword revolved above Ithuriel and his cherubim keeping watch and ward over the desecrated portals.

Down through the ages the world echoes with exquisite sensitiveness to the light tread of angel footsteps; all the celestial music which reaches the poor old earth in these her days of decadence is from the passing of the hosts; their pearly wings pulsing upon the air, quicken it with memories of the lost delights of Eden; the glory shining from their radiant faces gives greater brilliance to the sun, throws a reflection even upon the black and lowering, storm-mantled sky.

But in the early days, while God was leading His chosen people to their inheritance, these heavenly visitants were allowed to demonstrate themselves to the weak human eye. For that marvellous dispensation was one of closest intercourse between the Creator and the creature, and the Almighty, since His grandeur

was such that no mortal could look upon it and live, needed heralds and messengers to convey His mandates and his mercies.

Their passings, as recorded in Sacred Scriptures, have been chronicled, from the vision of surpassing beauty which, leaning from the dazzling sky, greeted the despairing eyes of Hagar and brought her hearts-ease, to the radiant form which illumined the prison of St. Peter and wrought his release.

As has been said above, the first of poets to commemorate the angels was the Shepherd-King. In psalm 102, he sings:

"Bless the Lord, all ye His angels, you that are mighty in strength and execute His word, hearken to the voice of His orders.

"Bless the Lord, all ye His hosts; you ministers of His that do His will."

Again, in the 137th Psalm, he calls upon the angels to witness his worship of a merciful God:

"I will praise Thee, O Lord, with my whole heart; for Thou hast heard the words of my mouth.

"I will sing praise to Thee in the sight of the angels."

One of the old English poets, Sandys, has made a pleasing versification of the 148th Psalm:

"You who dwell above the skies
Free from human miseries,
You whom highest heaven embowers,
Praise the Lord with all your powers!
Angels! your clear voices raise!
Him your heavenly armies praise!"

As to the Rabbinical legends of the realms of the air, there is none more exquisite in delicacy of conception, with the added beauty of Longfellow's magic verse, than that of "Sandalphon."

Lancisius quotes from Philo a tradition among the Jews. God asked the angels what they thought of the work of His hands? One replied that it was so vast, so perfect, that only one thing was wanting to it; that there should be a clear, mighty and harmonious voice which should fill all the quarters of the world incessantly with its sweet sound in thanksgiving to the Creator. Did God set the spheres rolling to produce this harmony? Perhaps this is the secret of the music of them.

But if fancy may revel amid the opening pages of the world's history and gather a wealth of imagery around these guardians of and ministers to the wants of the young creation—how much richer and more replete with beauty is the wonderful and awesome epoch of the coming of the lost world's Saviour? And here, we

know that not the wildest dreaming, not the utmost exuberance of imagination can approach the truth.

And now the flower from the root of Jesse is about to bloom. Heaven and earth are waiting for the marvel. But before the outward manifestation of it the angels are crowding that humble hamlet of lower Galilee under the shadow of Carmel, where is to be found the second marvel of the Creator's handiwork, the one pure being sinless and stainless since the Eden days. In the month Tisri, the first of the Jewish year, and while the incense of holocausts was rising to the face of God in expiation, she of whom it was foretold to exiled Eve that she should avenge her wrongs, is born.

The legend has it that an angel announced to Joachim and Anna, until then childless (which condition, in view of the human motherhood by which the Messiah was to come, was regarded as a disgrace in Israel), that they should have a child who should be blessed throughout the whole earth. But when the promised one was born, although of royal parentage, no less than the blood-royal of David, no earthly pomp or ceremony attended her. Only the angelic choirs chanted her glories and bent in wondering awe before her attributes. For in the supernal beauty which shines forth even in her infant helplessness they see the elected daughter of the Eternal Father; in her unspotted purity the predestined mother of the Eternal Son, and in her precocious wisdom the spouse whom the Holy Ghost will choose unto Himself. But as the link in this golden chain which binds her most closely to the Godhead, do they reverence and rejoice in her perfect purity, her exemption from even the inherited stain—and not more gladly than does she herself. They pay homage to her as their queen, and through all the coming years while the Nazarite maiden is drawing near to womanhood and the fateful hour, they hover over and around her. If the beauty of Eve entranced them, how must they have marvelled at Mary's surpassing grace!

At three years she is taken to the Temple, angels lead her baby feet up the fifteen steps to the altar. This *motif* is a favorite one with the Italian painters. So through all the years of her stay within those sacred walls the early artists have given her the companionship of angels. "They also," it is said, "brought her celestial food—the bread of life and the water of life, from Paradise."

"Pictures of the Blessed Virgin in her girlhood reading the Book of Wisdom while angels watch over her," says Mrs. Jamison, "are often of great beauty."

Fifteen years, as we count time, and then the archangel Gabriel comes to Zachary. How impatiently must this gentle spirit have waited for the intervening six months to pass.

"He bore the palm
Down unto Mary when the Son of God
Vouchsafed to clothe Him in terrestrial weeds."

Thus Dante saw him and thus Angelico has painted him.

At the first look of the Omnipotent, indicating His Divine will, the gracious messenger raises his pinions all glowing with the light of the Divine Complaisance above his head, rises upon them above the watching throngs and sweeps through the ether to that small house of Nazareth; standing before her whom he has watched over and loved as only angels love, bending his star-crowned head and veiling his radiant face with his pulsing pinions, he hails her "full of grace!"

The watching angels who have accompanied him wait—as do the mighty hosts, the numberless spirits in the sphere whence they have just descended, as do the millions of the just who languish in that dark abode which is the only rest they have known yet, as does, O marvel of marvels, even the adorable Trinity itself—upon that weak woman's answer. They know her to be the Immaculate—will she jeopardize that supreme endowment for the glory of a divine motherhood? She questions and is answered, and then—

"Behold the handmaid of the Lord."

Hark to the angelic hosannas! They echo down the centuries bearing superhuman strength and heavenly consolation to hearts "weary with dragging the crosses" of an existence otherwise beyond all mortal bearing.

Henceforth it would seem that the courts of the King of kings must be deserted, so dense is the throng of angels in that small corner of the world where dwells the Mystic Rose. They crowd the house at Nazareth all the day, they hover over the slumbers of their queen during the midnight watches, and when she moves abroad surely she of Seba was not more magnificently attended. Angels sustain her footsteps, archangels shadow her with their wings lest the Syrian sun beat upon her head too fiercely, the winds of the Syrian desert assail her form too roughly. The principalities and dominations watch her lest she grow weary, the virtues lead her gently, the powers ward off the evil one who will not believe that earth holds a mortal who is not his lawful prey.

Above, in the blue arch of heaven, the higher choirs chant the praises of the Creator in that He has shown such mercy to man, and has had regard to the humility of this His handmaid; verily is she to be called "blessed."

The humble cave of Bethlehem is now the centre of attraction to the heavenly hosts. In the deep silence of the midnight hour, whilst animate and inanimate nature slept, a light from heaven

shone over the humble manger and angels worshipped God made man. Leaving the rich and learned of the earth to discover the meaning of the new star seen in the eastern heavens, a message of simplest wording, requiring no interpretation, is sent to the lowly shepherds.

All suddenly, they know not whence he came, a radiant form stands beside them, "and the brightness of God shone round about them, and they feared with a great fear." But a melodious voice sounded in their ears speaking words of comfort: "Fear not," said the angel, "for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people. For this day is born to you a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord." And then there appeared a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth, peace."

When the awed listeners to this heavenly harmony spoke, how discordant must not their voices have sounded, even to themselves.

There is no event in all the childhood around which more graceful legends have clustered than the flight into Egypt. Angels are particularly busy here, from the one who roused St. Joseph from his sleep saying: "Arise and take the Child and His mother and fly into Egypt," to the dainty cherubs who poise themselves among the branches of the sycamore trees. Angels lead the ass upon which our Lady rides, and angels bring them food, arrange for their shelter at nightfall, lead the way through the wearying desert and along the barren sea coast.

And when the time is come for the return to Nazareth an angel again leads the way. Did they, for "come the immortals never alone," and we speak of one as it is written, but we know they were countless—did they remember the former Exodus, its tumults, disobediences, and wicked disorders, and their wonderment at the patience of the Almighty?

The helpless infancy is passed, and with His parents He goes up to Jerusalem. We all know of that sad and bewildered searching through those three days and nights. Had it been permitted the angels could in one moment have eased their trouble. May we not imagine the Virgin Mother reproaching them with a reverend familiarity, that they did not, or that they had permitted her and "His father" to depart without their precious charge? But this is one of the mysteries of the Life, as the temptation is, and we may not question.

And afterwards? The record of the next eighteen years is summed up in five words. We would fain know more, our hearts yearn over that sweet group at Nazareth; surely never was womanhood more perfect, motherhood more tender. And far and beyond all reverend homage and loving service rendered by son to parent,

was the filial abnegation of that Boy. For "He was subject to them." That is all. We would question of the ministering spirits something of those precious years, that wonderful childhood, that gracious youth, that benignant early manhood—but all is silence. There we must leave Him in that humble cottage beneath the shadow of the Galilean mountains, with the angels for His play-fellows while He grows in grace with God and man.

The mystery of the Baptism opens up the three years; henceforth in all the journeyings by mountain and valley, by lake and river, the angels throng the world's Saviour with adoring love, seeking to compensate His tender heart for the scorn, neglect, and hatred of His best beloved creatures; seeking also to drown the discord of human coarseness, by those entrancing melodies with which the heaven is echoing; now swelling to the full diapason of the angelic choirs, anon whispering low the liquid tones as of trembling flageolets, of one hovering spirit, they would rock His soul in ecstasy. Imagination presents the thought and love dwells on it caressingly that angels, hovering always over Him, held Him in their arms when the Son of man was weary and would rest; that when night fell upon the mountains of Judea, and the stars mirrored themselves in Genesareth, while the owls hooted amid the palm trees of Galilee and all the world of humanity was wrapped in slumber, the heavenly hosts vied with each other in ministering unto Him. Imagination also pictures the multitude who hung above the City of His Tears, and watched shudderingly the horrors of those last hours. The angel of Gethsemane is not named, we know not who it was who with adoring love swept to the solace of that bleeding agony beneath those gnarled and knotted olive trees, while His chosen ones slept. We do not know even whether it were one of the seven, the star upon his brow dimmed in the eclipse shed over all heavenly things by that mighty sorrow. We cannot think it the martial Michael—rather we picture *him* bending from the crystal battlements with sword half drawn, restrained by the will of Omnipotence and holding back his angelic cohorts by the silence of his own agonized obedience. A moment of expectant doubt pulsates also over the waiting hierarchy when they hear that prayer for the passing of the chalice.

The action of Peter in cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant was witnessed rejoicingly, if we may so speak, and the words of our Saviour's rebuke: "Thinkest thou that I cannot ask my Father and He will give me presently twelve legions of angels?" must have thrilled through the watching hosts as they turned expectantly towards the throne. But what words of human tongue can voice, what reaching of human intelligence can realize the angelic wrath and horror of those onlooking throngs?

The lashes fall upon that tender Flesh while angels' tears fall with them in a helpless pity; the tears fall too upon the thorn-crowned head in a loving effort to cool its fever. The rabble rout, soldiers, Levites, lawyers, followed the cross-laden One up the long ascent; so too do the angels—and when the nails were crushed through these nerves more delicately sensitive than any other of woman born, the crystal drops came down in a very torrent, mingling with the Precious Blood. Hardly could the watchers be restrained from sustaining the sacred Form in their tender arms while the cross is dropped into its socket, thus racking with exquisite agony every joint and fibre. But they may not offer one slightest alleviation beyond their tears. Unable to tear themselves away from the scene, they bow their blanched faces, cover them with their trembling wings and so await the end. Is it possible to imagine a silence of agonized sorrow in God's glad heaven?

But the angels of the Resurrection are radiant with recovered joy; their spotless garments are lustrous with the recovered lights of heavenly rejoicings; and their vibrant hallelujahs fill the air about that place of skulls where so late they hung mute over the tragedy the last cry of which yet throbs along the years in echoes that miss, to us, the despairing cadence which echoes have, in the promises of hope and faith. So too, the celestial vicars who replaced Him on the hill of the Ascension. Henceforth naught of earthly woe can cloud the brightness of their natures, dim the glories of their heaven.

But Mary remains upon the earth and angels still watch and guard her life, when, at length she pays the debt of mortality, they bear her in rejoicing to the throne prepared for her. The legend is that after the crucifixion the Mother dwelt with her foster child, St. John, and her time was spent mostly in pilgrimages to one or the other of the scenes of her Son's passion. One day she experienced intense longing to see her son once more, and presently an angel, clothed in light as with a garment, appeared and said:

"Hail, O Mary! blessed by Him who has given salvation to Israel! I bring thee here a branch of palm gathered in Paradise; command that it be carried before thy bier in the day of thy death; for in three days thy soul shall leave thy body and thou shalt enter into Paradise, where thy Son awaits thy coming."

Then Mary asks the angel his name, which he does not willingly tell, but says it is the Great and the Wonderful. She also asks that her soul, when delivered from her body, may not be affrighted by any spirit of darkness, and that no evil angel be allowed to have any power over her. Also, that the Apostles

may be united around her before she dies. The angel accedes to her request; the Apostles are scattered, but, says the angel, "He who transported the prophet Habakuk from Judea to Babylon by the hair of his head, can as easily bring hither the Apostles. And fear not thou the evil spirit, for hast thou not bruised his head and destroyed his kingdom?" Then the angel departed into Heaven and the palm branch which he had left behind him shed light from every leaf and sparkled as the stars. The Mother made her preparations and at the same moment John, who was preaching at Ephesus and Peter at Antioch, and all the other Apostles, dispersed about the world, were suddenly caught up by a miraculous power and found themselves before the door of the habitation of their queen.

She thanked and blessed them and gave the palm into St. John's hands. She prayed and they all wept, and about the third hour of the night, while St. John stood at the foot of the bed and St. Peter at the head, a mighty sound filled the house and a delicious perfume. Our Saviour, accompanied by a countless throng of angels, patriarchs and prophets, appeared and surrounded the bed singing hymns of joy. Then our Saviour said: "Arise, my beloved, mine elect! come with me from Lebanon, my espoused; receive the crown that was destined for thee!" And Mary replied: "My heart is ready; for it is written of me that I should do thy will." Again there was singing by the attendant angels, and Mary's soul, leaving her body, was received into the arms of her Son, and by Him was carried into Heaven. The Apostles looked up, saying: "Oh, most prudent Virgin, remember us when thou comest to glory!" And the angels who received her sang: "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness leaning upon her Beloved? She is fairer than all the daughters of Jerusalem."

The body of the Mother remained on earth, and three among the virgins prepared to wash and clothe it in a shroud. Then the Apostles took her up reverently and placed her on a bier, and John, carrying the celestial palm, went before. Peter intoned the 114th Psalm, "In exitu Israel de Egypto."

On the third day our Saviour said to the angels:

"What honor shall I confer on her who was my Mother according to the flesh?" And they answered: "Lord, suffer not that body which was Thy temple and Thy dwelling-place to see corruption, but place her beside Thee on Thy throne in heaven." And our Saviour consented; and the Archangel Michael brought unto the Lord the glorious soul of our Lady. And the Lord said: "Rise up, my dove, my undefiled, for thou shalt not remain in the darkness of the grave nor shalt thou see corruption," and immediately the soul of Mary rejoined her body and she rose up

glorious from the tomb and ascended into Heaven surrounded and welcomed by troops of angels blowing their silver trumpets, touching their golden lutes and singing and rejoicing as they sang: "Who is she that riseth as the morning, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and terrible as an army set in array."

Meantime the Apostle John visits the tomb to find it empty, hears the story of the translation from an angel and relates it to the others. One of the Apostles was absent—the same Thomas who had doubted of the risen Saviour. He would not believe the marvellous story and insisted that the tomb should be opened for his inspection. It was found to be full of lilies and roses fresh with the dews and fragrant with the perfumes of Paradise.

Even the pagan Virgil had endeavored to comprehend the natures of these spirits, for he speaks thus of them: "They boast ethereal vigor and are formed from seeds of heavenly birth."

Dante describes the angelic boatman, "the bird of God," gathering into his boat the souls whom Purgatorial fires are to cleanse. Also he saw "forth issuing descend beneath, two angels, with two flame-illuminated swords, broken and mutilated of their points," to guard the entrance of Purgatory against the attempts of Satan to enter there. The gate of Purgatory is opened for Dante and his companion by the angel deputed by St. Peter to keep it, and angels lead them about and explain what they see.

He witnesses, while in Paradise, the assumption of the Blessed Virgin by her Son. In the ninth Heaven he sees the three hierarchies, the nine choirs, classified and named by Dionysius the Areopagite, who, having known St. Paul intimately at Athens, heard from his lips many of the revelations made to him when wrapped into the third Heaven.

The place of these hierarchies is in succession beyond the chosen seven who stand before the Throne. They each comprise three choirs.

The first contains the seraphim. Lost in the contemplation of the perfections of their Creator, they are all on fire from love of Him, and from their numbers arises ever the flame of an adoration most pleasing to Him. The cherubim, wisest of the angelic host, chant ever their hymns of praise to Him who gifted them with a wisdom approaching nearest to His own. The thrones, so called because these resplendent angels are raised above all the inferior hierarchies, to whom they carry the mandates of their King, sharing with the seraphim and cherubim the privilege of seeing the truth clearly in God Himself.

The second hierarchy comprises the dominations, the principalities and the powers.

The dominations rule over all the angelic orders charged with the execution of the commands of God.

The principalities receive their orders from the dominations and transmit them to the others.

The powers are invested with a special authority. They are commissioned to remove obstacles that interfere with the execution of the Divine commands; they banish the evil spirits who continually besiege kingdoms, in order to turn them from their appointed end.

The third hierarchy comprise virtues, archangels and angels.

The virtues by their name indicate strength. They preside over the material world and the laws that regulate it, maintaining order in each department.

The archangels have in charge the direction of the government of provinces, dioceses, religious bodies; between them and us exists a constant intercourse, as was shadowed forth by the ladder of Jacob.

The last order is that of the angels. The word means messenger, and is common to all the heavenly spirits, since they are all employed to notify of the Divine thoughts. To this office the higher angels add certain prerogatives from which they derive their peculiar names. The angels of the last choir of the last hierarchy, adding nothing to the ordinary occupation of envoys, retain the simple name. They more directly and intimately watch over the two-fold life of man.

Tasso, languishing in his prison, has visions of angels, and Petrarch was not oblivious of their beauty in his dreams of Laura. Goethe sings of them in the second part of Faust.

Spencer sees their "golden pinions cleave the flitting skies like flying pursuivants." He believed in guardian angels:

"They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
And all for love and nothing for reward."

The iconoclastic spirit of the English reformers wrought destruction not only to many priceless works of human art, but would have made of the mind of man a *tabula rasa* to receive only the cold, soulless, hopeless, dark and dreary ideas of God and religion which they had formulated out of a fanaticism which eliminated all of spiritual or of supernatural from the Deity, making Him a being to their own image and likeness—at once repulsive and repulsing. Wordsworth realized the debasing effect and thus voiced his protest:

"Angels and saints in every hamlet mourned,
Ah! if the old idolatry be spurned,
Let not your radiant shapes desert the land,"

And again Mrs. Hemans asks:

“Are ye forever to your skies departed?
Oh! will ye visit this dim world no more?
Ye, whose bright wings a solemn splendor darted
Through Eden's fresh and flowery shades of yore?”

Catholics in the fulness of their triumphant faith realize that these fears are groundless. Angels are as busy to-day with the affairs of men as in the Eden-time, and the folk-lore of Scotland and Ireland is leavened with them. In Catholic Germany the legends regarding the Angels are numerous and very beautiful. Longfellow has embalmed one in his prologue to the “Golden Legend”; the scene is the air around the Strasburg cathedral.

In Italy, as in France and Spain, we meet traditions of these marvellous creatures at every town.

The angels were very near to the tender heart of dear Father Faber, for they flit among his pages as birds amid the leafage of luscious June.

“There are three gorgeous hierarchies, subordinate the lower to the higher, the lower illuminated by the higher and the highest by God Himself. In each hierarchy there are three congenial choirs of various gifts and holiness and power, whose names the Apostles have recorded for us, and of whose diversified functions and loveliness the traditions of theology have much to tell. Each angel, say some theologians, is a species by himself. But in some respects there is an unkindliness about this view; for then many million species of God's reasonable creatures were extinguished with Lucifer, so far as their means of worshipping their good Creator are concerned. Others say that in each choir there are three species, differing from each other in ways of which it is not easy for us to form a conception; while the grace of each angel is distinct and singular. Thus, as it were, by twenty-seven steps, through thrice nine rings adumbrating the Most Holy Trinity, we mount upwards through the angelic kingdom, mingled with the elect sanctity of earth, until we reach the Royal Throne of the angelical vice-gerent, which Lucifer forfeited by his fall, and which is now occupied, some conjecture by St. Michael, some by St. Joseph, in reward for his office of foster-father to the Incarnate Word. See to what a height we have mounted! And if we look back on the magnificence we have traversed, especially those nine oceans of living intellectual light and angelic holiness, how bewildering is the prospect, how entrancing, one while the music, one while the glad silence that reigns all around.

“Higher still. Beyond the vice-gerent's throne come the seven mighty chosen angels that stand ever before the throne of

God. * * * * O what delights does not the Incarnate Word find in the mighty beings and deep spirits and magnificent worship of these glorious creatures. If science could walk the coral depths and explore the sunless caverns of the whole Atlantic and Pacific, the Arctic and Antarctic oceans; if it could note and class and learn the genera and the species of shells and weeds and living things innumerable, a more various fertile world would not be opened to the discoverer than the almost inexhaustibly rich natures and stupendous graces and amazing glories of these seven spirits who are the chosen neighbors of the Throne of God. The soul of the Incarnate Word explores them with consummate complacency, crowns this worship by His blissful acceptance and vouchsafes to receive from their clean thuribles the earthly smelling incense of our human prayers."

By poets and painters Michael is often represented in the armor in which he so frequently showed himself to the chosen people, and also as being typical of his military character. He tramples Lucifer under his feet, holding in his left hand a green palm-branch, and in his right hand a lance, on the top of which is a banner as white as snow, with a red cross in the middle. The church dedicates two days in his honor. The festival of May 8th is to commemorate the apparition of this glorious spirit to the Bishop of Siponto, commanding him to build a church in his honor upon Mt. Gargano, now called Monte San Angelo, in the Neapolitan kingdom. The truth of this vision is vouched for by the chronicle of Sigebert and the traditions of the churches of that country. Its date is 493.

The second festival, in which is included all the angels, is kept on the 29th of September, and has been always observed with great solemnity. On this day the church, built in obedience to the vision spoken of above, was dedicated. On the same day, in 610, Pope Boniface IV. also dedicated a church in Rome to the same archangel. Several other churches in the West were at different times dedicated to St. Michael on this day. Sozomen tells us that Constantine the Great built a famous church in honor of this glorious archangel,¹ called Michaelion, and that in it the sick were often cured and other wonders wrought through the intercession of St. Michael. The historian himself often experienced relief there, and mentions others whom he knew. It was enacted in the laws of Ethelred in England, in the year 1014, "that every Christian who is of age fast three days on bread and water, and raw herbs, before the feast of St. Michael, and let every man go to confession and to church barefoot. Let every priest with his people go in procession three days barefoot, and let every

¹ Butler's Lives, September.

one's commons for three days be prepared without anything of flesh, as if they themselves were to eat it, both in meat and drink, and let all this be distributed to the poor. Let every servant be excused from labor these three days, that he may the better perform his fast, or let him work what he will for himself. These are the three days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, next before the feast of St. Michael. If any servant break his fast, let him make satisfaction with his hide (bodily stripes), let the poor free-man pay thirty pence, the king's thane a hundred and thirty shillings, and let the money be divided to the poor."¹ Michaelmas day is mentioned among the great feasts of the Saxon Chronicle in the year 1011, in the Saxon Menology of the ninth century, and in the English Calendar.² The Greeks make mention, in their Menæ, of an apparition of Michael at the ancient Colossæ in Phrygia. Michael is to be invoked at the hour of death. His name signifies "WHO IS LIKE GOD?" being the watchword of the conquering hosts. He is constantly referred to as the protector or prince of the Hebrews, the protector of the Jewish Temple as he is now of the Church of God and her supreme head. He is piously believed to have been the guardian of our Saviour's Humanity and in the apportionment which some pious beliefs make of the seven sacraments to the charge of those "who upon their brows the seven planets wear," it is said that he has special care over the sacrament of the Eucharist, inciting to devotion to it, and preventing sacrilege, and that he so revealed himself to St. Eutropius and several others. He is regarded as the shadow of the Father.

The gentle Gabriel, whose name signifies the strength of God, the angel of the Annunciation, as also of the dreaded day of judgment, is represented with a trumpet in his hand or a lily which he holds in his right hand, the left being occupied in pointing to a mirror marked with spots of various colors. To him the sacrament of Baptism is assigned. He is the prince of the kingdom of the Medes, the shadow of the Son, the guardian of our Lady, and thence, naturally, the lover of sacrifice and the inspirer of prayer. His feast day is March 24th, very appropriately.

Raphael, the tender-hearted—the gracious one—is the shadow of the Holy Ghost. His sacrament is Extreme Unction. He is a guide to the traveller, eyes to the blind, medicine to the sick. He is represented as having a fish in his mouth, in his left hand is a box, and he holds Tobias by his right. His dress is generally a close-fitting habit, such as travellers wore, or such as physicians of the time assumed. His name signifies the "healing of God." He is supposed to be the prince of the Persians, and his feast is

¹ Sir Henry Spelman's *Councils*, and Johnson's *Collection of the Canons*.

² Butler's *Lives*, September.

celebrated in October. How radiant with the glory of heaven must he not have appeared when he revealed himself to Tobias as one of the seven who stood before the Throne—so that father and son fell on their faces and so remained for three hours!

These are the only ones whom the Church venerates by name, and with Uriel, mentioned in Esdras, these four are all who are named in Scripture. But St. Boniface tells us that in a council held at Rome under Pope Zacharias in 745, it was decided that the names and attributes which tradition had given to the other three might be recognized by the pious.

Uriel is called the strong companion, and is represented in Christian art as holding a drawn sword in his right hand, the sword resting across his breast, his left hand full of flames. He is the angel of Confirmation.

Sealtiel, the praying spirit, said to be the angel who appeared to Hagar in the wilderness, is depicted with bowed head and downcast eyes, and hands clasped upon his breast. He is the patron of priests and their sacrament, Orders.

Jehudiel, the remunerator, is pictured holding a golden crown in his right hand and a scourge of three black cords in his left; he is supposed to be the angel whom God said He would send before the children of Israel to lead them out of Egypt. His charge is the confessional.

Barachiel, the helper; he it was who rebuked Sara when she laughed. He is painted with the lap of his cloak filled with roses, and is the protector of the married.

The termination *el* of their names implies power, strength, and is synonymous with that by which we call the Almighty—God.

Madam de Stael was once asked, in a spirit of badinage, how it was that the angels were always spoken of in the masculine and appear in the guise of men? She promptly replied:

“Because the union of power with purity constitutes all that we mortals can imagine of perfection.”

But, alas, when Titus fills the valleys of the Kedron and Himmon with his myriad army, and from the heights of Olivet hurls destruction into the doomed city, no angel in celestial armor dight sweeps from the blue Judean sky to draw an unconquerable sword in its behalf! The time for the fulfilment of the awful curse called down upon themselves before the judgment seat of Pilate has come—henceforth the once chosen of God have neither country nor worship. Over people and temple is written “*Ichabod*.”¹

Doubtless there were some among them who remembered their scoffs, long years past, at the prophecy of the son of the carpenter.

¹ The glory has departed.

It is not surprising that, in the ages when art was the handmaid of religion, few painters thought of portraying their queen without her attendant train of angels. Botticelli has an exquisite picture in the Florence gallery of the Blessed One writing her "Magnificat." Her babe is in her lap and her face is the reflection of the words she spoke in such sweet and humble exaltation to Elizabeth. But the shadow of the future is in the faces of the angels who look on with a love thrice tender from the pity of it—as if wondering that she should forget the sword of Simeon. Who has not been held awe-struck by the masterpiece of the Dresden gallery—nay, of the world! *The Madonna di San Sisto*? Surely the Sanzio's brush was guided by an angel's hand! She seems transfigured, the Virgin Mother, at once entirely human and entirely divine; the impersonation of love, of purity, and of benign power. So lightly is she poised upon the air that she needs no other support. But what is it she sees with those dark, dilated eyes, as she gazes into the infinite? Is it that beyond those myriad angels whose adoring faces melt into the softest clouds of distance she recognizes the horror of that mountain top? Does she realize that closely as she may clasp Him to her breast and kiss His rounded limbs and hush His infant slumbers now, the day will come when rough and cruel hands, instinct with the hatred of Lucifer, will hold Him from her—He, whose eyes so like her own, the baby Face reflecting her beauty as in a mirror, seem stricken as by the same terrific vision?

There is a modern Holy Family, by Möller, which appeals to the devotion of all serious hearts, in which the group rests by the wayside and an angel stands before them playing upon a violin, the music of which, with the sight of the Spirit, is audible only to the Boy, while the Mother and St. Joseph watch his wrapt expression wonderingly, tenderly.

The visions of angels vouchsafed to saints would fill a volume by themselves were they all collected. Suarez recounts many revelations regarding these celestial beings, and he it is who says that at the last day our Saviour Judge will be borne by the choir of thrones, "those beings of overwhelming restful strength and loveliness, resplendent and inexpressible." Surin always saw these thrones around the Blessed Sacrament at Mass, as did Angela di Foligno, who also tells us that their numbers are countless.

"There seems a strong inclination," says Father Faber, "to connect the choir of thrones in some special manner with the Blessed Sacrament. When St. Mary Magdalen di Pazzi goes through the nine choirs to obtain some special grace from each, she says she has recourse to the thrones to put her into the arms of the Incarnate Word, especially in His sacramental union with His espoused souls. Angela di Foligno after her vision calls the

thrones the 'society' of the Blessed Sacrament. So also Boudoin in his life of Surin mentions the continual visions of the thrones which he had in connection with the Mass."

We may be very sure that the angels are in attendance upon their Lord in every sanctuary. Numerous as a congregation may be during the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, the unseen assembly is larger still. Nor can all the pomp of vestments and ceremony, of lights and music, of incense and flowers, approach the magnificence of their ritual. Thus do they guard the Fortress of the Faith, even as yonder bronze Michael watches from the apex of Hadrian's mole.¹

WANTED—A NEW TEXT-BOOK.

THE Catholic *parochial schools* in this country were begun without any special plan or system, as the wants of the young in a particular spot required, and both course of instruction and the building where the children were gathered were controlled by the means of the congregation which heroically assumed the burden in order to save their children from perversion by direct or indirect proselytism in the schools which the State afforded.

Gradually, however, the Catholic body has become thoroughly imbued with the conviction that the State schools are and will remain thoroughly Protestant in management, in officers, and, to a great extent, in teachers, as well as in general tone, in class-books and oral instruction; and such they will remain until the not remote day when Protestantism itself will be made a scoff in them, and with it all revealed religion.

Now, when Catholics complain of any more than usually gross outrage on their feelings in the public schools, Protestant ministers and fanatics from their flocks rush forward with as much zeal as though their churches, their publishing houses of denominational books and papers were in jeopardy. Their very action is in itself a proof that a large part of the people regard the public schools as part of the Protestant system to be upheld at all hazards. Recent events in Philadelphia and Boston show this clearly.

¹ Placed there to commemorate the apparition of this Archangel during a grand penitential procession ordered by Pope Gregory the Great, in 593, in order to obtain relief from the plague.

Catholics accept the position in which Providence has placed them, and, to avoid a perpetual and useless strife, have made the erection of parochial schools general. This has not been accomplished without immense sacrifice and self-devotion, for, at this time, they have more than 2600 parochial schools, and considerably more than half a million of pupils under instruction. And the work is going on, and will go on; for, immense as the work already accomplished appears, there are not half as many parochial schools in the United States as there are churches. When the numbers of schools and of churches become equal, our parochial schools will contain far more than a million of pupils.

We have a Bureau of Education at Washington, which prints reports on schools all over the world, but has never yet discovered that there is a single Catholic parochial school in the country. Not a report has ever been made on our Catholic parochial school system, and to their shame the officials of that bureau have never honestly investigated the subject or laid before the American people what there is in the system generally adopted by the States for schools that makes them so prejudicial to Catholics, that sooner than avail themselves of the advantages these schools offer, members of this large Christian body, numbering at least one-sixth of the whole population of the United States, have gone to the expense of erecting their own schools, and maintaining them at a heavy annual outlay.

The objections of Catholics cannot be slight or trivial, to nerve them to such sacrifices, and it is no credit to our State governments that they maintain so stubbornly, and in such a sectarian spirit, a system repugnant to the religious convictions of one-sixth of the population of the country.

But the Catholic system of parochial schools must go on, and their number and extent have called for organization and a well considered method of instruction. The organization of a school board in every diocese, begun in Indiana, has become general. Improved school-books and proper grading of studies will be one of the immediate results of this step, and, though at first the attempts to introduce harmony and order may seem weak and ill-directed in some places, yet, on the whole, the operation has been beneficial, and has infused a new spirit into the whole body of teachers engaged. They feel that they are no longer isolated, each one left to individual plans and resources, the ablest and most intelligent teachers, who have given years of study to the cause of education, uncertain whether the fabric they have labored to build may not be swept away at any moment by a change of those in charge of the school. Now each school feels that it is part of a great whole, and has an emulation to carry out the improvements suggested as completely and thoroughly as possible.

No general system has been adopted, or even recommended, for the whole country ; and it is premature to expect it. That must result from a more extended experience than has yet been possible.

The parochial schools will naturally attempt to copy the courses of instruction in the State schools, and parents will often object that some study pursued in the public schools is not taught in the parochial schools. The great difficulty in the former is that they have multiplied branches of study beyond all reason, and, while attempting to teach a variety of matters, often neglect those most essential to every child, the very rudiments of education.

Children come from these schools, able to answer a few text-book questions on almost every subject treated in a cyclopædia, who cannot spell correctly, write legibly or grammatically, who cannot frame a proper letter, or test the accuracy of a bill brought to their parents' door. When they go to any trade or business, they must forget what they were taught in school, and set to work to learn what they ought to have been taught, and what is essential to their success in life.

The religious training in our parochial schools will be looked after, and, under the present supervision, is likely to be thorough and solid. The object of the schools is to make the pupils Christian and Catholic. Next to that the aim should be to imbue them with such principles as will make them good and useful citizens in after life. A love of country, attachment to our national and State system of government, genuine patriotism, cannot be too deeply impressed. In other days it was a main feature in all schools to inculcate this. Now this point is generally neglected, and, as it is not a striking feature in public school education, may be overlooked in our Catholic schools. Formerly the Constitution of the United States and of the State were learned by heart by pupils in all schools, and explained. Now very few who attend the public schools ever read them or are able to answer a question intelligently about our government. Few, comparatively, could tell correctly how the President is elected, how the members of the two houses of Congress are chosen ; what matters are controlled by the general government.

Occasionally, a great public agitation arises, and children pick up some ideas in regard to a particular point. This year, for instance, many boys have gathered some ideas about the tariff ; they know what the word means, and how duties are laid on goods coming into the country, and they know that two great parties are contending about high duties and low duties, protection and revenue reform. The boys, however, did not learn all this at school, where it should have been taught, but they glean the information from

newspapers, with all the sophistries with which partisan political writers and speakers endeavor to make the worse appear the better cause. So it is about the rights of a citizen, capital and labor, property and taxation. The young, not imbued with correct ideas in school, go through life with vague and confused notions, and, when they grow up, are easily made the dupes of any demagogue. Surely these are more important than the drawing of patterns for oil-cloth and the like, branches that few children ever have occasion to employ or discuss, but which are not only assiduously taught, but are even made the test for grading a pupil who enters a school. The absurdity has gone so far in some cases, that we expect to hear of some school where the boy who can stand longest on his head is placed in the highest class, and the unfortunate wight who cannot reverse his natural position long enough is thrust into the lowest class, although he may be perfect in reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic, such antiquated branches counting for nothing under the high intellectual organization of our day.

In Canada they have apparently seen the necessity of political instruction sooner than we have, and a well-prepared manual is in the hands of young and old. There is an opportunity and necessity for such a book here, and it would be of great service in our schools. The manual should embrace the Constitution of the United States and of the State where the school is; and such questions and answers as would lead pupils to know our system of government, its advantages, and give intelligent information on the points which they have discussed, especially those as to which evil-minded men are disseminating false ideas.

The want of our school plans to convey information, or make a topic intelligible, is seen in the method of teaching geography. Children have learned more about the different countries of the world, their sovereigns, their coinage, and our modes of intercourse with them by collecting postage-stamps, than they have by all the geography lessons in the schools. This is but one of many instances tending to show how children feel the deficiency of school methods, and go to work to acquire information where school training has been of but little aid.

If our parochial schools are to become great and thoroughly useful institutions to the country, the end will not be attained by servilely copying the methods of the public schools, which are vastly overrated, and have become part of a complex machinery, where the real advantage of the pupil as a Christian and a citizen, in most cases to be sent early into the battle of life to win a livelihood, is but little regarded.

We have spoken of the necessity of imparting sound knowledge

of our political condition, the rights and duties of citizens, the meaning of words like tariff, protection, labor, and the like, simply on the general merits of the question; but there is, in our case as Catholics, an additional reason why this should be treated in our schools. From time to time, generally in some hot-bed of anarchy and rationalism, the charge is made by some scheming knave that the Catholic body is merely a foreign element, with no real interest in the country or attachment to its institutions. It will be the best answer to this calumny to point to our schools, where the quarter of a million children, who are annually added to our body by birth, are in a few years trained in what will serve to aid them to earn a livelihood, and to know and love their native land, and to know and prize zealously their rights as American citizens, and be able to understand what public questions are really about.

In higher academies and colleges, where ethics are taught, this political course can be more ample, but it is a mistake to think that the boy, or even the girl, who at fifteen leaves the school to begin a life-long struggle for success or existence, has no need of such knowledge. It will be found that the short time needed to impart the information will be thus far more profitably employed than in some of the ornamental and utterly useless branches, on which hours, and days, and months are wasted, deadening the intellect of the young, and producing torpidity where they should have stimulated inquiry and guided the judgment.

Questions are discussed and debated in every gathering of young men employed in offices, workshops, and factories. Their ideas are often crude and false from the want of proper guidance and information, but they are thinking and reasoning; and if those who assume to direct their education fail to equip them for the discussion of such questions, the blame, when they are led away by the sophistries, pretended facts, and false reasoning of demagogues, ought not to rest solely on them, but must, to some extent, fall on their early guides.

Inspired with a love for the country and its institutions, with the doctrines of the true faith applied to guide them in discerning right from wrong, the pupils of our parochial schools will become the soundest and purest element in the population, though some will yield to the temptations which in our days environ the young on every side.

The field open to our parochial schools is one to arouse and stimulate the zeal of the whole Catholic body. The rapid progress of our schools in every department has already attracted attention. A denominational paper began this year to give an account of visits to parochial schools, and investigation into their management and

course of study; while one of the journals kept alive mainly to glorify the public school system has openly confessed that there is danger from the parochial schools, and that it can be averted only by straining every nerve to make the public schools what they ought to be. But, with our parochial schools giving an education adapted to the wants of the people, based on solid religious principles, infusing stanch and intelligent patriotism, the public schools must, by the ultimate decision of results, show their inferiority in all that constitutes moral excellence.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.

THE Jesuits are always a burning question. The warfare upon the Society is perennial, determined, and never-ending. It is said that the holy founder of the Society, St. Ignatius Loyola, prayed that the Society might never cease to be persecuted, and the facts of history for the last two hundred years serve to confirm the conviction that the prayer was a prophecy which is quite likely to be fulfilled. Even in our own enlightened age, when "men run to and fro and knowledge is increased," and when the progress of light and liberty has served to soften the prejudices and liberalize the minds of all intelligent, right-thinking people, there is a remnant of bigots (a race, by the way, which never dies out) who seem determined to do their utmost in the fulfilment of the prayer of St. Ignatius by keeping up the agitation and perpetuating the persecution of the Society.

In the assaults of these determined enemies of the Society there is, perhaps, no more plausible and telling argument, none upon which the changes are more constantly and persistently rung, than the fact of their expulsion, at different times, from several countries of Europe, and especially their final suppression by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773. Indeed, so constantly and perseveringly has this been represented by these enemies of the Society as convincing evidence of the corruption and dangerous character of the Jesuits, that the mass of the people who are unacquainted with the facts of history are easily persuaded to believe it, and there is too much reason to fear that even many Catholics are stumbled by the fact that the suppression was effected by the Pope, to whose deci-

sions, even outside the sphere of his infallibility, they are accustomed to assent almost without question; and they cannot resist the impression that there must have been something radically wrong about the Society, or the Pope never would have resorted to such an extreme measure.

What, then, was the real reason for the suppression of the Jesuits? In one word, it was the choice between two evils, which had been forced upon Clement by a powerful and unscrupulous political combination, the least of which evils seemed to him to be the suppression of the Society. In other words, it was a measure extorted from an unwilling Pope, who was friendly to the Jesuits and had no confidence in their traducers, to save France, Spain, and Portugal from following the example of England by throwing off their allegiance to the head of the Church, thereby apostatizing from the faith and driving the whole Church in those kingdoms into all the untold evils of schism. The history of the machinations by which this melancholy result was brought about constitutes one of the saddest, most deplorable passages in the history of nations.

The spirit of the age was favorable to such a scheme. Two hundred years' experience of the blessings of the "glorious Reformation" had developed a sad condition in the religious world. The spirit of Protestantism had pervaded society to such an extent that faith in Christianity had been very generally undermined, especially among the aristocracy and the leading influential politicians and officials of State. The masses were still Catholic, and the reigning monarchs of the Bourbon type (of unsavory memory) were nominally Catholic; the Catholic religion was the religion of the State, but, unfortunately, the monarchs were weak men and were all under the control of prime ministers who were ambitious, unscrupulous, and in sympathy with the infidel philosophy of the age. Aranda, Prime Minister of Charles III. of Spain, Choiseul of Louis XV. of France, and Pombal of Joseph I. of Portugal, were all members of an infidel oligarchy which at that period really dominated Europe, and they were all jealous of the Church and bent on her destruction. With a keen appreciation of the best means of accomplishing their object, they waged an exterminating war on the Society of Jesus. Without conscience or scruple they used the basest means to destroy the Society because its members were the most able and the most constant defenders of religion and the Church. The history of their infernal machinations to destroy the Order, root and branch, and to expel them from all their countries, is simply a history of infamy of the deepest dye, and the only reason why the conduct of these men is not universally condemned and held up for the execration of mankind by all historians and writers

on the subject is the fact that party bias leads Protestants if not actually to justify and sympathize with them, at least to extenuate and apologize for their sins by representing them as having been the authors of great reforms in Church and State.

Louis XV. of France, all the world knows and all the world knew at the time, to the great scandal of the government and people, was governed by his mistresses. The notorious courtesan, the Marquise de Pompadour, hated the Jesuits because they would not countenance, in any shape, the immoral relation subsisting between her and the king, and she used all her powerful influence against them. She was backed by a combination of all the elements of opposition to revealed religion and the purity of public morals. The whole party of Encyclopedists, free thinkers, and infidels of every stripe were naturally their enemies. The remnant of the Jansenist party longed to be revenged on them for their able defence of Catholic truth in opposition to their insidious errors, which had been condemned by the Holy Office. As usual, the Society was misrepresented, reviled, and accused of all sorts of crimes. The Duke de Choiseul, who was in sympathy with the free thinkers, was not at all backward in pressing their suit with his royal master, and in November, 1764, Louis XV. confirmed the edict of Parliament by which the Jesuit colleges were closed and about 4000 of the Fathers, in the most cruel and heartless manner, were compelled to leave France.

Aranda, in Spain, who had acquired complete control over the king, Charles III., labored with unceasing diligence and unrelenting hostility to destroy the Society throughout the Spanish dominions. Some idea of the means employed for the accomplishment of this end may be formed from the fact that forged letters were at times circulated, purporting to have been written by the General of the Jesuits in Rome to the Spanish provincial, containing sentiments of the most offensive and dangerous character. One of those letters ordered the provincial to stir up insurrection among the people; and at another time a letter was placed under the king's eyes purporting to have been written by Father Ricci, the General of the Order, but which the Duke de Choiseul, the French Prime Minister, was accused of fabricating, announcing that he, the General, had succeeded in collecting documents which incontestably proved that Charles III. was the offspring of adultery. This absurd invention made such an impression on the mind of the king and so incensed him against the Society that he at last determined upon their expulsion.

But perhaps the most active, determined, and unscrupulous agent for the destruction of the Society was the infamous Pombal, Prime Minister of Joseph I. of Portugal. This notorious and un-

principled schemer had spent some time in London as Portuguese ambassador, and had imbibed sentiments in sympathy with the Protestantism of the English Church establishment. Having returned home and being, after some time, elevated to the premiership, he determined to attempt the reformation of the church after the English plan throughout the Portuguese dominions. It is probable that he had very little faith himself of any kind, but the mass of the people being still Catholic, he was obliged to act with caution, and hence his whole proceedings were veiled under a thinly-disguised hypocrisy. In pursuance of his nefarious measures he saw the necessity of attacking the Jesuits and, if possible, of expelling them from the kingdom. Hence, under hypocritical professions of a desire to reform the Society of Jesus, he petitioned the Holy Father, Benedict XIV., for a brief of authorization to proceed against them. For this purpose he caused his agents at the Vatican to present to the Holy Father certain documents carefully prepared and full of the most outrageous and barefaced lies, charging the Jesuits with the most infamous crimes. Benedict was on his deathbed. In his heart he did not believe the representations made to him. He had too much reason to know, or at least to suspect the designs of the men who were clamoring for the reformation of a Society which had always been the most efficient agent in the reformation of the people. He did not know, indeed, but that individuals might have been guilty of conduct inconsistent with the spirit and principles of the order, though even of this he had no satisfactory evidence. Yet so earnestly and persistently did these heartless agents press their suit upon the dying Pope that he at length felt compelled to yield to their demands, though not till he had, as he supposed, carefully guarded against the possibility of injustice being done. He was careful in his brief to insist upon their having a fair and impartial trial, and he laid great stress on the necessity of the inquiry being made in such a manner that the innocent should not be made to suffer with the guilty, if, indeed, any guilty should be found, which the whole tenor of the brief showed he was unwilling to believe.

Professedly acting under the authority of this brief, Pombal, instead of instituting a formal inquiry, proceeded at once—in fact, before the brief was properly authenticated—to condemn the Society without trial and without the slightest particle of evidence. It is not necessary here to repeat all the outrageous cruelties perpetrated by this remorseless tyrant, this second Henry VIII., in order to accomplish his nefarious purposes; his attacks on the leading Catholic aristocracy who stood in the way of the successful carrying out of his designs; the moral certainty that he concocted the celebrated scheme of assassination in which innocent

men and women were implicated, by suborned witnesses, and, finally, as an after-thought, the including of the Jesuits in the general charge and incarcerating them without trial; his cruel, heartless murder of men and women of high position and spotless reputation. Nor need we recall that most infamous and painful transaction, the ruthless destruction by Pombal of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay, the "Reductions," as they were called, in which those devoted Fathers, with incredible labor, patience, and sacrifices, for two hundred years, had succeeded in redeeming thousands of savages from barbarism and forming them into intelligent, peaceful, and prosperous Christian communities, all, with a heartless cruelty not exceeded by savages themselves, sacrificed to the wicked caprice of a tyrant who had sworn the destruction of the Society and who never rested till he had expelled the whole order from the Portuguese dominions. That act stands out in bold relief as one of the blackest pages in the history of the world, and furnishes infallible evidence of the infamous character of the man who was the principal agent in the final suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV.

Among these innocent men, driven from the Portuguese dominions as well as from France and Spain, some were feeble with infirmities of age, or weakened by disease and hard service in laboring for the good of their kind; others were youthful postulants, many of them from aristocratic families, in which they had been brought up in luxury and ease. Yet, with a heroic self-denial and determination worthy of martyrs, all endured the horrors of the middle passage on shipboard as they were transported to Italy, where hundreds of them were landed and thrown upon the charity of the Holy Father and their friends in the most absolute destitution and even squalor, having been deprived not only of all their earthly possessions, but even of decent clothing and sufficient food.

Choiseul, Aranda, and Pombal had their agents in Rome, who were laboring with unceasing diligence and pertinacity to influence the Sovereign Pontiff against the Society of Jesus. Unfortunately, there were not wanting in those days unworthy ecclesiastics who had been corrupted by power and place and who were employed as tools for the accomplishment of the designs of their ambitious masters. These men had been forced upon the Holy Father against his will, and he could not get rid of them. They had neither conscience nor principle, and they knew, for they were given distinctly to understand, that their favor with their masters and their ultimate reward would depend upon the degree of their success in influencing the Pope. These men were aided in their disreputable work by the Jansenists, the open and declared ene-

mies of the Jesuits, who, notwithstanding their condemnation by the Holy Office, still sought, by subterfuge, hypocrisy, and chicanery, to carry their point. Their agents at Rome were men of ability and extraordinary *finesse*, and they were backed by a powerful influence from the strongholds of the heresy, especially in France.

This strong combination of able and determined men had tried their hand with Clement XIII., who succeeded Benedict XIV. in the Papal chair; but he was firm and unyielding, and though they made his life miserable by their importunities, their slanderous falsehoods and misrepresentations, and though they threatened all sorts of evils to the Church unless he yielded to their unholy demands, he remained immovable and loyal to the Society to the last. When the Spanish Government, through the most iniquitous means, succeeded in banishing the Jesuits from all the Spanish dominions, including the Spanish possessions in the New World, Pope Clement XIII. appealed to the infatuated king in favor of the Society. His Holiness called God to witness that "the body, the institution, the spirit of the Society of Jesus were innocent; that it was pious, useful, and holy in its object."

On the 19th of May, 1769, Cardinal Ganganeli was elected Pope under the title of Clement XIV. He was a friend of the Jesuits and had been appointed Cardinal by their recommendation. All the agencies of evil which failed with Clement XIII. were set to work, with an energy stimulated by disappointment, to accomplish their object with the new Pope. The majority of the Sacred College was completely in favor of the Jesuits, and the Pope, when he began to yield to the resistless force of the arguments that were brought to bear upon him, finding that his natural counsellors remained firm and unshaken in their opinions, became isolated and had to withstand alone a pressure of most extraordinary and terrible character. His Holiness desired to gain time, and writing to Louis XV. of France, candidly says: "I can neither censure nor abolish an institute which has been commended by nineteen of my predecessors. Still less can I do so since it has been confirmed by the Council of Trent, for, according to your French maxim, the General Council is above the Pope. If it be so desired, I will call together a general council of the Church, in which everything shall be fully and fairly discussed, for and against." But this was just what the infidel ministers did not want, for they knew very well that they would stand a much better chance of coercing the Pope into compliance than of influencing a council of bishops who, to a man, were in favor of the Society. They would brook no delay. In the most importunate manner they declared that the king of Spain had become so excited that he would lose his reason unless

he obtained a formal promise that the Society should be suppressed. Threats were made that kingdoms would throw off their allegiance to the Church unless the prayer were granted, and these threats certainly had some significance when we call to mind the political system of Europe, which allowed the masses of the people to be ruled and kept down by a corrupt and tyrannical oligarchy. The example of England, forced into schism by the reckless tyrant Henry VIII., stood out as a warning of what might occur again if some concession were not made to the combination of tyrants who were now really laboring for the same end, and who were determined on the suppression of the Jesuits—the Pope's body guard, as they were called—as the most effective mode of storming the castle itself and carrying the citadel of the Church by assault.

It is a fact worthy of note that, in this unholy and disgraceful warfare upon the Jesuits, two nations stood aloof and gave the suppressed Order the benefit of their countenance and support. These were Prussia and Russia. Frederick II., of Prussia, though himself a Protestant, or rather an infidel, and in sympathy with the free-thinking philosophers of the time, knew well that the Jesuits were not only perfectly innocent of the charges brought against them, but were among the foremost and best defenders of social order which had revealed religion for its principal support. He knew that the infidels of Europe were merely hastening the revolution by attacking the Jesuits, and, therefore, declined to join in the persecution of men who were really the firmest supporters of constitutional authority. He was in constant correspondence with the infidel philosophers, and on one occasion wrote to D'Alambert: "What progress has your boasted philosophy made? You will reply, we have expelled the Jesuits. I admit it; but I can prove to you that it was pride, private revenge, cabals, and, in fact, self-interest, that accomplished the work."

Again, writing from Potsdam to his agent in Rome in 1773, the year of the suppression, he says that in the treaty of Breslau he had guaranteed the *status quo* of the Catholic religion, and he had never found better priests in every respect than the Jesuits. "I am determined," he says, "to retain them in my states."

To the eternal credit of the Empress of Russia, she not merely approved of the Society, but she gave the strictest orders that it was to remain in her dominions. She saw the folly of persecuting the staunch friends of the throne and the Altar, and when they were expelled from other countries they were invited to her dominions, and remained there unsuppressed.

But the agents of Satan seemed to be inspired with diabolical hatred and with an invincible determination to succeed, and they pressed their suit with such insolence and brutal disregard of the

feelings of the Holy Father that he at length felt compelled to yield, not because he thought it was right in itself, not that he had lost confidence in the Jesuits, not because he approved of his own action, but simply to avoid what he was made to believe would be a greater evil. Not only were threats used that kingdoms would throw off their allegiance to the Church, but in 1772 the Spanish Ambassador determined to terrify the Pope into submission, and with extraordinary pertinacity bullied the Holy See by this solemn warning on a certain occasion in public audience: "Beware, lest my master, the king, approve the project which has been entertained by more than one court, the suppression of all the religious orders! If you would save them, do not confound their cause with that of the Jesuits." "Ah," replied the Pontiff, "I have for a long time thought that this was what they were aiming at. They seek even more—the entire destruction of the Catholic religion—schism, perhaps heresy, such are their secret designs." "This conversation," remarks the historian,¹ "raises the veil and shows that the abolition of the Jesuits was merely considered expedient for fear of greater evils. The Vicar of Christ was placed in a dilemma of the most grave and difficult character. He neither censured the Society, nor believed in the absurd calumnies launched against it, but, administering the affairs of the Church, considered it advisable to bow temporarily to the storm for fear of that greater injury to faith and morals which might be the sequence of another line of conduct."

And here it is worthy of remark that no Bull of Suppression was issued, but merely the brief, "*Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*," which could be revoked at any time without difficulty, and was not binding on the Pope's successors. The usual formalities for its publication and canonical execution were not observed, and the bishops were not commanded, but merely recommended, to notify the contents of the brief to those concerned.

At length, on the 21st of July, 1773, it is said that the Pope exclaimed in a tone of deep sorrow: "The bells of the Gesù are not ringing for the Saints, they are tolling for the dead." On the same day His Holiness affixed his signature to the brief suppressing the Society. Cardinal Pacca tells us, in his memoirs, that after Clement XIV. had affixed his signature he dashed the document to one side, cast the pen to the other, and from that moment was demented. The awful pressure, and the extreme anxiety to do what was best under the circumstances of most fearful difficulty, had unhinged the mind of the Pope. He was sane only at intervals, and

¹ The History of the Society of Jesus, by A. Wilmot, F.R.G.S. Burns & Oates, London; Catholic Pub. Society Co., New York.

then deplored with excessive grief the misfortunes of the Church of which he had been the very unwilling instrument.

And what spirit did the Fathers of the Society manifest under this crushing blow? If they were such terrible agitators, such dangerous plotters and schemers, such enemies of the human race as they were represented to be, we should naturally look for some resistance on their part. Not so, however. On the 16th of August, 1773, we are told, a prelate, accompanied by soldiers and agents of the police, gave notice to the Fathers at the Gesù of the suppression of the Society throughout the world, and on the 22d of September following Father Ricci, the General; Fr. Canelli, Secretary General; Frs. Le Forestier, Gautier, and Faur were confined in the Castle of St. Angelo. They were simply seized without trial, in violation of all law and justice, and cast into prison, where Fr. Ricci, who was a saintly as well as learned man, died in 1775 at the age of seventy-two, solemnly declaring before God and His Holy Angels, after having received the last Sacraments, that the Society of Jesus had given no cause for suppression, and that he had given no cause for his own imprisonment. At the same time he did not attach any guilt to those who injured the Society, and forgave them most earnestly from his heart. This was the spirit of the Society everywhere. It was their spirit when unjustly and cruelly expelled from Spain, France, and Portugal. It was quite notorious that in Portugal the Jesuits had only to signify their approval of revolution, and wide extended insurrection would have been the result. The missions of Paraguay embraced a large number of trained and disciplined soldiers, with arms and ammunition, and a word from the Jesuits would have placed them in an attitude of hostility which it would have cost millions of money and thousands of lives to subdue. Indeed, the Fathers incurred the displeasure and lost the confidence of their converts by their persevering efforts to induce them to submit to the outrageously cruel decree of Pombal.

Being dispersed by the brief of suppression, these devoted men, thus violently wrenched from the associate life which had become a second nature, and was so dear to them—now a scattered flock—still labored for the greater glory of God, and were distinguished everywhere as men of science and skilful educators of youth. Throughout the civilized world the members of the order, instead of showing resentment and making trouble, achieved triumphs in literature, in science and in the pulpit. They were ready to serve wherever they could do good, and when the time of their restoration came, they were everywhere greeted with the most enthusiastic welcome.

A striking incident, illustrating the true spirit of the Society, is

related in Albert Weld's "Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions."

On the death of Joseph I., and the accession of his daughter Maria, Pombal, who had added to his many other crimes by intriguing, though happily unsuccessfully, to deprive the lawful heir to the throne of her rights, had been disgraced, tried for his life, and condemned, but the sentence, through the clemency of the queen, had been commuted to banishment to the confines of his own estate in Coimbra-Pombal, as it was called. "The first city," says the writer alluded to, "which opened its gates to the Jesuits, after their return into the diocese of Coimbra, was Pombal, the place where the minister of that name was exiled and died. Strange to say, for fifty years the remains of this persecutor of the Society had been allowed to remain unburied in a chapel on the Pombal estate, and, as if by a special interposition of Divine Providence, those remains had been doomed to lie unburied till Mass had been said over them by a Father of the Society of Jesus," a truly Christian revenge, as the writer justly remarks, and furnishing a touching, practical illustration of the command: "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate and persecute you." The Mass was celebrated by Father Du Vaux, who, in a letter written March 6th, 1832, gave the following graphic description of the scene: "We were received with the ringing of bells, complimented and led in triumph by the arch-priest accompanied by his clergy. The church where two of our Fathers went to say Mass was magnificently illuminated as on the greatest solemnities. As for myself, moved by a religious sentiment which it is impossible to express, I had slipped away with a Father and a Brother before meeting the good Curé, and had run off to the church of the Franciscans, to pray at the tomb of the Marquis. But the unfortunate man had no tomb. At a little distance from the high altar we found a bier covered by a miserable pall which the Father Guardian of the convent told us was his. It had waited in vain for the honors of sepulture from the 5th of May, 1782. . . . I can say then, in all truth, that after more than half a century of proscription, the first step of the Society, on its solemn return to Coimbra, was to celebrate an anniversary Mass, in presence of the body, for the repose of the soul of him who had proscribed it, and in the place where he passed the last years of his life, disgraced, exiled and condemned to death. What a series of events was necessary to lead to this! I left Pombal scarcely sure if this were a dream or a reality. The presence of the coffin; the name of Sebastian pronounced in the prayer; the sound of all the bells of the parish celebrating the return of the Society, and all this at

the same time! I fully believe that this impression will never be effaced from my heart."

Such is Jesuit revenge; such the spirit that the Society has always manifested, for they have learned it at the foot of the Cross of their Master and great Exemplar, and we may well apply to them the language of the great Apostle to the Gentiles: "For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ our Lord, and ourselves your servants through Jesus. In all things we suffer tribulation, but are not distressed; we are straitened, but not destitute; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken; we are cast down, but we perish not. Always bearing about in our body the mortification of Jesus that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our bodies."

RELIGION AND THE MESSIAH.

MANKIND seems every day to be drifting farther and farther away from a true knowledge of God. Instead of being, as might be said of it at a no very remote period, an exotic, infidelity has come to be a tree so large and flourishing as almost to make us believe it indigenous to the soil. Long since has the name infidel and the profession of infidelity ceased to excite surprise, much less horror, for long since have people become accustomed to hear both. Indeed, by many it is esteemed the mark of a large and expanded mind to profess infidelity; more there are who seem to think that to this profession respectability must infallibly adhere; while few is the number who make the slightest discrimination between Jew and Gentile, Christian and Infidel.

At present, beyond dispute, there is a vast flood of unbelieving men. These, forswearing allegiance to any and all religious creeds, are ever striving to delude themselves into the belief that there is no God, and seek to find comfort in absolute and utter negation. Vain their purpose. They succeed in but deceiving their own hearts. "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." So spake Job, many hundreds of years ago. Equally true are his words to-day, despite the vast advances that have been made in science. The geologist, digging deep into the bowels of the earth, may know more about its internal structure and the vast furnaces of heat but poorly concealed by the thin crust on which men walk; the naturalist by the aid of his microscope may have

opened up to our view the secrets of nature; the philosopher may be more intimate with the nice laws which govern human reason; the astronomer may have looked into the heavens and mapped out accurately the course of each particular star and planet; the historian may have deciphered the hieroglyphics of past ages, and revealed to us that what formerly was held as true is false, and true what formerly was thought to be false; nevertheless, not less certain at present than when as fresh from the mint it fell from the lips of Job is it, that only the fool hath said in his heart, there is no God. And as foolishness is doubly foolish when all unconscious of itself, how sad is the plight of him who in his foolishness denies God, and yet while he does so deems himself wise!

In the heyday of youth man may play with infidelity as the child with a toy; he may work on his own mind so as to cause it habitually to reject the idea of God; but with all his self-deceiving *finesse* he cannot entirely drive out beyond the borders of his own thought-lines the traces of conviction of the existence of a divinity. When the cloudless skies that smiled on sturdy manhood are no more to be seen, when, instead, the gathering shadows, falling aslant his pathway, indicate more plainly than words that life's eve is coming on apace, then his mind begins to be filled with gloom and a fear troubles him as he thinks of the dark valley that lies beyond, which he is to traverse alone. Hastily he takes a retrospective glance back through the years that were, and reconsiders the promises by which he has been led to a conclusion so unsatisfactory now near life's close. Ten to one, if uninfluenced by his friends, if left to himself, the man comes back to God. If matters have come to a crisis, if no longer there remains time for cool deliberation, if, for instance, the poor man who all his life denied God, be on his death-bed, it will be the merest chance if, the existence of God being presented to him, he does not admit it. Here, in this critical, awful moment, with the flickerings of reason only left, the man is truer to himself and his nature than when, in the robustness of strength, he protested against any claims superior to his own.

Man in the full tide of strength and vigor may prate about infidelity in public, he may proclaim in lofty terms the freedom of mind and body that is purchased by throwing off old, slavish superstitions, among which he counts the believing in a God, and in the consciousness of his own superior enlightenment and importance may puff and strut about; but down deep in his heart man refuses to be an infidel. "In silence and at night" he is forced to acknowledge the existence of a Being, infinite, almighty, and unseen, and the "still small voice of conscience" whispers to him that to this Being, and to Him alone, shall he offer up homage, adora-

tion, and worship. There is that within man which tells him that he is not the last link in "being's endless chain," that there is a power above and beyond him to which he is subject. Nor must man be taught this in order to know it. This knowledge is within him, and is cultivated best when he is alone and silence reigns around. Who is there can look up into the heavens on a calm bright night, and see them lit up with a myriad of brilliant lights, and not feel the presence of a Being of grandeur and omnipotence? Do not these very stars and planets own the existence of a Creator, and proclaim His goodness and beauty?

"As spangles in the sunny rays shine round the silver snows,
The pageantry of heaven's bright army glitters in thy praise."

"A million torches lighted by thy hand
Wander unwearied through the blue abyss,
They own thy power, accomplish thy command,
All gay with life, all eloquent with bliss."

The prophet sings: "The stars gave light in their watches and rejoiced, when God called them they said, here we are; and with gladness they shined to him that made them." How beautifully does not Milton express this thought in his "Morning Prayer" of Adam and Eve! but not more beautifully than when picturing this supremely holy happy pair as strolling through the walks of Paradise on a fine summer night, listening to the music of the spheres and in enraptured wonderment turning their gaze to the starry firmament set with countless dazzling lights, while to the ear is wafted the low soft cooing of mellow-throated birds and sweet aroma of herb, tree and flower fill evening air, than when as thus alone in the midst of so much magnificence and grandeur he presents them to us as overcome by the splendor of the scene about and seeking to give expression to their feelings by murmuring, one to the other, strains like this:

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep,
Both day and night. How often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices in the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to others notes,
Singing their great Creator! Oft in bands,
While they keep watch, or nightly sounding walk
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number joined, their songs
Divide the night and lift our thoughts to Heaven."

But no less eloquently than to this primitive pair in Paradise, all alone with nature and their God, does the Creation speak to

all of us, telling us of the Creator ; and indeed, hard and calloused, if not entirely dead, must be that heart that will not listen, or that, listening, cannot hear its voice repeating ever the same story, telling over and over again of Him that made all things, and asking us to join in praising Him. Midst "pathless woods" and desert sands this voice may be heard, and, O, what a tempest of meaning has it not for him who, in contemplation, stands on the "lonely shore of the deep sea" whose waves, dashing at his feet, sing ever the same, same song ! Truly, is there here a "rapture and society"—the society of God and the rapture of His presence ! Well does Childe Harold address old ocean :

"Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
Gleams itself in tempest
Boundless, endless and sublime,—the image of eternity—
The throne of the Invisible."

For him who can thus commune with nature it is impossible, long or persistently, to remain insensible to the presence of God, whose existence all the elements vie in attesting. "All nature cries aloud through all her works," and speaks to us of a power above. Every wind that blows, every summer zephyr as well as every wintry blast, every blade that grows, every bird that sings, every animal that breathes, every living thing in the heavens, on the earth or under the earth,—all attest the existence of a God. Blind must he be who cannot see ; obstinately perverse, who, seeing, will not believe.

It is not our purpose by formal demonstration to establish the existence of God. Such demonstration does not properly lie within the scope of our article. It will not, however, be out of place to assert here the old philosophical thesis, that so-called theoretico-negative infidelity or atheism is impossible. That man may be a practical or theoretico-positive atheist, we readily concede. By a theoretico-negative infidel is meant one who has attained the age of maturity, and is still in entire ignorance of the existence of God. A practical infidel or atheist is one who, though he knows God, lives and acts as though he did not. A theoretico-positive infidel is one who, by the abuse of his faculties, has reasoned himself into the belief that there is no God. That there may be, really are, practical infidels, is a fact nobody thinks of denying. That there may be, and are also, theoretico-positive infidels, but skeptically rather than dogmatically so, is just as true. There is no doubt but that man starting on wrong principles, or starting on right principles but fallaciously reasoning, may come to the conclusion that there is no God, especially if he be seeking after this conclusion. But not immediately, or by one act, does

man so conclude. Doubt first arises in the mind ; this, by constant repetition, becomes a habit, which in turn settles down to a conviction. Nevertheless, the conviction is never final. Never is the mind at rest in it. Nature will assert herself, and the voice of nature is, there is a God.

Theoretico-negative infidelity is impossible, because it is what it is. We cannot imagine that one may grow to the age of manhood and know nothing of God's existence. This contradicts all experience. Man is a rational animal. As such, he is necessarily a reasoning animal. Being this, he cannot remain unconscious of God's existence. For, God's existence is demonstrable, and being demonstrable, is understandable. God's existence is demonstrable by arguments drawn from metaphysics, physics and morals. Now, it may be that all men have not sufficient intelligence to understand all these various arguments; certainly all are not capable of understanding them in their details and niceties; or, granting that all have sufficient intelligence, all have not the time to devote to the study of these arguments. But, conceding this, there is no man still possessing a glimmer of intelligence who is not capable of understanding one or other of the arguments by which we are led infallibly to believe the existence of God. Equally true is this of him who, segregated from his infancy from association with his fellow-man, has not the benefit of the latter's teaching. Supposing a man, all his days, leading a solitary, isolated existence in the midst of a desert or woods, still will he come to a knowledge of God. For the assertion of God's existence is bound up with the first principles of reason. The ratiocination is so easy that even such a man as we have described, by his own unaided effort, will make it. Whether he look to himself or to the world around him—and no matter what his isolation or how limited his reason, if not entirely wanting, he will not fail to do either—he will be led to know God. These great truths, his own existence, the existence of the world, the harmony which, in a measure, he is able to see pervading the universe, will naturally suggest themselves to him. Then will come the question, whence this world, whence this harmony, whence am I? Just as naturally will he come to the conclusion that there must be a power superior to the world and to himself. He may not call it God, he may not understand just what it is. What matter? He understands equivalently, nevertheless, that the power is God. The emotions asserting themselves within him, his own purpose in life and what after life, the moral law which God has implanted in the heart of every human being,—all these again will be so many different ways of announcing to him the existence of God. It fol-

lows, therefore, that a theoretico-negative infidel or atheist is an impossible anomaly.

Indeed, we believe that of the vast number of infidels which the world to-day reckons, very few there are who stop to consider this point or who care about it. This kind of infidelity does not concern them. Nor is practical infidelity, although we know full well that there are many practical infidels or people who, knowing God, act as though they did not, that in which they are chiefly interested. The infidelity which most infidels to-day are pleased to defend is of the theoretico-positive genus. This affords better battling-ground, for it admits of a claim to honesty. With what would seem to be a very commendable candor, they will admit that they may be wrong, but if so, they are honestly wrong. They will tell you that you may be right, there may be a God, but they cannot see it. They wish they could believe like you, but they honestly cannot. However, continuing, they will tell you that, if there is a God, He is just. Now, being just, they have no fear, for, as their great apostle, Ingersoll, is reported to have said, they are able to argue their case before any just judge. On the face of it all, this appears very plausible and candid; but, when examined, will be seen to be downright sophistry. No right-minded man will allow himself to be deceived by it. Long ago, Seneca said: "Those who assert that they do not believe in God, are liars; at night and alone, their doubts teach them the contrary." This statement is borne out by the conduct of infidels who, almost invariably, at life's close are overcome by fear, and very frequently do, what in every case would come to pass were it not for pride and public opinion, renounce their old atheistic tendencies, and turn to God. Plato says of his own times: "There is no one who, in his youth, having learned to believe in the non-existence of the gods, perseveres in his faith to old age." Santhibal, a celebrated infidel of the seventeenth century, as Bayle relates, testifies of the whole infidel school that there is no one in it sincere in his belief, that all retract before death. With Bayle, we may sum up in a few words the honesty of all infidel professions: "Infidels say more than they believe, and are led more by vanity than by conscience. They mistake their audacity for the mark of a strong mind. Hence they put forward objections against the Gospel and God which they themselves do not believe. They do this so persistently that finally it becomes a habit for them. If to this we join their depravity of morals and that full indulgence of their passions to which, following infidel teaching, they are allowed to give full sway, we have the true solution of their professions."—(*Liberatore, de Existentia Dei.*) In whatever light, therefore, we view infidelity, we find that it is untenable, and that men adhere to it less

from conviction than from caprice. Man naturally has a belief in the Divinity.

From this it follows, as a direct corollary, that man not only must believe in, but must practise, religion. If there is a God, that God must be worshipped. There can be no dispute about this. If God is, He is benign, good, just; He is Creator, Sovereign Master, Lord. We do not now speak of Him in relation to the Christian economy. We speak of him absolutely, as God. As God, He is all and more than we have said He is. As God, then, He must be worshipped, and be worshipped by man. For man is His creature, and bears a relation of recipiency to God as Creator, Sovereign Master, Lord; to God as benign, good, and just. Man is, therefore, bound to worship God. God being Creator, man is bound to worship Him with far more justice than the child is held to reverence his parents. Now, this relation of man to God, this obligation to worship, what is it but the essence of religion? Given man, therefore religion follows as a corollary to God's existence, and God's existence is a fact that all men, to be consistent, must concede. We think, then, we are not saying too much when we affirm that all men are inclined to religion.

Our conclusion is not a little strengthened by what we see every day occurring around us. The topic of religion seems to be all-absorbing. Ever agitating, the mind is ever grappling with it, ever seeking to find rest by determining on some satisfactory solution. It is in vain that we seek to drive it from us. Like Banquo's ghost, it will not "down." It is ever demanding settlement at our hands, and will give us no peace until its demands are satisfied and, we may add, until satisfied correctly. Outside the true religion no one is at rest. To this constant unrest, arising from uncertainty, if we leave out those who, having been born in, have persevered in, or having sought, have found, the true religion and in it enjoy peace and tranquillity, there is no exception. All else alike—and the infidel as well—are subject to uneasiness and discomfort of mind. They are ever discussing with themselves, and are ever ready to discuss with any other willing to enter the arena, the question of religion. Though we have excepted him who, enjoying the true religion, enjoys peace, from the worry and excitement of unrest and the consequent all-absorbing desire of him who is unsettled to cross swords with an antagonist, apparent or real, in religious controversy, we make no exception of him to the general rule that religion is for all a subject of paramount interest. On the contrary, we say for him, even more than for others, religion is the uppermost thought of the mind. Now, this strange adherence of religion to the mind, this constant seeking for recognition, this refusal to be cast aside, is a phenomenon peculiar to religion

alone. Of no other subject is it true. Any other subject may by great effort be dismissed. We may refuse to think longer on a beautiful picture, a lovely face, or a handsome figure; a poem will be forgotten, scientific problems will cease to interest; politics have their season and are succeeded by quiet; tariff to-day may excite the country, but to-morrow it will be something else; even stocks, with all their excitement of rise and fall, of pleasure and profit, may loose their hold; any and all other subjects we may refuse to think on, but uppermost still there remains the subject of religion, and this by no effort can we shake off. After the mind has travelled about, after it has buried itself in investigation in vain quest of diversion and forgetfulness, unerringly and undeviatingly, as infallibly as the needle turns towards the pole, back must it turn to the old question of religion. This persistency of the subject of religion as a problem adhering to and perplexing the mind, this refusal to be driven forth, leads us to conclude that the idea of religion is, in a wide sense at least, innate in the mind of man, and that just as truly as man is a rational, so may he be called a religious, animal. " 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us."

A circumstance in Greek history forcibly evinces this religious craving of the mind. We learn, on the testimony of Juvenal, Persius, and Horace, all of whom, however, cite the fact but to ridicule it, that many Greeks, after becoming convinced of the hollowness and sham of paganism, and perceiving its utter untenableness, were yet unwilling to abandon themselves to total unbelief. As an alternative, they chose rather to cast their lot with the Jews, whose religion, while not believing, they saw to be more consistent, and if it did not satisfy, tended, at least, to relieve them of the desolation of paganism, or worse, no religion. Accordingly, with this end in view, without caring for the reality, they adopted the letter and ceremonial of Judaism.

As is the experience of the individual, such, also, is the universal experience of the race. Whenever and wherever we find man, there we also find religion. It was not the Jews alone who possessed a religion. No nation, no people destitute of it has ever existed. Plutarch we believe it is who says, it would be more wonderful to find a city without walls, laws, and government, than a people without the knowledge of God. Trace back the history of nations and peoples, go back as far as history leads us; leaving history, march into the realms of tradition, until tradition itself is lost in the "twilight of fable," and at no time and in no place will you find a people who worshipped not God in one or another manner. The ancient Chinese, 3370 years before Christ, followed a system of natural philosophy given them by the great Fo-hi. Succeeding this, there was introduced a religion which gave su-

preme homage to Tien. Subject to Tien, or Heaven, were many subordinate gods. In the course of time Buddhism crept in. The Buddhists expected a redeemer who was to come from the west. In India, after the pantheistic religion first practised by the inhabitants, Buddhism and Brahmanism had a fierce and long strife for the ascendancy. It appears that Brahmanism was at first successful. But Buddhism had its day of triumph also, for we read that it succeeded Brahmanism. The Hindoos possessed sacred books which they called Vedas. "These contained all revealed truths, and form the four most ancient collections of documents bearing on religion." Their contents were said to have been given by the Deity. Tradition says that Brahma appeared in person to the Hindoos. A most firm belief was entertained in the coming of a promised saviour. The Chaldeans worshipped the stars. The sun was their chief god. The Persians had a dualistic religion. They honored Ormuzd as the true and eternal God, while they feared Ahriman as the spirit of darkness. What seems to be a later invention is that Ormuzd and Ahriman were the sons of an omnipotent being, Zervana Acarena. The resurrection of the dead was believed in, and its accomplishment was attributed to Sosoish. Astrology was the basis of all religion in Egypt. The chief gods of the Egyptians—for they had a multiplicity of deities—were Isis and Osiris; and supreme honor was paid the latter, who was called the sun-god. But the Egyptians did not confine themselves to planets in their worship of gods. They worshipped animals, many of which they deemed sacred. The orgies of Egyptian worship are revolting in the extreme. In this respect the Egyptians were below all of the ancient nations. Two systems of religion seem to have obtained amongst the Greeks, one, that of the vulgar, was at first universal and consisted in the worship of the Olympic gods, chief among which was Zeus; the other was an esoteric religion, or religion of the wise, which gradually began to obtain ground as the former lost it. This second proposed a belief in a first being, and was altogether more deserving of consideration than the former religion of the Greeks; yet it was hollow and hypocritical, and entirely unable to satisfy the acute minds of a people who had become tired of sham, and longed for something more substantial to relieve them of the desolation which weighed on their spirit. The religion of Rome, as far as Rome possessed a religion characteristically Roman, was in form monotheistic. After Rome became rich and powerful, and even before, she copied Greece. Thus did it come that Rome worshipped so many gods that it was said of her that she worshipped more gods than there were planets in the heavens. Yet the religion of Rome never entirely lost its monotheistic form. St. Augustine affirms that all the Roman gods cen-

tred in one. But long before Christianity appeared knocking for admission at her gates, Rome had ceased to possess any religion at all. Infidelity was the popular profession.

To this universal existence of religion savage nations offer no exception. The discovery of the new world opened up a country inhabited by a people who must have been separated for centuries from the rest of mankind, but who, nevertheless, amidst virgin forests and trackless wastes, looked up in awe to the "Great Spirit" or Manitou. The inhabitants of Central Africa, as well as the Pacific isles, to-day practise a rude form of religion. In a word, nowhere and at no time do we find a people without some kind of a religion. Sometimes the religion found is coarse and primitive, sometimes sensual and hellish; nevertheless, the practising of it even in these forms shows a consistency and conformity to nature of which our modern infidel, if we are to believe himself, is wholly bereft.

Besides this universality of religion, teaching that the religious idea must be innate in the mind of man, there are other striking features which will not have escaped any one's notice. One is, that nearly all peoples seem to have a tradition of the fall of the race. Thus, for instance, the northern nations have a tradition that the ases or gods, in the beginning of the world, lived in Asgard or Paradise, from which they were expelled because of their lust and avarice. The Hindoos speak of four ages, in the first of which, called the age of truth, lived Brahma, who, because of pride, was expelled from Brahmapatna or Paradise. The Persians, also, on the teaching of the Zend-Avesta, believed that the world had four ages, in the first of which men dwelt in the land of Ormuzd and enjoyed the "hundred happinesses"; but having allowed themselves to be deceived by Ahriman, they fell from their high estate. The Chinese have a legend, which says that before Fo-hi came into the world, men lived in a state of perfect happiness and in complete accord with the brute creation. After Fo-hi, begotten of a dragon, appeared, having set himself to acquire knowledge and succeeding, happiness, which till then reigned, was dispelled by knowledge. All will perceive what a similarity these traditions bear to that known as the Christian, founded on the Mosaic account; also, how natural are the divergencies noticeable.

A second feature is, that all nations retained a vague conception of the One True God. This may not at first strike all as being true, and yet it is, strictly. At first glance it would seem that the multiplicity of gods worshipped contradicted the monotheistic idea. A little further thought will show that it does not. Although many gods were recognized by ancient peoples, yet were they all recognized as subordinate to some one supreme God. We think it will be difficult to point out a single nation of which the contrary

is true. Authors are not over-clear on this subject, at least some are not; but we do not believe any author will be found asserting that there did not exist among all nations some traces, some vague memory of One True God.

But the most noteworthy feature of this universal tradition is that it all pointed to the coming of a Saviour or Messiah. This is the central figure around which are grouped all the others, the main fact to the sustaining of which all others contribute. All ancient tradition blends into one common voice, announcing the advent of a Christ, who was to renew the face of the earth. Whatever else was rejected, whatever else men forgot in the long lapse of ages, this coming of a Saviour was not rejected or forgotten. Everything pointed towards it, everything went to give it a firm basis in the minds of the people. The idea as scattered may have grown dim and misty, its boundary lines may have become less marked, its shape and form less distinct; but, instead of losing its hold on mankind as these its outward marks grew vague, it seemed rather to obtain a firmer grasp. So bound up with the destinies of the people and so intimate and present had it become to them that we may compare it to the pinnacle of a grand edifice, made up of varied and diverse materials, some of which were rough enough, but were growing into harmony as they approached the top, an edifice that had stood for thousands of years, around which during all this time had played the winds and storms, but without producing any other effect except to chip off the corners and gables and sombre the walls.

The expectation of a Messiah was the one bright star illuminating the firmament of the ancient world. It begot hope in the hearts of peoples sunk in the gloom and despondency of paganism, and cheered them to look forward to the coming of a brighter and better day. When overcome by desolation of spirit arising from the hollow forms that religion, as known to them, presented to their imaginations, this glowing picture of the future, when the earth was to be blessed and happy, rose up before them to comfort and console. The accomplishment of the reality was the bread the people were crying for, alas! how long crying for in vain, until, overcome by the disappointment of ever receiving a stone, the cry had settled down into one long, continuous wail, broken by but few faint notes of gladness. Amidst this wilderness of desolation and gloom we can understand, as the world grew old, what a source of joy must have been the thought of that promise made so many ages ago, whose fulfilment must be now near at hand. Ah, what a magic power must not its mention have had, especially for all oppressed and enthralled nations who looked to the Saviour's coming as the day of their deliverance! How must not old faces, grown long

with waiting, have beamed with joy, how must not heads bowed with cares and troubles have been lifted up, how must not the hearts of all bounded as they heard the Saviour spoken of! Possessing such a power to charm and such a potency to soothe, may we not in imagination look back through the years to the time when the Saviour's coming was, the thought that engrossed all minds, and thus looking back may we not see friends, as they gathered about the couch of the sufferer, whisper the Saviour's name, while the eyes of the sick one, as he heard it, beamed with strange light; or may we not see the mother, as bending o'er her little one to stop his infant cries, she told of the happy days that were to come, while, as if hushed by talismanic spell, the child dried his eyes and began to smile? The coming of a Saviour was an event ardently expected by all the ancient nations. In the east they pointed towards the west, in the west towards the east, as the place of His advent. The idea had so gained ground at the time of Cicero that we find it spoken of as an event certain and soon to be accomplished. Dionysius and his friend, Apollophanes, of the Areopagus, looked daily for its fulfilment.

We have said that the Messianic tradition was universal. We have not, however, as yet spoken of that people who, more than any other, treasured the hope of its fulfilment, and who, more than any other—going forth to every land—caused the diffusion of this hope throughout the world. This was the Jewish people. From the time of Abraham we find the Jews, who were of Chaldæic origin, separating themselves from surrounding peoples, and asserting for themselves a special mission, the keeping alive of the knowledge of the One True God and of the Saviour's coming. The Jews possessed a number of books which were delivered to them by Moses, the great law-giver. These books, the Jews claimed, were written under Divine inspiration. They contained an account of the origin of the world, of man, prescribed certain laws for government, etc. According to their account, man was created out of the slime of the earth, after God's own image and likeness, and after creation placed in Paradise, a garden of all delights. Man's original condition was that of pure innocence. Having sinned, he fell from his high estate, became deteriorated in body and mind, subject to concupiscence, sorrow, death, and forfeited his rights to Heaven, which, if he had been faithful, was to be his. Although displeased at man's sin, God, because of a great love He bore man, did not abandon him. Nay, He promised that, in time, a Saviour would be born, who would repair the ruin caused by Adam's, the first man's, sin, and re-establish harmony between earth and heaven. The Jews were God's chosen people. There was imposed on them as a binding obligation, the observance of ten commandments em-

bracing all the natural law. These commandments, engraven in tablets of stone, were given by God Himself to Moses amid the lightnings and thunders of Sinai. As long as the Jews observed them, no harm would befall the Jews themselves; but if they departed from these laws, they—the Jews—were to be punished, or as Achior, in the book of Judith, so beautifully relates to Holofernes: "Wheresoever they went in, without bow and arrow, and without shield and sword, their God fought for them and overcame, and there was no one that triumphed over this people but when they departed from the worship of the Lord their God." Such in brief was the Jewish tradition. By comparison, we will find that, in its main features, it differed not essentially from what we have seen was the universal tradition of mankind. Rather may we say, both are in full accord, proving plainly the fact and the unity of a primitive revelation. The main points of agreement are: First, the assertion of a One God; secondly, the preservation of a remembrance of the fall; and thirdly, the central point of all revelation, a belief in the Messiah. The Messianic idea we trace, therefore, to a primitive revelation, and of it we predicate the same universality as of the revelation on which it rests.

But to what purpose have we established this? It may, perhaps, by some one be said: Granted the fact, what does it prove? Granted that the Messianic idea or belief in a Saviour has always and everywhere existed since the beginning of the world, that it is universal in time and space, what from this do you deduce? The name of the Messiah, His nation, the time of His coming,—of these all that has been said tells us nothing. On the contrary, because of the very vagueness, and, at the same time, universality of the idea, the confusion becomes denser, and the difficulty of *locating* the Saviour all the greater. The validity of the objection, as far as it concerns the failure of what has been said to tell us who or what the Saviour was, or whether or not he has come, we cheerfully concede. In order to *locate* the Saviour, we must proceed after a different method. But to accomplish this end, we do not deem it necessary to go aside from the beaten path, despite the fact that the Jews, following it, with all their facilities for knowing the Saviour failed at His advent to recognize Him. Their failure, however, was not owing to ignorance or to the insufficiency of means which had been given for knowing the Saviour, but rather to their blind and stubborn prejudices. In order to locate the Messiah, it will be necessary merely to establish the divinity of Jesus Christ. The arguments by which this is done are familiar to all. We indicate but a few of the best known: That such a person as Jesus Christ existed, is a historical truth. To doubt it were to doubt all evidence. Of the existence of no other person have we so abundant

and irrefragable testimony. The life of Jesus may be narrated in a few words. He was born of a virgin, in a stable, at a village of Judea called Bethlehem. The circumstances surrounding his birth, though unknown to the world at large, were of a most extraordinary kind, clearly pointing to supernatural agency. After His birth, Jesus led a most retired life for thirty years, during which period we hear of Him but once, when, interrupting His usual quiet, He went to the temple where He disputed with and questioned the doctors of the law, at the same time surprising them by the acuteness of His intellect. For three years, after He had attained the age of thirty, He went about preaching, teaching, and continuing on a larger scale what had marked His whole life, the doing of good to all who came in His way. During His public life He proclaimed Himself the Son of God, the promised Messiah, whose coming the world had been so long waiting for, and, in confirmation of His assertion, wrought many signs and wonders. Although unable to explain the miracles He wrought, the Jews, who had expected the Messiah to come in pomp and glory, repudiated the claims of Jesus, whom they saw in the garb of humility, and culminated a most unholy and brutal torturing of Him by putting Him to death on a cross. Jesus accepted the death that He might manifest Himself master of death. This He did by coming forth from the sepulchre, the third day after His burial, glorious and immortal. Having remained on the earth forty days, in the presence of many witnesses, He ascended into Heaven. Such was the life of Jesus Christ on earth.

He proclaimed Himself the Messiah! Were His claims true? The united voice of nineteen centuries answers, yes. True, here and there, there have always been some to deny, yet even these admit that, if the whole story about the long-promised Messiah be not a myth, then that Saviour came on earth in the person of Jesus Christ. The life of Jesus testifies He was the Messiah long spoken of and expected. The miracles He wrought, the virtues He practised, the wisdom He displayed,—all attest divinity. In the person of Jesus were fulfilled, also, all that the Sibyl had announced and the prophets foretold of the Messiah. The time, the place, the circumstances of the Saviour's coming, had all been accurately specified, notably by the prophets Jacob, Daniel, Aggeus and Malachy. In fact, every page of the Old Testament contains something in regard to the Messiah. Now, in no point does Jesus contradict anything, but, on the contrary, down to the minutest details, agrees with everything that had been foretold of the Messiah. The conversion of the whole world to Christ, the destruction of the synagogue which, up to Christ's time, though many times attacked, had never been completely overthrown; the substi-

tution of the new for the old economy,—all are so many facts attesting the divinity of Jesus. These arguments, presented in their full force with all their wealth of details, give us more than a moral; they give us a metaphysical certainty of the identity of Jesus with the Messiah. This is sufficient for us to believe, in all confidence, that Jesus is the fulfilment of the Messianic idea, that He is the long desired of nations, the seed of Abraham in whom all peoples were to be blessed. “When John had heard in prison the works of Christ, sending two of his disciples, they said to Him: ‘Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?’” No such question need we ask. We have the testimony of nigh two thousand years to assure us. We have seen the miracles and wonders Christ wrought, and in His person we have seen the prophecies fulfilled, the Sibylline oracles confirmed, the expectation of all antiquity answered. No, we look not for another, but in full confidence we believe that Jesus is the promised Saviour, the Son of God, as St. Augustine says, who, quitting the eternal mansions of His father, “appeared to men, to a world in the decline of old age and in the throes of death, that, while everything about them was rapidly going to decay, He might by His presence infuse into them new life and vigor.” Therefore do we Christians, not only at Advent, but during the whole year, in expectation of His annual Christmas coming, sing the anthem of the prophet: “Drop down dew ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just; let the earth be opened, and bud forth a Saviour!”

To sum up. We find that, by nature, man is not inclined to infidelity, but to religion. This universal religious idea points clearly to a primitive revelation, the central figure of which is the Messiah. We have shown that this Messiah is realized in the person of Christ. Christianity, therefore, or a belief in Christ, is as old and as wide as the world itself. Man is naturally not an infidel, but a Christian. This is the truth, that our partial and discursive consideration of Religion and the Messiah has brought us. Can the infidel refute it?

IMPRESSIONS OF LIFE IN VIENNA.

ON a former occasion, we endeavored to record briefly a few impressions of Vienna, and naturally attempted, in the first place, a brief description of some of the most striking ecclesiastical buildings, though in so very limited a space not a tithe of the vast religious wealth of this enchanting city could be given. One of the temporal advantages of our faith is that we find ourselves at home, and derive profit and instruction from that which, to those outside the pale, is a closed book, or, at best, devoid of meaning. And in Vienna the Catholic will, in a peculiar manner, find himself on his own ground, for she is the capital of the only remaining country where the Church retains a large share of her ancient supremacy and dignity; while, it may be added, nowhere will the Catholic traveller meet with a heartier welcome and readier assistance from her clergy. To the antiquarian the city of Vienna is full of boundless interest. To the student of art, whether music or painting, the magnificent opera house, concerts, vocal and orchestral, and the treasures of the collections of all kinds will furnish an inexhaustible source of occupation and pleasure. The galleries of painting and sculpture, one might well say, are all public, for even those which are nominally private are open to all comers, through the munificence of the princely owners, and the tourist is free to wander at will through the stately halls of the Czerwins, the Liechtensteins, the Harrachs and the Schönborns. Lastly, we would add, to the mere *flâneur* there is no city in the world that offers greater attractions.

We believe that, to the gentle influence of the Church in Austria, where, save during the reign of Joseph II., she has always been undisturbed in her rights, are due the charming manners of the people,—a geniality reminding one much of Ireland, a cordiality that at once puts strangers at their ease, and which is as different from the boorishness of the Prussian as light from darkness. The word, *gemüthlich* the shibboleth of the Viennese, is difficult to translate satisfactorily, but the sense of the adjective is soon realized. Teutonia is essentially the land of ceremony, but in Prussia, with all its many forms, there is no courtesy,—one meets only with etiquette. In Austria only is found the true politeness which is, after all, no more than respect for the feelings of one's neighbors.

To-day entry into Vienna is free. No papers or passports are demanded, and the mysteries of one's luggage are respected by

the politest of *douaniers*. A greater contrast to the system of thirty years ago could not well be imagined. Then Vienna was said to be as hard to enter as Heaven. Often enough an offer of the personal responsibility of some well-known citizen did not save the traveller from espionage, and his correspondence from systematic overhauling in case of suspicion. He might console himself as well as he could with the thought that the ambassador's letter-boy received the same polite attention. There is a story told of a certain English envoy at the Court of Austria, in the time of Metternich, who, smarting under the constant tampering with his letters, ordered, one day, an alteration in the seals, but of so slight a character as to escape the lynx-eyed postal spies, who continued to open and close the letters with a seal of the old pattern. Proof positive was thus obtained of the treachery. Shortly afterwards the diplomatists met in a drawing-room, and the envoy took the opportunity to say in the most friendly manner possible: "By the way, Prince, would you kindly let your employees know that we have for some time been using a different seal?" *Les maladroits!* exclaimed Metternich, for once off his guard. He shortly departed, and doubtless *les maladroits* had subsequently a very uncomfortable interview with their master.

Now the Viennese postal arrangements are equal to those of London. The letter-boxes, painted bright yellow, and bearing the double-headed eagle, are cleared a dozen times daily, and there is, in addition, an excellent pneumatic tube post for the rapid conveyance of messages in the old town.

But, though English-speaking travellers are free to come and go without passports or other documents, no prudent tourist will enter Austria, or, indeed, any other European country except Belgium, without a passport of recent date, or at least some positive evidence of identity. Over and over again it has happened to some luckless wight, ignorant of the language of the country, to be pounced upon by the police in mistake for some malefactor, and in the absence of documentary evidence, to be detained for hours, or even days. The police of Vienna inherit the Metternich traditions. They are smiling and courteous like the rest of the world, but one feels they have no uneasiness, for they know all about everybody. The ordinary policeman's uniform is smart and tasty: a short, dark, patrol jacket, gray trousers, and a black, peaked cap, with a red band. He is armed with a sabre, and wears on the breast his badge on a metal plate hung round the neck by a steel chain. They are a good-looking body of men, with quite a dapper, light-cavalry appearance, in marked contrast to the police of northern Teutonic latitudes, where the system—the "*fortiter in modo*" as well as "*in re*"—is reflected in the uniform

of cumbrous helmet and long, military frock-coats. As a rule, too, the types of face seen under the *Pickelhaube* are very unpleasant, nor will an attempt to cultivate the acquaintance of the owner receive anything but a rebuff. In Frankfort-on-the-Main, we believe, above all other places, the insolent brutality of the police has passed into a proverb, and many are the angry tales we have heard of their interferences and aggression. In Vienna, as elsewhere, the work of the police is commonly facilitated by the system of notifying at once all arrivals and departures. On reaching his abode, the traveller has put before him a little blue paper called the *Meld Zettel* or notice-ticket. Thereon he is invited to inscribe his name and surname, his profession and his place of birth, as well as his habitual dwelling. He must state his age and religion, also whether he be single, married, or a widower. If married, the names and ages of his wife and children must be given. The day of his departure must be notified by his landlord, or his representative, who must also furnish the address to which he is bound. In case these minute inquiries should fail to impress, a note is appended, wherein it is set forth that neglect to forward the report within twenty-four hours will be punished by arrest or a fine, while the penalty for a false declaration will be imprisonment from three days to a month. Thus the traveller is gently kept in hand, and, without his suspicions being excited, may be watched from one end of the empire to the other.

But the first business on arrival is to decide on a place of abode, and to a complete stranger this is rather bewildering. The hotels are very numerous, and of every shade of quality, from the colossal "Imperial" and "Grand," on the Kärnthner Ring, down to the modest "garni" where a traveller, with some knowledge of German, may have excellent sleeping accommodation for a sum so small as to seem ridiculous. In the modern hotels prices rule very high, and they are not much less in the "Erzherzog Karl" and "Goldener Lamm," both old-fashioned houses of high repute, and situated, the former in the Kärnthner Strasse, and the latter across the Danube canal on the road to the Prater. A traveller who does not mind noise, and who cares to see a thoroughly cheerful hotel of the old style, might do worse than try the "König von Ungarn," or the "Ungarische Krone," the latter in a street of celestial title, the "Himmelpforte Garse." Both are hard by the Cathedral, and are considerably frequented by Magyars.

In most hotels the rooms are large, and the furniture is handsome, but carpets are few and far between, while the washing accommodation is often Lilliputian,

For families, private apartments, which may be readily obtained, with or without board, are decidedly preferable, if for quiet only.

For what with the furious driving through the narrow streets, and what one may call the "domestic" noises of the hotels where people seem never to go to bed, and converse all night in stentorian tones, sleep is obtainable only by those having good nerves. One point, at any rate, is worth remembering. In the Austrian hotels there is always a large room on the ground floor called the "Gast-Zimmer," where refreshments are served in a somewhat rough style, and at very moderate prices to suit the poorer class; in fact, it, to some extent, resembles the "Tap" of English hotels. This resort is open nearly all night, and the unfortunate tourist, to whom has been assigned a room immediately over it, will find sleep impossible. It is, therefore, a good rule never to accept a room on the *entresol*, no matter how attractive, without ascertaining that it is not too near the "Gast-Zimmer." Hotel life in Vienna is expensive, and exorbitantly so for those who would, in ordinary English fashion, take their meals in the house. Except in the large modern hotels, which mostly date from about the period of the '73 Exhibition, there is no *table d'hôte*; but all have restaurants which are open to all comers, and where the traveller may dine at a fixed price, or may lose himself in the intricacies of a Viennese *Carte du jour*, which is often harder to read than to understand.

In the hotel-restaurant everything is paid for on the spot, to the great simplification of the hotel bill, which merely consists of the charge for bedroom and attendance. Hence, there is no conscience-stricken stealing past the office-window, at which reproachful faces are visible, but the traveller passes out to his dinner in peace, receiving on the way an appropriate benediction from the porter, together with the title of nobility. Under ordinary circumstances every meal, even breakfast, is taken at a *café*, and thus at least half the expense is saved. There are some little peculiarities in the way of living, which the visitor will do well to note, and do at Vienna as Vienna does. As a rule breakfast is taken early, and is always a light meal, consisting only of coffee and rolls, butter being conspicuous by its absence unless specially called for. This may seem little enough. But the coffee is so deliciously fragrant, and the rolls are such toothsome morsels, such masterpieces of the pictorial art, of all shapes and flavors, each more delicious than the other, that it would be nothing short of sacrilege to defile them with dubious butter. Bread in Austria is excellent; but in Vienna it reaches a pitch of perfection unknown elsewhere, even in Spain. The coffee is usually served in a large tumbler, well mixed with milk and with a spoonful of cream frothed on the surface. This is called *mélange*—coffee with less milk is called *capuziner* and its name suggests its color. Cream is in Vienna called *obers*

and *shlag-obers* or whipped cream is a favorite dainty. The excellence of the Vienna coffee is not surprising, for in that city the fragrant berry was first introduced to Christendom. In 1683, when Vienna was besieged by the Turks under Kara Mustapha, whose skull is seen in the museum of the arsenal, a young Pole, by name George Kulczycki, volunteered to enter the enemies' lines as a spy. Thanks to his thorough knowledge of the Turkish language and his disguise as a dervish, he accomplished his mission, returning with information which enabled the combined attack in front and rear of the Turks to be concerted and secured so signal a triumph for the Christian arms. As a reward for his courage, Kulczycki was presented by the municipality with a house in the Leopoldstadt and at his request the innumerable sacks of coffee berries abandoned by the Turks, in their flight, were handed over to him. Thus he founded the first *café*, to which he gave the name of the "Blaue flasche" (the Blue-bottle), and this by degrees became the resort of all that was brilliant and witty in Vienna. Here the popular singer "Augustin," the "du licter Augustin" of the immortal popular tune, gave forth his most satirical verses. With the death of Kulczycki ended the monopoly he had secured. Vienna was seized with a perfect mania for everything Turkish. Cafés opened in all directions, and have ever since retained their popularity. Not only are the refreshments offered therein excellent, but the service is a model to the rest of the world. The Viennese waiter is the prince of servants and a past-master in his art. He is sought for far and wide for his activity, good temper and courtesy. The instant a visitor enters a *café*, the waiter at a glance divines his nationality, and, with a kindly hospitality that has nothing obsequious about it, hastens to bring him, if he be alone, such newspapers as will be likely to please him, for the Vienna *cafés* are provided with a profusion of newspapers of all nations.

The hour of dinner—for we may as well exhaust the all-important food question—varies, but is almost always from 1 to 3. It is hard to find good cooking. The *cuisine* is essentially international, like the people. The most refined restaurants are those of the best hotels, while Sacher opposite the Grand Opera may be considered the Brebant of Vienna, and there are many others of high rank, such as those of the Breyings. But after all, the typical Viennese restaurants are the large beer cellars, of which the great establishment of Dreher, the renowned brewer, is one of the most remarkable. Here, at the hour of the midday meal, the noise and bustle, the incessant coming and going of all sorts and conditions of men, are not a little bewildering, nor is the constant passage up and down of peripatetic vendors of all sorts of wares, from newspapers and pamphlets to statuary and paper collars, conducive to tran-

quillity. At the first glance the *menu* seems almost hopeless even to the traveller who speaks German, owing to the number of words of Hungarian, Bohemian and Croatian origin, though, when divested of their disguise, the dishes are generally of a simple sort. Two Hungarian *plats* are very popular. One is "paprika-huker" or chicken served with a sauce containing capsicum, and of a pleasantly warm flavor. The other is a kind of grill, called "gulyas." This is a Hungarian word meaning "shepherd," and doubtless refers to the simple cookery that prevails among these men when watching their flocks on the Hungarian "steppes" far from any habitation. The varieties of braised and stewed beef are endless, and "husaren-braten," "ofener-braten" and "marine braten" are strongly recommended. Young and tender pork served with juniper berries, and bearing the quaint title of "yungferu braten," is a very favorite dish, but the flavor seems strange at first. Vegetables appear under all sorts of strange names unknown in other parts of Germany, but are generally well cooked. Cauliflower is here called "karviol," and one of the genuine Viennese dishes is a mixture of rice and peas, called "risi-bisi," which will be found very tasty. The traveller will find it prudent to abstain, at any rate in hot weather, from the crabs, and tempting little lobsters called "scampi," which are brought hither from the Adriatic. The fish market, held on the "Franz-Josef Quai" beside the Danube Canal, is well worth a visit. "Huchen," a kind of trout, and "schill-fisch," a large and bony fish of the carp variety, are natives of the Danube, as also is "sterling," a fish much resembling sturgeon in the color of its flesh. From the "Platten-See," a great lake nearly fifty miles long, near Agram, comes the "fogasch," a succulent fish of excellent flavor.

The Austrian wines obtainable in Vienna are delicious,—so much so that it is a matter of wonder how little is exported, at any rate under its own name. Austria has for centuries been a wine-growing country. The Emperor Charles IV., in 1368, brought from Burgundy vines which were planted at Melnik and Czernosek in Upper Austria, whence to this day come wines of a very high class. The town and vineyards of Melnik, situated north of Prague, at the confluence of the Moldau and Elbe, form part of the domain of Prince Lobkowitz, whose palace at Vienna in the rococo style gives its name to a square in the old city.

The wines of Hungary have obtained a world-wide reputation, but there are Austrian wines quite as good which are unknown beyond the frontiers. The most popular is "Vöslauer," a red wine made around Vöslau, a charming resort about eighteen miles south of Vienna, on the line to Triest. This district for several years has been favored with splendid vintages, and the growths of Herr

Schlumberger bear favorable comparison with the best of the wines of Burgundy. On the same line of railway and still nearer to the capital are the vineyards of Gumpoldskirchen, whence a choice white wine is produced. North of the city there are vineyards in profusion, and from the summit of the lofty Kahlenberg, a charming excursion now made without fatigue by the "rack and pinion" railway, a fine view is obtained of vine-covered hills stretching in all directions and even extending down to the suburbs of the city. Around the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg, a superb white wine is grown; the red also is excellent, though of less repute. This palatial monastery owes to its vineyards a large portion of its vast wealth. The treasury with its profusion of rich altar plate may be visited by the permission of the Abbot—also the "Kaiserzimmer," or grand hall adorned with rare old tapestry.

In the Leopold's Kapelle of the monastery is the celebrated Altar of Verdun, consisting of fifty-one plates of metal bearing rough representations of Biblical subjects ("*Niels*" work) and dating from 1181. These are the earliest attempts at engraving known to be in existence anywhere. Indeed it is considered by many that the art originated with Maso Finiguerra, in 1450. The chapter house possesses some rich thirteenth-century stained-glass windows.

Another curious relic preserved here is the ancient archiducal hat that was used at the ceremony of taking the oath of homage and fealty to the Archdukes.

The wines of the estate may be had in perfection at the Stifts-Keller or Monastery Cellar hard by, and in an adjacent house may be seen a monster cask almost as large as the celebrated giant of Heidelberg.

In addition to these, the *vins du pays*, the wines of Styria are obtainable in Vienna, and some of them, such as the "Pickerer," "Kirschbacher," and "Sandberger," from the neighborhood of Gratz, are excellent. Istria and Dalmatia both send to Vienna quantities of wine which is well worth a trial. At the "Dalmatian Keller" in the Dorn Garse may be tasted the "Terrano" and "Istriano," as the two chief *vins ordinaires* of Triest are called.

The latter is a remarkably full-bodied wine, black as ink and of full flavor, but is usually drunk mixed with water, "Refosco." A dark sweet wine should be tasted with reverence, for it is said to be the wine whose praises Horace has sung. The vineyards of Dalmatia are at present but roughly tilled, but there is no doubt that hereafter, with more care bestowed on the cultivation of the grape and in the making of the wine, a prosperous future lies before that country. Before leaving the subject of wine, it may be

mentioned that the traveller should not leave Vienna without visiting the "Esterhazy" wine altar in the Haarhof.

This ancient and most quaint establishment, at which Hungarian wine is sold, is open only for four hours each day, viz., from eleven to one, and from five to seven o'clock. A flight of steps leads down to the cellar, and the scene in it at noon is very amusing. There are no chairs, tables or gas-lights. A few coarse tallow candles yield such light as customers appear to require. The vaulted roof is black and smoky with the dirt of ages. Along the walls are ranged rough oak benches, worn and greasy—while upon them are seated those customers who prefer to consume their refreshment on the premises. At the extremity of the cellar is the counter formed of planks simply resting on two barrels, and behind this barrier the cellar men, with aprons on and their sleeves rolled up, are hard at work raising and filling bottles, jugs and glasses, while a clerk seated at his desk, his snuff-box and a goblet of wine before him, notes down every sale. Lost in the obscurity beyond, one can distinguish the outline of two long rows of barrels. So great is often the crowd at the counter that a *queue* has to be made of those coming to receive their supply, and among them all classes are represented. Wealthy merchants drop in for a glass, and servants come with bottles to be filled. For although only two varieties of wine are sold, both are of excellent quality. Hither and thither move perambulating vendors of sausages and other delicacies, while many of the poorer visitors bring with them the materials for a substantial meal. The clouds of tobacco smoke, the babel of tongues, and the ceaseless movement to and fro of the crowd seen through the dim light, make up a quaintly picturesque scene.

In every part of the Austrian empire pure wine is the ordinary drink of rich and poor. As a consequence those establishments for the sale of *consolation* that ruin French workmen, are unknown. In Vienna one finds no *assommoirs*. A few dram-shops there are hidden away in corners as though ashamed of themselves, and subject to very strict police regulations.

At four o'clock in the afternoon all the world takes coffee. The *cafés* are all crowded, and it is difficult for casual visitors to find a place. The amount of time spent at the *café* must be enormous. There are many who for years have been seen at the same hour in the same seat at the same *café* reading the same newspaper, and the presence of a stranger in the accustomed seat would be strongly resented, though such a catastrophe would probably be averted by the waiter's dexterity. Regular visitors are called *Stammgäste* as opposed to *laufende* the name given to chance customers. The traveller who wishes to see his English or American paper

promptly will always find it ready for him as soon as he is recognized as a *Stammgäste*.

It is on returning home at night that the visitor encounters a regulation altogether peculiar to this city. Paris has long groaned under the tyranny of the *concierge*, but the Vienna porter is entrusted with much greater powers. He is called the *Hausmeister*, and master of the situation he undoubtedly is. After ten o'clock the *Hausmeister* is entitled to a fee of ten *kreuzers* (nominally equal to two pence, English money, though actually of less value) for each time he opens the house door. And not only is the sum exacted for entrance, but for exit also, and thus any one who entertains a few friends in the evening at his room's puts quite a handsome sum into the pocket of the *hausmeister*. On unsuspecting strangers the tax is often levied twice over by means of tricks such as the following: One of our first evenings in Vienna we naturally passed at the opera. On returning to our door in a cab, we entered and paid the *hausmeister* his fee, but not having sufficient small change to pay the cabman, had to go upstairs to fetch it. On returning we found the great door again closed, nor could we open it without the *hausmeister*, who again demanded ten *kreuzers* for doing so, and would probably have shut us out again, with a view to a third edition of the ten *kreuzers* had we not stood within the doorway and called the cabman to us. The *hausmeister* has, of course, an exact knowledge of all that takes place within the house, and his office is greatly coveted. He is for the most part a majestic creature, though usually affable and smiling. In the best houses he is adorned with a tail-coat and brass buttons and an ample red waistcoat—but in houses of less pretensions his costume is often more or less *dégagé*; so much so, indeed, in the hot season as to be startling to English prejudices. In the morning he unbends, and may be seen sweeping out and watering the court-yard and *porte-cochère*, receiving the salutations of and exchanging scraps of gossip with passers-by. On fine Sunday afternoons he installs himself with his wife and olive-branches on chairs at the door, or, if the thoroughfare be not too frequented, he occupies a comfortable position on the pavement outside. Here the family are in a position to observe all that takes place and to criticise pleasantly the dress and appearance of the inmates as they pass out to their Sunday afternoon excursions. He receives his tax with a simple "thank you," as being his due. The national and (alas! that it must be said) old fashioned expression of thanks is "Ich küss die hände" (I kiss your hands), and the phrase falls pleasantly on the ear in these matter-of-fact times like an echo of days long past. It is now almost entirely confined to the poorer class. Servants invariably use it, and indeed

very commonly put it into practice by way of emphasis. It is odd to hear a railway porter say, "Ich küß die hände." At our arrival in Vienna porters were scarce at the station and in such demand that one had only time to ejaculate "hände," ere he dashed off to another traveller. "Baksheesh" is the essence of Viennese existence. Every one is tipped on every possible occasion, and cab-drivers, postmen, and shop porters all expect gratuities. Even the tram-car conductors have established a claim, which, however, is evidently not binding on the poorer classes. For almost all journeys by tram-cars the fare is eight kreuzers, and the odd two kreuzers are generally given to the conductor, who is wretchedly paid and hard worked. An amusing bit of pantomime occurs over this transaction. The traveller hands his ten-kreuzer piece to the conductor, who fumbles in his bag for the change—somewhat anxiously if the traveller be evidently a foreigner and possibly ignorant of local customs. The traveller waves his hand deprecatingly, as who should say, "Pray keep the change." The conductor doffs his cap politely, and says, "Ich danke recht sehr," or some such phrase, as though such a thing had never happened in the course of his experience. The tram-cars themselves are poor affairs, with seats arranged in a variety of ways—sometimes crossways, sometimes lengthways, and in some instances chairs are used. The overcrowding is fearful, and is only limited by the number of passengers who can somehow manage to hang on to the platforms of the vehicle. In winter-time the atmosphere inside the closed doors is offensive. The fares are low and the entire circuit of the old city may be made for eight kreuzers by means of the system of correspondence tickets or "umsteige billeté."

But if the tram-way cars are bad, the omnibuses are far worse. Generally of a dirty canary-color and of all sorts of quaint shapes and of various degrees of decay, they have compartments of first and second class, and some even *coupés* for smokers. At present steam tram-ways are not allowed inside the city, but outside the "lines" towards Mussdorf there is one. It runs along the carriage road, and it is the delight of the engineers to make their engines puff and snort so as to goad passing horses to madness and their drivers to fury.

Cheap and good means of conveyance is a want in Vienna, for the cabs are expensive. There are two varieties, the one-horse cabs or *cinspanner*, and the two-horse carriages or *fiacres*. The latter are sumptuously fitted, and the wiry little horses, with their heads adorned with plumes, well adapted for their business. The drivers form a class by themselves, and one thoroughly characteristic of the city. The driver of a *fiacre* is proud of his profession.

He is generally the owner of his carriage and horses, which are kept in the best condition. He almost always wears ear-rings, is good looking, smartly dressed, and overflowing with good humor. He always has a *bon mot* ready to hand. As the visitor approaches a cab-stand, he is observed at a distance by the group of drivers, who cease their discussion, doff their hats and intimate courteously by gestures that their vehicles are at his disposition. As he passes, a jolly, smiling driver, hat in hand, accosts him, and invites him to take a drive. The average Briton under these circumstances becomes embarrassed, and his shyness makes him walk by with an air of haughtiness quite foreign to his thoughts. A good deal of harmless banter follows him. He may hear a voice say: "Don't worry his Grace. Don't you know the doctor has ordered his Grace to take walking exercise?" Sometimes there is a pleasant criticism of the apparently haughty one's face, figure or dress; though he generally remains in ignorance of it, for a long residence in Vienna is necessary to understand the *patois*. These *fiacre* drivers are the spoiled children of Vienna. They receive enormous *pour-boires*—they are addressed as "du" and petted by all the world. They drive at break-neck speed and pull up dead at certain crossings over which they are bound to walk.

The streets of Vienna—that is to say, the streets of the old city—have a wonderful charm. No two houses are alike. All are very high, and have large *porte-cochères*, frequently guarded by *caryatides* of every quaint form imaginable. The principal business streets are the Kärnthner Strasse, the Kohlmarkt, and the Graben, which unites the other two. The shops are extremely attractive, both as to their wares and the mode of exhibiting them. After a visit to Vienna, the shops of Paris look poor by contrast. The leather goods are renowned, especially those thousand and one little nicknacks, of purses, letter-cases, card-cases, etc., included under the generic name of "galanterie waaren." Fancy metal work is now all the rage. Bohemia is noted for its garnets, and lovely specimens of this little-valued stone are to be found here. The variety of costumes and national types contributes to the picturesqueness of the streets. The ladies show in their dress a decided leaning to bright colors, while the use of paint and powder is universal. The women of the poorer classes either go bareheaded or wear mantles of lace infinitely more becoming than bonnets. The method of dressing the hair, even among the poorest, is very elaborate, and evidently requires skill. In the streets one meets the Slav travelling tinker, in his curious rags and broad-brimmed hat, his legs and feet swathed in bandages, and his bundle of tin saucepans and kettles on his back; the Bohemian musician, who

wanders from house to house, giving a concert in the court-yard, until ejected by the "Hausmeister;" the vendor of apples and onions, with his basket on his arm. This latter class are spoken of as "Croaten," albeit they are no more Croats than the sausages sold at every corner and called "Frankfurter" are natives of that city on the Main. The Poles, the Wallachians and Serfs are now, alas! rarely seen in their national dress, or what remains of it. But the Hungarian usually wears a loose, gray jacket, generally frogged and braided with green, and his low-crowned, felt hat is ornamented with cock's feathers. The Jews, who are very numerous, affect long, flowing robes, of dark color, and often trimmed with fur. The hair and beard are worn long, and elaborately curled. At home the curls are kept in *papillottes*, and, if common report is trustworthy, rarely disturbed by the comb. The Jews are the creditors of the entire nation, and, therefore, little loved. They have only been completely emancipated since 1856. Even in 1849 they were not allowed to pass the night in Vienna, without the written permission of the police, which had to be renewed every fourteen days. The streets of the new city are comparatively uninteresting, and of what may be called the cosmopolitan style of architecture. The exception is the magnificent Ringstrasse, a colossal work now in the main completed, though the details are still wanting. Its average breadth is nearly sixty yards, and it is lined with handsome buildings, some, perhaps, more showy than tasteful. To attempt a description of them would be useless, and it will only be necessary to refer briefly to three of them. On the Franzen's Ring stands the new Rathhaus or *Hotel de Ville*, built in the Italian palatial style from designs by Schmidt, and ornamented with a profusion of statues. This building, with its seven court-yards, the largest surrounded by arcades, its endless council chambers, committee-rooms and grand halls, is well worth a visit. The space in front is laid out as a public garden, and here twice a week a military band discourses sweet music for the public benefit.

Further on along the Franzen's Ring, a great architectural contrast is seen in the "Reichsrathsgebäude," or House of Parliament, in the Greek style, from designs by Hansen. The chamber of deputies, on the left, and the senate, on the right, form two separate buildings, ornamented with bas-reliefs, and surmounted by quadrigæ. Further along, the new grand opera house, in the Renaissance style, is reached. This magnificent building was literally the death of its architects, for one of them, Van der Nüll, strangled himself in a fit of insanity, and his colleague, Siccards-bey, died of an illness brought on by worry and anxiety, caused by the bitter criticism and opposition his work excited. It was

commenced in 1861, and was hardly completed in 1870. The exterior is a little disappointing, and does not compare favorably with the Grand Opera House at Paris, but the interior is undoubtedly superior to any theatre in the world. In the auditorium are seats for three thousand spectators, who have, every one of them, a good view of the stage. The house is handsomely decorated in white and gold, while the lighting and ventilation are absolutely perfect; in fact, no detail that could in any way contribute to the comfort of visitors has been neglected. The private boxes are furnished with mirrors, and extend through a sort of ante-room. On the level of the first tier of boxes is the grand foyer, adorned with spirited paintings of operatic scenes by Schwind, and busts of celebrated composers. Through the foyer access is obtained to an open loggia looking upon the Boulevard, and decorated with fine frescos representing scenes from "*Il Flauto Magico*," by Mozart. On pedestals, to the right and left, above the balcony, are winged horses which were put up in 1870. The Imperial box occupies the centre of the house, and behind it is the private Imperial foyer, as large as a throne-room. The stalls are very comfortable, and, by means of a spring, close automatically when the visitor rises from his seat, so that a clear passage is always left. Moreover, every one has a footstool and a place to deposit his hat. The arrangements on the stage are wonderful in their completeness. There is never any confusion or unsteadiness in the changes of scenery, the opening and closing of traps, etc., which are all carried out by means of steam and electricity. There are nearly seven hundred persons on the permanent staff of this vast establishment. During the summer season, when the house is closed, permission may be readily obtained to inspect it, and it is well worth a visit.

A word must be said of the "*Volk's-garten*," a pretty and shady garden hard by, which was laid out by the Emperor Francis in 1824. Here the world-famed Edward Strauss presides over an orchestra which, under his direction, has obtained a perfection of *ensemble*, a spirit, and a delicacy truly marvellous. The antics of Strauss himself, as, violin in hand, he conducts, and occasionally, when carried away by enthusiasm, dances a few waltz steps, are looked upon with amused reverence by the spectators, for Strauss is the popular idol. Admission to the inclosed portion of the garden in which the concert takes place, is obtained by a small payment, and on summer evenings no pleasanter resort is to be found in Vienna.

One of the first questions the tourist will ask himself, with some surprise, is, "Where is the beautiful blue Danube?" The river Danube—as a rule, anything but blue—flows at a distance of sev-

eral miles from the city, and only an arm of it, called the "Danube Canal," passes through the city. The river-steamboats that descend from Vienna to Pesth are too large to enter this canal, and passengers are conveyed to and from the landing-place in the main stream by small steam-launches.

To reach the Danube, one must pass the Prater, the celebrated park, more than 4000 acres in extent. The Prater became the property of the Imperial family in 1570, and was used as a hunting ground until 1766, when the Emperor Joseph II. threw it open to the public. It is reached by the busy "Praterstrasse," at the end of which is a large, circular, open space, called the "Praterstern." Out of this radiate two main avenues—the "Ausstellung's Allee" and the "Haupt Allee"—which cut the Prater into three fan-shaped sections. The "Haupt Allee" is bordered by a quadruple row of fine chestnut trees, and is the resort of all the fashionable world during the month of May. Here are seen the smartest carriages and horses, with servants in gorgeous liveries. The carriages of the nobility have not unfrequently a Hungarian *chasseur* on the box, wearing an immense plumed hat-bonnet.

But by far the most interesting part of the Prater lies beyond the main avenue and is called the Volk's Prater or Wurstel Prater, from the word Wurstel, a buffoon. The scene here is very characteristic, and recalls the expression of Mephistopheles, "Hier ist's so lustig wie im Prater." Every Sunday afternoon a sort of carnival is held. It is the Champs Elysées, the Fair of St. Cloud, the Bois de Boulogne and many more all rolled into one. At every step one passes theatres, circuses, menageries, displays of athletes and shows of every imaginable kind, fat ladies, living skeletons, three-legged ponies and two-headed calves innumerable; while in all directions are to be seen beer gardens, cafés, and restaurants in profusion. Around the most popular entertainments—at our first visit it was the switchback railway—the crowd is so dense that one can only pass with difficulty. On fine Sunday afternoons literally all Vienna turns out "on pleasure bent." Whole families, fathers, mothers and children, and often grandfathers and grandmothers too, young girls with their sweethearts, soldiers of every branch of the service, all make their way to the Prater and swell the vast multitude of pleasure-seekers. In and out among the crowd the venders of eatables, especially sausages and cheese, push their way with their baskets on their arms, the former with their cry of "salami," "salamuzzi," for Vienna has but little of a German air about it. Eating, drinking and dancing go on everywhere—for there is a concert or an orchestra in full blast every few gardens. But with all the bustle and excitement there is no disorder. The noise is deafening, but there is no foul language,

and the scenes of disgusting brutality and coarseness that disgrace Hyde Park any Sunday afternoon are unknown. Nowhere is a policeman to be seen. All are eager to enjoy themselves, and do so without making themselves offensive to others. A friend to whom we made some remarks on this subject, seemed amazed at the idea.

No visitor should fail to see the "Wurstel Prater" in holiday time, for nowhere else will he get so clear an insight into the habits and behavior of the masses in Vienna.

Vienna is preëminently the city of pleasure, and after a sojourn there Paris seems melancholy. The Parisian is devoted to pleasure, but he counts the cost, which the Viennese never does. Nowhere else do thousands of people slave and starve at home for five or six days, that they may scrape together the funds for a jollification on the seventh. And yet this is the normal condition in Vienna. The workman toils that he may have money for his Sunday outing, and if anything remains over, the "blauer Montag" or blue Monday sees it gone. He betakes himself to the suburbs, to Hernals or Doebling, where he regales himself with "heurigen," as the newly made wine is called.

Each vine grower is at liberty, during a certain period, to vend his own wines; a branch of fir shading the door is the invitation to enter. If the cash is all spent, Monday may be passed in sleep. But the Viennese is not lazy. He pursues pleasure eagerly, and when not so engaged can work, but he prefers to dance, and is prepared to do so on all occasions—as he did after Solferino and Sadowa. Vienna is now the only great capital in touch, as it were, with the past. Social changes have been slower to take hold here than elsewhere. But the tide has turned; and those who have not yet seen this most fascinating city should do so while the charm of the old natural gayety, courtesy and gentleness still lingers.

ALESSANDRO MANZONI.

Alessandro Manzoni. Reminiscenze di Cesare Cantù. Milano. Fratelli Treois. 1882.

IT is the blessed gift of some men, living and dead, to inspire warm personal attachments, and this was Alessandro Manzoni's. His friend, Cesare Cantù, writing of him, brings us within the charm of his presence and influence by the magnetism of his own devotion. The author of "I Promessi Sposi," is a friend already to those of us who have moved through the fine air where Cardinal Federigo and Lucia have their being; but having read Cantù's two volumes, we distinctively realize that that pure atmosphere was native to Manzoni himself, and that at no time could he have written of things that were not of virtue, and of praise, and of good report.

We learn that his life knew its hour of doubt, and that his faith was bought with a price; but this is a fleeting shadow over his eighty years of singularly serene spiritual experience. There is the restful, if passionless, tranquility of certain phases of Greek art in the record of that long life-time. Not that he was spared the domestic sorrows, the physical pains that are our common heritage; but in a certain pliability of disposition, in a certain adaptability to circumstances, Manzoni was one of those children of the times who yet "possess it," in the sense that the meek possess the earth, the gentle, the heavenly-minded.

His birthday takes us back to 1785, during which year his father, Don Pietro Manzoni, was married to Donna Giulia Beccaria, first by civil contract, and afterwards in due religious order in the family chapel of the Beccarias in Milan. Don Pietro was forty-five years old at the time, and survived in his son's memories as a gentleman of what was the old school in the first years of this century, costumed as for one of Goldoni's plays, pigtail, knee-breeches, ear-rings, gold snuff-box and cocked hat. His quaint figure passes directly across our stage and out of sight, but the lovely, graceful personality of Donna Giulia lingers. She was a woman of more intense individuality than of great intellectual grasp, capable of inspiring ardent attachments, and, in her own sphere, exceedingly, if delicately, strong. Cantù gives us an exquisite portrait of her, lithographed from an acquarello taken in 1829 which vividly suggests Manzoni's own refined, chiseled, sensitive features. Cantù tells us that she retained her beauty after

the soft, clustering ringlets on her forehead were snow-white, and that at that later day one was accustomed to see her with a fleecy-white shawl drawn about her; in the picture she wears a close frilled cap, undoubtedly as becoming as might be; Donna Giulia was of that order of women. It is easy to see her in cap and shawl, exercising a gentle tyranny in her son's house in after years. She worshipped his genius; she measured all other men by the standard of their appreciation of him; but she never abdicated her own sovereignty. It is possible that she never forgot that she brought to the family coffers the means to keep up a certain household dignity; at all events the linen was marked with her cipher; her judgment regulated the domestic expenses; her word was law in all domestic affairs; her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren deferred to her as the final domestic authority. The gentle soul who was Manzoni's first wife, and who had an angelic wisdom in holding her own in all matters of real importance and in yielding on all minor points, shared her woman's kingdom with Donna Giulia for long years. Sadly enough, when this sweet creature died, Donna Giulia was compelled to resign the sceptre so long swayed. She herself passed away finally in 1841, her naturally strong character sublimed by then into a saintship of its own; infinitely benevolent in alms-giving, practically religious, full of toleration for the follies and vices of all except for those who ignored her Alessandro's claims. Over her mortal remains, her son inscribed this epitaph:

"To Giulia Manzoni, the daughter of Cesare Beccaria, a matron revered for her great intelligence, her liberality to the poor, her profound practical religion; who is committed by her inconsolable son and by all her afflicted family to the mercy of God and to the prayers of the faithful."

But it was in his early manhood that Donna Giulia made the most direct impression upon the life of her son. She made Paris her home throughout Alessandro's childhood, and it is impossible to deny the fact that he was in a great measure left to shift for himself during these years of dependence. He drifted about from one school to another, spending some years at the University of Pavia, where, however, his name is "writ in water" equally with that of Christopher Columbus and of San Carlo Borromeo, who are both said to have studied there. There survive various poetical efforts of his written at this time, in one of which he belabors his then instructors greatly to their subsequent resentment. In another he describes himself, but doubtless not as "ithers" saw him. There is all the pathos of outlooking, ignorant youth in the two last lines of this sonnet:

"A stranger to the world, a stranger to myself;
The world and time to come thou show me what I am."

But in all his early verses there is the vagueness and the mannerism of the prevailing school of literature to which he is still in bondage.

In 1805 he joined his mother in Paris, returning there with her from a journey which she made into Lombardy for the purpose of interring the remains of her friend Carlo Imbonati, who had requested this last service of her in his will, the will in which he bequeathed to her his worldly goods.

This is a curious old-world instrument, a document that could not well have been written in any other day than in that of the exaggerated sentiment surviving the eighteenth century. Cantù tells us that the youth of Donna Giulia was "free from errors, if not devoid of sentiment"; and we hence conclude that the bond between Donna Giulia and Imbonati was one of the platonic attachments of the period which delighted in the uttermost verbal expression. It was through Imbonati's bequest that the fortunes of the Manzoni were materially mended, and that Alessandro was enabled to share his mother's fascinating Parisian surroundings, when she was a bright particular star in a galaxy of charming, brilliant women and polished, learned men. In return, Manzoni conferred immortality upon his mother's friend by his first published poem, "Verses in Memory of Carlo Imbonati." But these verses are marred by the defects alluded to before. There were certain artificial methods then in vogue which Manzoni subsequently abandoned; such as putting abstractions in the place of realities; avoiding all real names; as well as an excessive use of figures and allegories. All such conceits and affectations were necessarily antagonistic to the genius of the man whose literary style, as it now stands, is simplicity itself, and who through the most crystalline form of language appeals to a universal experience.

Imbonati's will alludes throughout to Donna Giulia as "my heir." It concludes by imploring "the high God, our common Father, to receive my prayers, made from the depths of my heart, for the best welfare of my heir, and to permit us finally to bless and to adore Him together."

It would seem that Imbonati's was not the only extravagant friendship inspired by Donna Giulia. In the same connection, we note that our own staid Benjamin Franklin, writing about this time from America to Madame Helvetius, whom he styles "Notre Dame d'Auteuil," exclaims: "I reach my arms to you across the waste of waters which separate us. I await the celestial kiss which I finally expect to bestow, one day, upon you." Cantù doubts

whether the religious connections of Madame Helvetius permitted her to await this heretic's kiss with equal certainty.

Madame Helvetius was one of Manzoni's best friends during his life in Paris, and a woman of much social importance. We get a glimpse of Manzoni at this time, in the memoirs of Madame Mohl, recently given to the world, by Kathleen O'Meara. Madame Mohl, at that time Mary Clark, was the intimate friend of Fauriel, one of Manzoni's associates. Among the few letters of Manzoni that have come down to us are some addressed to Fauriel; but they have small value for us. Manzoni had not yet struck the key-note of his attachment, and these letters contain little else besides commonplace compliments, trifles.

Call it a pardonable weakness if you will, but still a weakness—it was the fancy of Manzoni, in those days, to identify himself with his mother's rather than with his father's family.

He liked being called Manzoni-Beccaria, or even Signor Beccaria. Donna Giulia herself had much family pride and joyed in the belief that through herself the virtues and the intellectual gifts of the Beccarias had been transmitted to her son. These Beccarias had been for generations a typical Italian family of the rural nobility. Cantù draws a line between nobles and patricians, by the way, which it is difficult for us to appreciate from our republican standpoint; but he gives a most delightful picture of the surroundings of such a family as the Beccarias. It is a temptation to quote this page in its entirety; but were one to begin to quote verbatim from Cantù's volumes, it would be hard to tell where to stop. He is thoroughly fresh and *simpateca*; from his opening sentence, he takes his reader into his confidence and enlists his absorbed interest in the men, women and things he writes of; the soft Italian skies are above us; the soft Italian tongue is in our ears. The kindly Italian simplicity of feeling and speech pervades the whole record, but comes out especially in such characteristic fits as that which describes the life of Donna Giulia's ancestors. No doubt Alessandro's mental gallery was stored with pictures used later in his books, from his mother's own tales of the Beccarias, who had lived in their own lands like little kings, directing the affairs of their dependents, governing within their narrow sphere, in the midst of and yet above and apart from their subjects. We are told that these lords of the soil were doubtless aware of the existence of a sovereign; but only as a far-off king of whom they were themselves happily independent. It was their boast that they had never held public office or conducted lawsuits; it was equally their pride to have assisted for generations in conducting the services of the Church; to have sung in the village choir; to have swelled religious processions; to have been enrolled in devout confraternities;

to have visited the sick and to have fed the poor. Pride in such an ancestry is worthy and reasonable, and made a direct appeal to Alessandro's peculiar qualities of head and heart. A close bond sprang up between himself and his mother, and it was easy and natural for him "to see with her belief." She fostered his ambitious hopes in every way. Writing from Paris to his friend Pagani, he says: "my mother's continual occupation is to love me, and make me happy. I am content. I lack nothing except the inclination to apply myself to work; and if I fail in so doing, I am doubly to blame, since I have beside me so dear an incentive" (*si dolce sprone*). And again: "If you re-read former letters of mine to you, it will surprise you to be told now that my mother, that unique mother and woman, has redoubled her love and care of me."

About 1808, mother and son returned to Milan—we infer, with some regrets. Alessandro had already survived one desperate love affair—at twenty, this may be. Donna Giulia now took his matrimonial prospects in hand, and after casting about here and there, arranged a marriage for him with Mademoiselle Blondel, the daughter of a Genevese banker. This may fairly be cited as a successful instance of one of those marriages of convenience which are so foreign to our notions. The bride was sixteen, of a fresh fair beauty; gentle, easily moulded; the ideal wife for a man of genius. She bore Manzoni eight children, and won and kept his devoted attachment. Cantù speaks of her with sisterly affection, and this fair, gracious Signora Enrichetta smiles upon us from his graphic pages, in all the charm of pure and selfless womanhood. This union between a young Milanese noble and a Protestant burgher's daughter elicited a buzz of gossip, at which Manzoni exclaimed in his impatience: "Ah, blessed Paris, where not even the boot-black at the door would have known of it!" Both he and his mother, in truth, never ceased to rebel at the confined social atmosphere of Milan, after the independence of Paris. However, in spite of the disapproval of the gossips, in spite of the apparently commonplace and prosaic beginnings of this union, Manzoni and his Enrichetta, or Henrietta as we would say, were singularly blessed. Life was at very many times a sore burden to the poet, from physical causes; but his wife's pity and patience never failed him. The blonde, smiling little girl he married, who always spoke in French, and called Donna Giulia *maman*, grew to be his help-mate and cherished companion. She is the ideal Ermengarde of whom he affirms in one of his poems that she never knew all his love, nor learned "from the reserve of his lips the intoxicating secret of his heart."

Cantù declares that "her gentleness was the benediction of the poet's life; she guarded him with sisterly, almost with maternal

forethought, admired his talents; screened his weaknesses; united a matronly dignity with an affectionate familiarity, and was of the same mind with him in all things." Upon one occasion she tried to put in a pacifying word, when her husband and some of his friends were in the full tide of argument. But Manzoni stayed her with some heat—he still warm from the excitement of discussion. "You have too much good sense to interfere between madmen," he cried, "not a word, pray!"

After her death, he wrote in the album of a little niece, who was called for her: "Enrichetta—the synonym of faith, of purity, of judgment; of love of others, of universal good-will; of sacrifice, of humility; of all that is saintly, of all that is lovely."

It was during the years of his married life with the Signora Enrichetta that his home was the delightful centre and rendezvous that Cantù describes it. The limits of this paper do not admit of indicating even by name the host of distinguished men and women whom the Manzonis counted among their friends and acquaintances. In the list may be included all the well-known Italians of the time; intimates, these, who spent long hours with Manzoni daily, accompanied him on the interminable walks—or rather runs—in which his soul delighted, and made the reunions at his house memorable. Thiers, Montalembert, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, exiled princes, wandering stars of various dignities—all sought him out, did homage to him, sunned themselves in his cordial friendliness. This middle period of Manzoni's life includes more than one revolution in European politics, and necessarily much that is extremely interesting. We learn that friends came and went from political prisons, Cantù himself among the number. More than one conspiracy was developed, crushed, or carried to a successful conclusion. The lives of other men were thwarted, stagnated, dwarfed by these inauspicious causes, but, by some auspicious over-ruling of heavenly or earthly powers, or both, Manzoni's career pursued its serene way. The gift of friendship, already referred to, stood him in good stead; the government that, at that time, held Italy under its despotic heel, was benignly tolerant of this one genius at least. His books somehow escaped the censorship of a tyrannical press; his opinions were winked at. Doubtless, there was a superior "apartness" about the man which acted as the best foil against the darts and arrows of outrageous fortune.

The wife died in 1833, his mother, as aforesaid, in 1841, and these losses were followed, during the ensuing ten years, by the deaths of children and of friends.

It remains a problem as memorable as that propounded by the Sphinx, how a man's whole heart may be bound up in one woman

as was apparently Manzoni's in his Enrichetta, and yet how he, so soon, can take heart of Grau to console himself with the "several virtues" of some other love. During the last melancholy illness of his first wife, we mourn with Manzoni, as he tells how "every day I offer her to the Lord, and every day I ask her back again." There is an abrupt transition from this mood to that in which he takes a second wife within four years.

But sentiment, if outraged, was sufficiently avenged by the results of this marriage. It was a discord in the harmony of Manzoni's life, although, in outward circumstances, a suitable match in every way. His second wife was of a noble family, by birth, and by her own first marriage. This time the bride's pedigree could bear close scrutiny. But Manzoni seems to have been mistaken throughout in his choice, and his home was a very different place after its second mistress took possession. After awhile, his mother left it, and lived elsewhere during her four remaining years of life. We are told that the lady countess, as Cantù calls the second Signora Manzoni, by no means accepted all her husband's old friends, and that, gradually, one by one, they dropped out of the charmed circle, which used to meet around Alessandro in his own house, and which held intercourse with him elsewhere. Still, we may hope and conclude that there were alleviations to this state of things, and our biographer, not an impartial one where the Signora Contessa is concerned, admits that his wife and her child were a comfort to Manzoni during years of anxiety, and especially during his voluntary exile after the return of the Austrians. She also died, in 1861, and we are informed that Alessandro mourned her "according to her merits"—whatever that may mean!—and that, in a letter of his to his son, he speaks of her in terms of respect and regret. It is sad to follow Manzoni down into the gathering gloom of his eighty odd years. Is this sadness inevitable when the evening shadows lengthen? Does the twilight darkness fall like a curtain between our weary eyes and the immortal dawn about to glow upon us which we could not bear else?

Manzoni's was no "death from the gods." It was a gradual dissolution, a wearing decay of faculties of mind and body. He had never been strong; he had battled with ill health in nerves and muscles all his days; but death, the merciful, came to him slowly. The splendid flame of his divine intellect burned to its socket gradually, and died out at last, a feeble spark. But all human consolations were his; his friends thronged about him, eager to serve him; his fellow-citizens besieged his doors for news of him; all Italy was moved at the approaching end of her great son; the king sent daily to inquire for him; the homage to his genius and to his personal character was universal. The deep

shadows of his eighty-eight years were relieved by these high lights of respect and devotion.

When he died, and had been borne to his rest, the whole land raised a strain of pissionate regret and praise. Cantù says there was a deluge of panegyrics and memorials and biographies; "lives of this man, whose sole life had been to think and to pray." The present biographer brings an apology to his task. He puts forth his chronicle, he says, awaiting the advent of a fit Xenophon to this Socrates.

Here and there, in the great and dear republic of letters, which, yet being human, shifts its scenes and changes its forms and phrases, in the lapse of years, a Saul, taller than his brethren, appears, holds his unerring mirror up to perpetual nature and writes for all time. Of such was Manzoni. Other books have been written and forgotten since it was put forth; but the world still reads and loves *I Promessi Sposi*, nor will cease so to read and love, as long as words have meaning. "This speech is the speech of the rest of us; but it is better than that of the rest of us. . . . Geniuses do not invent, they find." And "his verbal style is both correct and flowing; he is accurate as to details; he writes with serene gravity, with fervor, with a mathematical, theological and philosophical precision, wherein each word presents an idea, or expresses a fact; with that fine tact which shuns less familiarity of diction than vulgarity; with an exquisite delicacy of phraseology; with the fear before him of a false note in a symphony, always keeping in sight his Federigo's axiom of 'speaking out things everybody could understand.' It is not enough to say that he is a great writer; he is great, as are Homer, Plato, Dante, Bossuet; we stop short in saying that he pleases; more than that; his influence is active; he purifies and elevates the soul, so that we are better men and women; we are not satisfied with admiration of him; we make him a guide to follow, a model to imitate."

Cantù's enthusiasm is contagious; nor, having followed him through his record of the life of his friend and master, do we feel that it is excessive. In truth, there is about Alessandro Manzoni an atmosphere of genuineness, of sincerity, of candor, to which exaggeration and affectation are alien. Emerson's "a truth-teller is a truth-compeller" is verified in him. His is the simplicity of native kingships, claiming and holding its own.

Manzoni may live to posterity as a man of one book—with Cervantes and Richardson and Defoe—but the world is the wiser and the better, because that book is *I Promessi Sposi*. However, over and above the immortality thus won, his influence upon the religious and political thought of his day is incalculable.

We are more familiar through the literature of their country

with the brilliant men and women who have constituted the society of France than with their peers in Italy. The men of letters of his own race; the men conspicuous in political life; the thinkers; the scholars of his own nation, who were his life-long intimates, are many of them hardly known to us by name. We recall this and that vaguely in connection with them when we hear their names; but the association is general and misty; notwithstanding, in many ways, the associates of Manzoni were an illustrious band.

Among them was Silvio Pellico, whose story of his prisons has passed into a proverb. His simple recital probably did more to kindle and keep alive detestation of the Austrian rule, and courage and determination to resist it, than volumes of fervid oratory. Long, weary years of the youth of such men as Pellico and Cantù spent languishing in dungeons, might well bear fruit in the broader liberty of to-day.

Leopardi was also a contemporary of Manzoni, a poet and patriot in whom the fire of genius burned ardently, in spite of physical infirmities which made existence a burden, and which gave a gloomy and a morbid cast to all that he thought and wrote. Had it been possible for him to be a man of action, he might have worked off much that instead rusts and corrodes what he has left to the world. He stands as an antithesis of Manzoni's healthy moral and spiritual nature, and illustrates Pascal's doctrine, "*c'est malheureux de douter*," in truth a life-long unhappiness was his. Whereas it was with justice said to Manzoni in his youth by a friend, before his views had crystallized, that he was no sceptic, he was simply ignorant. His was not the sceptical constitution; he took early and freely to heart that saying of St. Augustine's: "Thou madest us for Thyself, and our wills are restless until they find rest in Thee." Religion pervades his thinking and his writing. His faith was all the stronger because he had tested and probed it; but we have no record of the transition period when this occurred. We are told that there was a *leggenda* at the time; but the *leggenda* has not come down to us.

Manzoni's house at Milan was the rallying point of the most distinguished society in the city. His friend, Tommaso Grossi, shared his home, and in Grossi's little room, on the ground floor, the band of friends were wont to assemble of a morning until Manzoni had come downstairs to his own study, which was opposite Grossi's and whither the company then adjourned. These were ideal *symposia*, where the uttermost intimacy, an unusual congeniality and sympathy, and a delightful good-fellowship reigned. When the meeting broke up, it would be followed by a walk; Manzoni was a prey to nervousness, and found his great refuge from attacks of unconquerable depression and strange fits

of morbid apprehensiveness in long tramps. The peculiar condition of his nerves made society indispensable on these occasions; but at the same time it was not easy to find a walking companion adapted to his peculiarities. He would start off at a pace so rapid that it was hard to keep up with him; this gait gradually became a run; and this he liked to keep up for hours. He depended upon these walks for his daily comfort, and yet they were not always easy of accomplishment. He was in the habit of making ready for them by laying aside various garments instead of putting on additional raiment according to the usual form. His friend, De Cristoforis, once started off upon one of these expeditions with Manzoni and Cantù; but soon fell behind breathless. "I will agree to go to Mass with you two, but, not to walk!" he cried, and dropped out of line.

The Bohemian element with its tinge of eccentricity was lacking in this band of Milan's intimates, Manzoni was above any affectation of singularity; nor was he cursed with that species of vanity which is often the characteristic of those who live chiefly in an ideal world, which unfits them for personal contact with the ordinary wear and tear of daily life, where they are in constant dread of not being treated in accordance with their deserts. On the contrary, Manzoni was entirely in sympathy with the world of living men; and in his dress, his behavior, his habits, he accommodated himself to the ways of the people about him. He always kept up a certain state in his domestic establishment, to which his mother's inherited fortune contributed as well as his wife's. His wife's *salon* became another rallying point in the evenings for a circle of friends and acquaintances, which included the inevitable lion-hunters and tourists, eager to avail themselves of a casual meeting with Manzoni.

Manzoni's grace of manner and distinguished appearance would have made him socially attractive under any circumstances, independent of the halo of fame which encircled him. He was of medium stature, which in his old age was decreased by a stoop; his deep-set eyes were full of fire and expression; his play of feature was delightful, and a smile was habitual to his firmly moulded lips, never sarcastic, genuinely mirthful. In his old age there is said to have been a very striking resemblance between himself and Chateaubriand. Lamartine remarked upon this resemblance to Cantù, who had already received the same impression of Chateaubriand in Madame Récamier's *salon*, aged, bent, infirm, stroking the cat he carries. We do not learn that Manzoni had a similar pet.

But during the Signora Enrichetta's sunny reign, when the *sala* at Milan was at its pleasantest, Manzoni was erect and alert, bear-

ing his growing honors with serene gayety. His patience was severely taxed in those days by the multitude of albums brought to him to write in ; as well as by the necessity of answering innumerable notes and letters—he who was ever a lay correspondent, and not especially endowed with the epistolary gift and grace. However, his goodness of heart enabled him to tide over these shoals and quicksands of greatness ; and in consequence, he has left various charming memorials, here and there. Madame Louise Colet hands down a detailed account of her conversations with Manzoni. “Of course she enters into particulars,” cries Cantù, “she who could not even hold her tongue about her own love affairs.”

A friend whom Manzoni taught in her own house, where she lay for years bed-ridden, was the Marchesa Paola Castiglioni. We may fancy the comfort his genial task brought her in her fallen fortunes and great old age. She was accustomed to say that the number of the years of her life was too high for the lottery—ninety-five. The *lotto* was a recognized Italian institution.

Another of Manzoni's *habitués* was the Principessa Belgiojoso, who recalls the type of strong-minded, free-thinking woman-philosophers, who gave tone to French society at the time Paris was the home of Donna Giulia and her son. The Milanese Principessa had apparently a superadded charm. Tammiaser, De Musset, Heine, Delacroix, all sang her praises, and worshipped at her shrine. Her literary tastes and her public affiliations alike drew her to Manzoni, and she came frequently to his house, when she was not wandering about the world, exiled for her active share in the political intrigues and conspiracies of the day. Manzoni, by the way, held, with Chamfort, that there is a sex in literature, and that a woman may be known by a phrase. He thought it worth his while to write the Principessa a very serious letter upon the publication of her *Formation des Dogmes Catholiques*. This lady is altogether a most striking and picturesque figure, married as she was to the flower of the Milanese youth, and descended from a long line of distinguished personages. Her life knew unusual reverses, and alternated between the extremes of luxury and of actual need.

On Tommaso Grossi, a poet of repute among his own people, Manzoni bestows his most constant friendship. Grossi is said to have been loved even by those who did not admire his poetry: “No genius, no hero, but a true gentleman” (*Gran galantuomo*). Manzoni set apart for Grossi's use two small rooms on the ground floor of his own house, across a hall from his own library, and opening into a garden. Here Grossi freely came and went until the time of Manzoni's second marriage. Then, fortunately, he

made a very happy marriage of his own. But while he lived under Manzoni's roof, he was the dear friend and confidant of the whole family. Manzoni delighted in praising him, and we find constant references to Grossi, through his papers. "Yesterday M. De La Croix said to me that Grossi speaks French better than an academician." And when Manzoni was requested to become a member of the Institute of Lombardy, he declined on the plea that he "should be ashamed to belong to a society which did not include Grossi."

Cantù's own relations to Manzoni were those of a disciple to a master. Manzoni revised his works; stimulated his thought, directed his opinions; was his exemplar in all things. Cantù was in thorough sympathy with the spirit of Manzoni's genius, and elected him his chosen poet, long before they met; so that there was in their intercourse the high charm of a realized ideal. No detraction altered the fervor of the younger man's admiration. Others declared that Manzoni was lukewarm in his conviction and halting in his praise or blame; that he had been known to withhold moral support even from his faithful Grossi; and that he had kept silence, yea, even from good words, when good words from him would have promoted a righteous cause. But Cantù secured Manzoni's generous approbation of himself when he was an unknown and struggling writer. He relates that the busy author yet found hours to devote to his service, in reading and revising his manuscript. He is at losing pains to explain that if Manzoni was reluctant to offer criticism of any sort, it was from a genuine, inborn humility. He tells us, in illustration of this humility, that when Lamartine and Thierry wrote to Manzoni, in warm praise of his paper upon the Untori, which had been quite ignored by Italian critics, he wrote them in reply: "Ceux qui ont un grand nom font bien de s'en servir pour encourager ceux qui font jusqu'ou ils peuvent."

It might have seemed doubtful praise, to an Italian patriot, remembering still the troublous times of '48, when after Manzoni's death the London *Times* referred, as matter of commendation, to the facts that the Austrians, who had proscribed Fosch and Pellier, had left Manzoni in peace; and that no *gens d'armes* had ever crossed his threshold. But Cantù believes that the devoted friends of Manzoni stood ever between him and the persecutions of the foreign oppressor; and that it is due to their unselfish consideration that his name never appeared on the lists of the proscribed. Be that as it may, he is merely mentioned in the political records of the day as the author of "The Fifth of May" (an ode widely circulated at the time it was written, after the death of Napoleon). Also against his name in the public censure, we find inscribed: "A literary genius; an honor to his country." It is impossible not to

feel that Manzoni was comparatively lukewarm, as to the political dissensions and questions that rent Italy, and agitated his countrymen, during his middle-life. But as to his concern in the higher politics, that phase of social science which, as Cantù remarks, is of greater importance and calls for deeper wisdom than questions involving "kings, parliaments and diplomatists"; in all this, Manzoni's interest was profound and intense.

"In his relations to all that touched the people (the common people as they are termed); their bread; their morals; their consolations, or, as they are oftentimes called, prejudices, in his devotion to every detail of that political democracy which is rather political Christianity, I know no writer who approaches Manzoni; his point of view always included the people. . . . He bears in mind that the angels did not appear at the guarded gates of the great, but to the poor, neglected by a hard world."

His interest in the poor was real, personal, unflinching; while, on the other hand, kings and kings' ministers delighted to honor him. During an illness of his, at the time of the Austrian occupation, the Archduke Maximilian daily sent, or called in person, to inquire for him: "As though trying to cause the fact to be forgotten that he was an Austrian." Later Cavour was his honored guest.

It illustrates a certain impersonality about the man that he could include Garibaldi in the long and various list of his friendships, and receive with open arms that reckless warrior at a time when the latter was touring Italy and inciting its youth to "the worship of Saint Catilino and the invasion of the States of the Church." But Manzoni vouchsafed him a generous admiration. Embracing him, he cried: "I should undoubtedly feel my insignificance, were I to be confronted by one of the thousands of your brave soldiers; how much more so, then, standing face to face with their General." Garibaldi repaid this fervid speech with a well-meant compliment, in his novel of "Clelia." "I am over-presumptuous," he writes, "to attempt the composition of a novel in the age of such writers as Victor Hugo, Guérazzi and Manzoni." Rather doubtful company, this, for the author of the *Morale Cattolica*.

Another of his visitors was the Comte de Chambord, in the October of 1839, who sent in his card having Henri de France inscribed upon it. The Emperor of Brazil, also, swelled the list of his illustrious guests, and conceived a strong friendship for him. The Emperor repeated his visit as late as 1876; at this time he insisted that Manzoni, in defiance of etiquette, should sit beside him on the sofa. Manzoni, after some hesitation, yielded the point, saying, "Tyrants must be obeyed."

It is recorded that Manzoni copied his *Il Cinque Maggio* (Fifth of May) with his own hand in the album of the Empress Eugénie,

at the solicitation of a common friend, the then Italian ambassador at the French court. Years afterwards, he was begged to write a lament upon the death of Napoleon III., and it was urged that he had put forth a dirge when the first Napoleon had died. "Oh," he said in excuse, "I am old." When it was replied to him that there often survived fire, even in old age, he replied, "Fire at which no one is warmed."

In the Paris days we have referred to, he made friends who afterwards drifted out of his life, greatly owing to the fact that he was an inveterately bad correspondent. It was not "out of sight, out of mind" with him; but it was certainly out of sight, out of speech, written or spoken. Lamartine had a profound regard for him, and yet with Lamartine he held no intercourse during long years. Cantù meets Lamartine in Paris in the latter's lonely, decrepid age, forgotten by the careless world that had adored his youth, and Lamartine sends a touching note through him to Manzoni in Italy: "Un souvenir qui est toujours un hommage, quand il va à un homme tel que lui." Cantù showed Manzoni this note, but kept it afterwards in his own possession.

In spite of this apparent indifference, however, Manzoni was far from accepting Chamfort's three-fold classification of friends: "Those to whom we are indifferent; those who are distasteful to us; those whom we detest." This same Chamfort, by the bye, was one of the brilliant circle of Madame Helvetius; and he it was who put many revolutionary theories into current phrases, one of which was his retort to Sieyès: "What is the third estate? a nothing which desired to become everything."

There was little congeniality between Manzoni and Thiers, who was frequently in Italy. There was a restlessness and an excitement about Thiers which did not agree with the tranquil dignity of Manzoni. They probably failed to understand each other. When Thiers was asked who was, in his opinion, the greatest living Italian, he named Gino Capponi of Florence. His interlocutor suggested Manzoni; but Thiers persisted, that Capponi had "une plus grande portee d'esprit." Thiers was not in sympathy with a united Italy, and he disapproved of Manzoni's affiliation with the leaders who had this unity at heart. Thiers himself put in practice the proposition he advanced in the National Assembly, that we live in times of universal contradiction. He was, however, consistent in declaring that his country should never call for his services in vain. "I will do as much for the monarchy as for religion." And, dying, he bequeathed to his native land this reminder: "The republic must either be conservative or else cease to exist."

Balzac was another of Manzoni's passing acquaintances, between

whom and himself it would be impossible to expect any sympathy. The phases of human nature, which the French novelist chiefly portrayed, were far removed from Manzoni's pure contemplation. The art of Balzac was as diverse from that of Manzoni as was the personality of the two men: Manzoni, as we have described him—high-bred, intellectual, spiritual; Balzac, heavily-built, large-featured; his natural peculiarities intensified by his careless dress. Balzac's immense and immediate popularity contrasted no less with the gradual growth of Manzoni's fame. Balzac's works had an enormous circulation, not only in France, but also in foreign countries. He himself lived to a great extent in a world as ideal as that of his characters. He was always planning some wonderful stroke of fortune, which was to befall him, but he possessed, unluckily, no more than the average business talent of authors. He came to Italy expecting to drive a good bargain with Italian booksellers, in which he was disappointed. However, he had been paid twenty-thousand crowns for his "*César Birotteau*"; and we have it on his own authority that the translator of "*Hector Fieramosca*" spent more in advertisements than the author was paid down for the original manuscript. Balzac's egotism was so frank that he made himself and his doings his constant theme. During his intercourse with Manzoni it did not transpire from what he said that he had ever read *I Promessi Sposi*; the burden of his monologue was the novel he was then writing,—a comedy which was destined to make an immense sensation on the stage,—a collection he was engaged in compiling of his juvenile writings. He was also given to dissertations upon his vague pantheistic creed, and upon the curiosities of modern scientific research. But we are told that he never advanced a single idea breathing genuine humanity.

He and Manzoni had the one point in common, at least, that they wrote slowly, and elaborately revised their original manuscript. Neither improvised; neither wrote with spontaneity; there was in the case of each a chasm between the thought and its expression. But here the mere external resemblance stopped. No greater contrast can be imagined than between the French and the Italian novelist.

A tribute to Manzoni from a brother author is Bulwer's dedication to him of his *Cola Rienzi*, "as to the *genius loci*." But space fails us to record all the instances of respect and devotion which crowned his later years. His native city still gratefully echoes his name in one of the streets, and in her principal theatre; built, by the way, upon the spot where once stood certain houses, the property of his mother's friend, Imbonati.

Like some other writers of romances, Manzoni was not fond of reading them. Thackeray tells of himself that he devoured the novels of other men, and he gives especial honorable mention to

the tales of Dumas, and of other writers of an entirely different school from his own; but Manzoni would shake his head and say that "the manufacturers of certain sweets never cared to eat them."

In the sense in which Balzac and Dumas and their school were novelists, indeed, he was none. In its original conception, *I Promessi Sposi* was to be a Milanese history of the seventeenth century; and it only gradually assumed the character of a romance. A certain class of critics severally censured his choice of a time so barren in striking events and incidents; but for the machinery of the ordinary novel Manzoni cared little; his chief concern was with the workings of the human heart and with the common destiny of man.

In a certain degree, his literary father was Sir Walter Scott, whose novels made a deep impression upon their first introduction into Italy. His stories were universally read—were dramatized—and inspired various pictures. In the last years of his life the "Homer of historical romance" visited Manzoni in Milan, and Manzoni acknowledged to him his great indebtedness; telling him in fact that he owed everything he was to his influence. "If this be so, it is my proudest boast," replied Sir Walter.

But in literal truth the fresh field opened by Scott to novel writers, and to Manzoni among them, was the extent of this indebtedness. Manzoni's methods and motives were all his own. He elaborated a single romance, where Scott improvised a hundred; he brought to bear upon his theme the profound wisdom of Christian philosophy, and a marvellous insight into human nature, where Scott, intentionally or otherwise, presented his wide range of characters and scenes with an absolute impartiality for the vices and virtues of time and place.

The personages of Manzoni's great classic will always remain types, each after his kind; the Cardinal Federigo, all that is noblest and purest and loftiest in the Shepherd of Souls; Don Abbondio, seen through the medium of a gentle irony, interprets the working of a nature whose selfishness finds its excuse in its cowardice; Renzo—are there not Renzos everywhere?—although the characteristics are essentially southern, careless, ardent, impulsive, inconsistent, resolute; in the case of the original Renzo, with the strong common sense, if also the inevitable ignorance of his class; Lucia, the flower of a childlike and entire faith and devotion; Fra Cristoforo, taking the kingdom of heaven by the violence of his prophetic force and zeal unto good works; Perpetua, the Italian counterpart of George Eliot's Mrs. Poyser. Of the minor characters, not one but is drawn with the firm hand of the master.

There are throughout the book certain haunting echoes and reverberations. Fra Cristoforo's "*Perdonar sempre, sempre, tutto*"; the ever-exulting exaltation of the lowly and meek.

We are told that a certain writer upon Italian affairs excluded from his sweeping denunciation of the inertness and supineness of the generation preceding the present the Manzonian school. That, at least, espoused the cause of the people; was democratic in its sympathies and interests; set forth their joys and sorrows, their wrongs and trials. The disciples of Manzoni, although the patriotism of some of them was tried as by fire, gladly gave their master all the credit implied in this exception. In ranging himself on the side of the lower orders, in the composition of his greatest work, he cut himself off from the sympathy of some of his brother authors. Leopardi, for instance, writes that people of taste (*gente di gusto*) are disappointed in *I Promessi Sposi*. Cantù himself had the experience of sending a review of the book, some time after its publication, to the *Indicatore Lombardo*, and having it returned to him with the editorial comment that he had written about a book that was no longer remembered.

I Promessi Sposi grew into popular favor by the slowest of slow degrees; but its place once established in the world's heart, and in literature, it holds its own. It became a text-book in primary schools. Manzoni, writing to his daughter, Vittoria, requests her to have her little girl read it as soon as possible. He records his own intense delight in books read in his childhood; and he concludes with saying that if those of his own blood refuse him the charity he asks, of whom had he the right to request it.

It is a curious illustration of a certain narrow order of criticism that *I Promessi Sposi* was classed, in its day, with freethinking and immoral works, unfit for the perusal of young people. It was contended that when Don Abbondio was held up to ridicule, the dignity of the priesthood was attacked. But, in the long run, Manzoni has been understood. Lamartine pleads his cause in characteristic, conventionally pretty lines; and Giordani breaks into ardent eulogy of *I Promessi Sposi* as "a book of the people; a dramatized catechism (elementary of necessity, there must be a beginning); from that point of view—magnificent, divine."

The popular verdict, pronounced with final, irresistible force, upon *I Promessi Sposi*, proves the author's own ironical reflection, where Renzo cries, "At last justice must triumph in this world"; to which the author annotates: "So true is it that, when a man is crushed by misfortune, he no longer knows what he is saying." Cantù calls this bit of irony "energetic disillusion" (*zigore di disillusione*).

In the sense in which Browning uses the word :

"For I, so I said, am a poet ;
Human nature behooves me to know it,"

Manzoni takes rank with the great poets of humanity. To the extent that a profound moral is "hid within the bosom of the rose," of his epic-idyl, he is, at the same time, a great preacher and a great philosopher. His laborious patience, his trained faith, and his inspired love, are his claims to an undisputed immortality.

Book Notices.

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. An Attempt to Illustrate the History of their Suppression. By *Francis Aidon Gasquet*, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath. Vol. I. John Hodges: London. Received for notice from the Catholic Publication Society Company, New York.

History furnishes countless instances how one side of a story gained general credence until the other side was told. The general impression among non-Catholics, and also among many Catholics, respecting the causes of the suppression of the English monasteries is such an instance. The allegation that the discipline of those monasteries had become so lax that the monks, including the abbots and priors as well as the subordinates, had become worldly, grasping, luxurious, indolent, and immoral, has been so constantly repeated, and every fact or suppositious fact or circumstance that could give plausibility to this allegation, has been so eagerly seized upon and made the most of, that it has been accepted as a settled truth that the English monasteries were entirely unfaithful to the purposes of their establishment; that their usefulness had wholly passed away, and that the industrial and moral advancement of the people of England demanded their suppression. This was one side of the story, and a false one at that; false, both in its suppression of truth and in its assertion of positive falsehoods. Yet it was so confidently and persistently reiterated, and so skilfully supported with plausible statements, that the denial of it, by those who brought out rebutting facts, was received with contemptuous incredulity. The scheme of Henry VIII. for lowering monks in the popular estimation, though it did not impose on a people who knew them by experience, has served its purpose with subsequent generations. All that dishonest and untruthful men could do in the way of defiling the memory of cœnobites has been done, and thus their memory seems almost hopelessly besmirched. A horror of monk and monastery has been imparted with early knowledge at the mother's knee—the teaching first imbibed and latest lost—and it would seem as though, in this regard, the English national character for honesty and fairness had been permanently warped.

Of late years, the opening of the Record Office to investigation by

historical students, the exhumation and publication of documents that were for centuries buried in the dust of that office, and among other collections of old manuscripts, and other like causes, have convinced scholars that there is another side to the story of the suppression of the English monasteries, and this opinion has gradually so far influenced the public mind as to induce a willingness, on the part of the more thoughtful, to believe that possibly the old story is one-sided, and needs many grains of allowance before it can be accepted as even partly true.

The work before us is a very valuable contribution to the new literature on this very important and widely misunderstood subject. Its author has spared no pains or labor to gather and carefully collate and verify his facts, and he presents them with an evident desire to be perfectly fair and just, and to avoid all exaggeration. In his preface he says: "My belief is, that the facts speak strongly enough for themselves, and I have endeavored to add as little as possible of my own to the story they tell. All I desire is that my readers should judge from the letters, documents, and opinions which will be found in the following pages, whether bare justice has hitherto been done to the memory of the monastic order in England. I have endeavored, as far as I possibly could, to write from a personal inspection of the documents of which I have made use."

The following statements, too, are of interest, as showing both the spirit of the writer and his untiring laboriousness in hunting up and examining every document that could throw light upon his subject:

"My searches have taken me to many places, and have brought me in contact with many people to whom I was previously a stranger. My thanks for help and encouragement are due to too many to name individually. But I cannot pass over in general terms the ready and generous manner in which the episcopal registers, without free use of which it would have been vain for me to write on the subject at all, have been opened to me. The place in which I write may excuse a particular reference to the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. From the various Registrars I have received the same unvarying courtesy and kindness. From public officials attention to all demands is oftentimes regarded as a right. Both at the Record Office and the British Museum, though I trust I have never troubled without need, my requests, I feel, have seemed sometimes importunate and even unreasonable. Without the concurrence and ever-patient kindness which I met with at both institutions my labors must have been indefinitely prolonged. When I think of the dusty search-room at the Record Office, it calls up above all the pleasant memory of the friendly help extended to me by so many of its practised habitués."

In the Introduction to his work the author sketches a picture of the daily life practised in one of the "great and solemn monasteries" of England, in which Henry VIII., using the Parliament as his mouth-piece, "thanks God that religion is right well kept." He shows that, however much the various monasteries might differ in details, the fundamental principle of all was life by rule, spent in the service of God, and how the principle thus exemplified in the monastic life exerted a salutary influence upon, and interwove itself with, the social, political life of the kingdom. As regards denunciations by eminent and worthy ecclesiastics of laxity of life, when made about the monasteries, even those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the writer judiciously and correctly states that they rest generally, not on any special abuses in the monasteries, or departure from their rule, but on a comparison with primitive fervor. Then, too, as regards the chronicles that are still extant of

various abbeys, the writer says truly that very little information can be gained from them respecting the interior life of their inmates. It was so even, so uneventful, and so well known, that it must have seemed useless for the chronicler to burden his pages with a description of it. Troubles, difficulties, quarrels, and even scandals, find a place on the parchment records of abbeys and convents, while the days and years of peaceful, unobtrusive labor pass unnoticed by the monastic scribe.

The writer answers very satisfactorily and clearly the question: "If the English monasteries, in the time of Henry VIII. were not the abodes of laziness, luxury, and vice, how could he have succeeded, without awakening universal public opposition, in suppressing them?" He shows that a variety of circumstances combined to collect in the political and social atmosphere of England in the time of Henry VIII. elements fraught with dangerous and destructive power against the Church. In the first place, the country had not yet recovered from that visitation known as the "Black Death," which devastated Europe, and especially England, in the fourteenth century. Although one hundred and fifty years had elapsed before Henry mounted the throne, the nation was still suffering from the effects of that terrible scourge. It could hardly have been otherwise, when in one year about one-half of the entire population had been swept away. Among the clergy the mortality was quite as heavy. In the diocese of Norwich, during a single year, there are recorded the institution of 863 incumbents to livings vacated by the death of the previous occupants, "the clergy dying so fast that they were obliged to admit numbers of youths that had only devoted themselves for clerks by being shaven, to be rectors of parishes." In the county of Norfolk, out of 799 priests 527 died of the plague. Altogether, it has been computed that two-thirds of the clergy of England were carried off by the "Black Death." The monastic orders suffered even more severely, because the mortality was greater where numbers of persons were gathered together.

Flocks were attacked by disease and perished from want of herdsmen to attend to them. The crops rotted on the ground because harvestmen could not be found to reap them. Even the most richly endowed monasteries felt the pinch of poverty. The monastery of Christ's Church, Canterbury, in a memorial asking for help "to keep up their old hospitality," state that their losses in cattle were 257 oxen, 511 cows with their calves, and 4585 sheep, worth more than \$80,000 of our money. They also declare that 1212 acres of land, formerly profitable, had been rendered worthless to them by an inundation of the sea, owing to the impossibility of getting laborers to maintain the sea-walls.

This state of things, universal throughout England, led to a revolution in the relation of employers and laborers. The nobles and monasteries were no longer able to manage their estates on the old principles, and the modern system of letting was introduced. The peasant proprietor became an exception, and the population was detached from the soil. This gradually led to the destruction of the power of the nobles, and the exaltation of that of the sovereign, until in the time of Henry VIII. the king of England was practically despotic.

That the country had not recovered from the effects of the scourge in the sixteenth century is clearly shown by the statutes of Henry VIII. for the rebuilding of towns and the repair of streets and houses. The Venetian Embassadors, too, in their letters describe the ruined streets and vacant places in the English towns, and the sparsity of the population in the country; and speak of them as effects of the "Black Death," which desolated England a century and a half before.

To the Church the scourge of 1349 must have been little less than disastrous. Apart from the poverty and distress occasioned by the unoccupied lands, and the consequent diminution of tithes, the sudden death of a majority of the clergy must have broken the continuity of the best traditions of ecclesiastical usage and teaching. Then, too, necessity obliged the bishops to institute young and inexperienced clerics, and some of them slenderly educated, into vacant livings. The effects of this must have been felt for many succeeding generations. The monastic houses also sadly suffered, not only in the destruction of their chief sources of income, but still more by reason of their great diminution of numbers, which rendered the proper performance of their religious duties, and the diligent discharge of their obligations as regards discipline, difficult and often almost impossible.

The long and bitter feud between the houses of York and Lancaster was also a very important element which rendered possible the political and social and religious changes of Henry's reign. Many of the new nobility were mere place-hunters and political adventurers, men eager to profit by every disturbance of social order. Their own interests caused them to range themselves in the restless ranks of the party of innovation. Those who have nothing to lose are proverbially on the side of disorder and change. The Tudor policy also created the "official" or place-seeker, who was by nature restless and discontented. Success and worldly prosperity depended on his attracting the favorable notice of his royal master. One with another they strove who should best work his way into that master's favor by anticipating his wishes, favoring his whims, pandering to his desires.

The general condition of the people is represented by all writers as very miserable. The dearth of population (which had previously thrown much of the land out of use) and the demand for wool, led to turning much of the old tillage land into sheep runs. The farmers with their families were ejected. They were deposed by fraud or by violence, or being wearied out with abuses, they were forced to sell what they had and shift their quarters, and were reduced to virtual beggary.

In the midst of the throes of this great social and political crisis in England much depended on the Church, and there is little room for doubt that the English clergy were ill-fitted to calm the restless spirit of the age or resist the rising tide of novelties. In those days when might made right, the very occupation of place to which the clergy were bound, roused violent opposition in the party rising into power. The bishops, too, with some honorable exceptions, were mere court officials, pensioned out of ecclesiastical revenues. They looked to the king, not to the Church, and regarded the temporal adjuncts of prosperity and power rather than the spiritual duties of the episcopal office. The Church had few favors to give, except at the wish of the king. Even Cardinals' hats were bestowed only on royal recommendation. Then, too, the practice, in more than one instance, of rewarding foreigners by nominating them to vacant sees or other important ecclesiastical positions in return for services rendered to the king or as an inducement to help on some royal scheme, was obviously detrimental to the well-being of the Church. Not less detrimental was the granting of pluralities. This was encouraged by the king for two reasons. First, he could thus provide for his favorites, and secondly, he could require from those who held these pluralities gifts to replenish his coffers with a greater show of justice. Thus the life of the Church was sapped through royal influence and abuses encouraged by the king which furnished seeming proofs of the charges which the king brought against the Church.

That this state of things interfered injuriously with the discipline of the monasteries was to be expected, yet much less injuriously than might naturally be supposed. Evidence of this is furnished by an Act of Parliament for suppressing a number of lesser monasteries, which in referring to the larger monasteries, declares that in them, "thanks be to God, religion is right well kept up."

After describing the actual condition of the English monasteries as proved by citations from contemporaneous documentary evidence, the author in several following chapters describes in detail the successive steps taken by Henry VIII. to suppress first the smaller and then the larger English monasteries, the false pretexts that were set up, the lying witnesses that were bribed to swear to the truth of pretended facts, and of charges which numerous contemporaneous documents, recently brought to light, conclusively disprove. He devotes separate chapters to the following subjects: "Cardinal Wolsey and the Monasteries," "The Holy Maid of Kent," "The Friars Observant," "The Carthusians," "The Visitation of the Monasteries in 1535-36," "Parliament and the Lesser Monasteries," "The Charges Against the Monks," "Thomas Cromwell, the King's Vicar-General," "The Chief Accusers of Monks." The latter pages of the volume are occupied with an appendix containing a map of England, on which the boundaries of the different dioceses and counties are marked and the monasteries of the Carthusians and the four orders of Friars are distinctly located.

A perusal of the work can scarcely fail to convince every impartial reader that the statement of the *Athenæum*, quoted by the author, is not a whit too strong. It says: "Seldom in the world's history has a tyrant found baser instruments for his basest designs than Henry found for carrying out the visitation of the English monasteries. That there were foolish superstitions in some of the religious houses, that there were abuses in others, that some of the thousands among the inmates of the monasteries, great and small, were leading scandalous lives, and many more were living useless ones, nobody would be so silly as to deny. But that any monastery in England contained half-a-dozen such wretches as the more prominent of the visitors who came to despoil them is almost inconceivable. It is a sickening story. The reader . . . is in danger of disbelieving everything that these men report in his indignation at the audacious and manifest lying which characterizes their reports."

We trust that the publication of the second volume of this valuable and interesting work will not be long delayed.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. By His Eminence, *Cardinal Wiseman*, late Archbishop of Westminster. With an Explanatory and Biographical Introduction by the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, Queenstown. London: Thomas Baker. 1888.

Cardinal Wiseman's reputation as a learned scholar, an acute critic, and a profound thinker, is so wide-spread and firmly established that to dilate upon it is needless. In theology, canon law, archæology, philology, ethnography, and history, he was a prince among those who were eminent because of attainments in one or another of these studies. As a linguist he had few equals and no superior, except the polyglot Cardinal Mezzofanti. Besides the ordinary learned languages, he was master not only of Hebrew and Chaldee, but also of Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. In the modern languages, besides the English, he wrote and spoke the French, Italian, German, Spanish, and Portuguese with fluency and elegance. This knowledge of languages, together with his extraordinary attainments in archæology and history, gave Cardinal Wiseman

a foremost place among Biblical scholars. His knowledge, also, of the most important branches of physical science was extensive and accurate.

Combined with these vast attainments were a calm, judicial spirit, solidity of judgment, keen foresight of coming events, invincible courage, and firmness, which enabled him quietly, and with dignity, to meet and withstand the furious outbursts of rage and bigotry on the part of English anti-Catholics which marked the commencement of his official career in England. And by the exercise of these qualities he so completely conquered the violent prejudices that at first were entertained by non-Catholics against him that bitterness and hatred gave place to feelings of respectful deference and kindness during the latter years of his life. Even the *London Times*, which had poured forth upon him all the vials of its wrath in language of truculent bitterness, said of him in 1863: "He is certainly one of the men of the day; he is a man of varied and wide powers—a literary man, a linguist, an orator." And when he died his remains were borne with almost regal pomp through the streets of London to their last resting place in Kensal Green.

We have indulged in these remarks because the "Biographical Introduction," with which the volume before us opens in sketching the public career of Cardinal Wiseman, lucidly, though concisely, describes the changes in public opinion in England, and also in the legal status of Catholics which took place during that period. It was a period of great excitement, and often of unreasoning opposition on the part of non-Catholics, and of severe trials on the part of Catholics.

It was a transition period in many respects. During that time the "Tractarian" movement was in the full vigor and fervor of its efforts to find some firm ground on which Anglicanism might substantiate its pretensions to Apostolicity, and to being the ancient Catholic Church of England. Finding their efforts in this direction futile, distinguished members of both the great national universities, day by day, and of the "Anglican Church," sought and found rest for their souls in the bosom of the Catholic Church. Enraged by these conversions Protestant zealots sounded the alarm on every side. The establishment of the Catholic hierarchy increased both their terror and their fury. Public meetings were held and resolutions passed expressing the most intense horror of the Pope and Popery. The Sovereign was loudly called on to "check the insidious pretensions of Rome." At the same time the Hampden promotion and the Gorham judgment showed, to the High-Churchmen, the utter disorganization of the Anglican "Church." The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was introduced into Parliament and hurriedly enacted. But the storm was too violent to last, and the bill remained a dead letter. Cardinal Wiseman's "Appeal to the English People" fell like oil on troubled waters. His letter to Lord John Russell showed clearly that, before the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, the English Government had been apprised of the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church, and had made no objection to it. Reflection succeeded to unreasoning rage, and the opposition to the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy got its death-blow when *Punch*, in a celebrated cartoon, represented Lord John Russell as "the little boy who chalked 'No Popery' on the wall, and then ran away."

The rapid growth, both in numbers and in influence, during this period was greatly owing, under God, to Cardinal Wiseman's sagacious and energetic, yet quiet, leadership. If an anti-Catholic disputant assailed the doctrines of the Church, the Cardinal's pen, like a keenly-pointed lance hurled by a mighty arm, pierced his sophisms through and through, yet in such way as not to furnish reasonable ground of offence, even

to his most sensitive opponents. If any one, struggling towards the Catholic Church, sought his counsel, his vast store of knowledge was laid open to shed new light on the path of the inquirer.

The "Essays" contained in the volume before us are in the Cardinal's best style, clear and logical, and with a wealth of illustration that illumines the subject which he is treating. None of them are of ephemeral interest. They are all of permanent value, and may be read now with as much profit and pleasure as when they first appeared.

The first of these "Essays" is on "Catholic Versions of Scripture." It was suggested by "A New Version of the Four Gospels," with notes, critical and explanatory, which, it is now well known, was from the pen of the late Dr. Lingard. The "Essay" shows, by numerous citations, the need (a need which still remains unsupplied) of a revision of what is known as the Douay or Rheimish version, though to call it by those names Cardinal Wiseman says is "an abuse of terms." It "has been altered and modified," he says, "till scarcely any verse in it remains as it was originally published, and, so far as simplicity of style is concerned, the changes are in general for the worse." This is replete with profound critical and philological erudition, and contains many valuable suggestions respecting the method that should be adopted in making a complete and authorized revision of our English Catholic version, and the prefaces and notes, and indices, and titles that should accompany such an authorized version.

The next "Essay" is on "The Parables of the New Testament." It was suggested by the translation of the Four Gospels, by the late Most Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, which translation Cardinal Wiseman highly commends. This essay, and also the next two essays, which are respectively on the "Miracles of the New Testament" and the "Actions of the New Testament," have, as their chief objects, first, the encouragement of critical study of the Scriptures ("not merely introductory, but deep, earnest and solid"), and secondly, to show how lucidly "the parables, miracles and actions" of the New Testament illustrate Catholic doctrine.

Upon the deep and earnest study of the Scriptures Cardinal Wiseman's remarks are so beautiful and forcible that we cannot forbear quoting a few sentences. "We are fully convinced," he says, "that the field belongs exclusively to Catholics, and that they alone can properly occupy it. After all the boasted researches of the moderns, what has been done? What are the commentaries of Kuinöel, Rosenmüller, Campbell, or Bloomfield? Sapless, heartless, devotionless, merely critical and philological notes, which help one not a step to taste and relish the sweetness of the Divine narrative, or to learn its true lessons. . . . And this must be the case with all Protestant Scripture learning. The tender mysteries of our Saviour's nativity and holy childhood associated at every moment with His Blessed Mother; His kindness towards sinners, and His familiarity with the poor; the sorrowful scenes of His passion, in their details, as meditated upon by Catholic Saints; all these it is impossible for a Protestant mind to dwell on with the intensity and affectionateness that a Catholic heart requires. Then what can a Protestant do with the evangelical counsels, poverty and chastity, and renouncing of all possessions; with the Apostles sent without scrip or staff to preach to heathens; with celibacy and virginity; with fasting and watching; with the forgiveness of sins and the eating of Christ's body; with miracles and wonders to be wrought in the Church? Only the Catholic can fully and lovingly enter into the heart of God's word, and feel its whole truth and perfect reality. . . . We feel, therefore,

deeply convinced that, if we would only take full possession of Scripture and place it before those who love or affect to love it, in its practical yet most moving lessons, in the Catholic spirit, we should easily convince our adversaries that ours is the only religion of Scripture, and our inheritance is its interpretation."

Following these "Essays" are "Two Letters on I. John, v. 7." These letters discuss some points of the controversy concerning the genuineness of this disputed text, and overflow with critical, linguistic and historical information. They also contain a highly interesting inquiry into the origin of the first Latin version of Scripture commonly called "The Itala." To earnest Biblical students these "letters" are of great value.

The next paper, on "Ancient and Modern Catholicity," is at once a model of controversial and historical writing. It consists of statements of those Catholic devotional practices and doctrinal belief at the present day which are most strongly objected to by non-Catholics, each statement being paralleled with an account of instances of like practice or belief in ancient times, thrown into the form of anecdotes and narrated in a charming, colloquial style.

The next paper, on "The High Church Theory of Dogmatical Authority," is as interesting and valuable to-day as when it was first written, containing, as it does, a thorough exposure of the fallacies and contradictions of theory on which Episcopalian High Churchmen and Ritualists attempt to find a basis for Church authority consistent with their connection with a sect which repudiates that theory in its practice and disclaims it in its professed "Articles" of belief.

The next paper, on "Christian Art," is a charming dissertation on the subject it treats. Both in its historical aspect and as a discussion of the principles of true Christian Art it is both interesting and valuable. It contains, too, a strong plea for the exercise of pious taste in the selection of devotional pictures and statuary, that they may be not only devotional as respects their subjects, but also as regards their expression and execution. The majority of the prints furnished by France and England for the general use of Catholics the author condemns as "paltry" and "tawdry," and "wretched in design as in execution, devoid of all feeling, of all expression, of all beauty even," and as calculated only to give the idea that religious representations stood below, rather than above, every other department of art." These sentences, which we quote, will furnish a clue to Cardinal Wiseman's argument on this point. He says: Few, perhaps, can judge of the accuracy of the design, or the delicacy of the engraving; but every one can *feel* the accordance between the expression, and ideas, and sentiments, which his heart tells him are good and holy. Instead of the vague stare of a figure, which, but for a pair of keys or a sword in its hand, might as well represent Pontius Pilate as an Apostle, one expects dignity of attitude, nobleness of features, holiness of expression, majesty of action. Instead of the unmeaning beauty of feature (if even this) by which the best attempts at a *Madonna* were characterized, no one is satisfied without an approach, at least, to the sweetness, the grace, the purity, and the queenly grandeur that befitted the Holy Mother of God."

Cardinal Wiseman also severely condemns that slavish imitation of ancient Christian Art which, particularly in painting and sculpture, undertakes to reproduce defects, and even monstrosities as well as beauties, mistakenly attributing what was the result of ignorance, rudeness, or unskillfulness "to some mysterious influence or deep design."

But we must hasten to a close. The entire article, to every one who is interested in the history and development and the true principles of

Christian Art, will be delightful reading, and is replete also with valuable information.

The last article is a "Brief Account of the Council Held at Constantinople, A.D. 1166," with remarks upon the newly-discovered testimony of St. Amphilocius, Bishop of Iconium, in the fourth century, in favor of the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist. Following this is an article on "Pope Boniface VIII.," reviewing Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics*. The last article is on "Early Italian Academics," with particular reference to what the Church has done in promoting the pursuit of physical science.

LIFE AND TIMES OF THE MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL, BISHOP AND FIRST ARCH-BISHOP OF BALTIMORE; Embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1763-1815. With Portraits, Views, and Fac-similes. By *John Gilmary Shea*. New York; John G. Shea. 1888.

This volume is a worthy sequel to that which preceded it, yet in one respect it presents a marked contrast to it. The preceding volume is an almost continuous narrative of the struggles of devoted heroic missionaries to plant the cross throughout every region of our vast country, then occupied, except at a few points, by tribes of savages, whose wars with each other and with the white colonists inflamed their passions, and, even more than their ignorance, their heathen superstitions and their barbarous customs, rendered them averse to receiving instruction from the Catholic missionaries, and placing themselves under the easy and peaceful yoke of Christ. Their natural barbarity, their thirst for blood, their jealousy and fear and hatred of the white intruders upon their lands were all fomented and intensified by the constant encroachments upon their territories of the white settlers, and the deceit and fraud and treachery practised upon them. The Catholic missionaries were held responsible for all this by the aborigines, though they endeavored to protect them. On the other hand, they frequently incurred in this way the jealousy and hatred of the white settlers. In addition to all this, the nations which sent forth colonists to this country were almost constantly at war with each other, and always jealous. And nowhere did this jealousy produce more disastrous effects to the progress of religion than on this continent. Not only the colonists from different European countries felt, to its fullest extent, the evil influence resulting from this state of things, but that influence was infused far and wide into the Indian tribes of our continent.

The missionaries were made to bear the brunt of all this. They were a target for hostile shafts on all sides. Their mission establishments were broken up, their churches were plundered and burned, they themselves were banished, tortured and put to death. A hundred of them died by savage hands, and many, too, of the hardships and maltreatment inflicted on them by Protestant fanatics or by jealous, greedy, worldly French and Spanish civil and military officers. Thus, at the period when the first volume of the series ends, in which Mr. Shea has undertaken to give the history of the Church in the United States, spiritual "darkness, as of night, was settling on the land."

"But it was the darkness that precedes the dawn," and the volume before us is a narrative of the coming and progress of that dawn. Nothing to mere human foresight could be less promising throughout the whole extent of country now comprised within the domain of the United States than the condition of Catholicity in 1763, the commencement of the period over which this volume extends. England had then become

the undisputed mistress of all the territory east of the Mississippi. Canada, whence had proceeded so many heroic soldiers of the Cross, was humbled in the dust ; her great mission organization had been broken up. The Catholics in Florida saw no hope but in emigration. England had both the will and the power, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, to deprive Catholics of churches, of clergy, and even of personal property. Except in Pennsylvania, severe penal laws existed against Catholics, and even in Pennsylvania they were regarded with suspicion. As respects their number and that of their clergymen, as late as 1785, Archbishop Carroll, in his statement sent to Rome, soon after the reception of his appointment as Prefect Apostolic over the Church in the United States, gives the number of Catholics in Maryland as about 15,800, of whom 3000 were children under twelve years of age, and about 3000 negro slaves. In Pennsylvania there were about 7000 Catholics. In New York there were "at least 1500." In Virginia there were about 200 Catholics visited by a priest four or five times a year, and many others scattered and deprived of all spiritual ministrations. In Maryland there were nineteen priests, and five in Pennsylvania, of whom two were more than seventy years old. As to the "territory," he says, "bordering on the river called Mississippi, and in all that region which, following that river, extends to the limits of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania," he hears that "there are many Catholics, formerly Canadians, who speak French, and are destitute of priests." Discipline, too, was at a low ebb among the priests, owing to the absence of any ecclesiastical superior among them until 1785. The secular priests, too, were generally jealous of those who had been members of the suppressed Society of Jesus, and some of them were anything but exemplary in their lives and morals.

As regards the laity, Archbishop Carroll says, in the statement above referred to, that, "owing to unavoidable intercourse with non-Catholics, and the examples thence derived," there was more free intercourse between young people than is compatible with chastity of mind and body ; too great fondness for dances and similar amusements ; an incredible eagerness, especially in girls, for reading love stories which are brought over in great quantities from Europe ; a general lack of care in instructing the children, "and, consequently, many of them are very dull in faith and depraved in morals."

How gradually, and despite most formidable difficulties, this deplorable condition of the Church in this country was improved, is told in the volume before us. It "embraces the History of the Church in the United States, in the original diocese of Baltimore, and in that of Louisiana and the Floridas, from 1763 to 1815." It brings to light much that has never yet been made known, respecting the efforts, at an early date, of Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of London, to be relieved of his responsibility for that portion of his flock which was within the territory of the thirteen colonies, and to obtain for it the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic ; respecting the difficulties that arose, and the subsequent project of extending the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec to Pennsylvania and Maryland, after the conquest of Canada had brought all North America, east of the Mississippi, under the sway of Great Britain. Another subject, upon which much new and valuable information is given, is the part taken by Catholics against Great Britain during the Revolution, particularly by the Catholics northwest of the Ohio river. Still another subject, respecting which very little has heretofore been known, and which is very fully treated in this volume, is that of the organization of the clergy, and the steps taken to obtain an ecclesi-

astical superior, who should reside in this country. Both of these movements, and particularly the latter, were attended with great difficulties, chiefly owing to the avoiding of anything that might intensify the jealousy and fear of ecclesiastical authority entertained generally at that time by the people of the United States. To these difficulties still another was added by an intrigue to place this country under a bishop who should reside in France. These subjects are lucidly treated, and much new information is given upon them, obtained through searches of the Maryland records, and extracts obtained from the archives of France and Spain. The Quebec archives, the registers of Detroit, Vincennes, Fort Chartres, and Kaskaskia, and documents obtained from the late Father Freitag, C. SS. R., have been carefully examined, and throw much light upon the valuable services rendered by the Catholics northwest of the Ohio, in the struggle against Great Britain, and also upon the labors of Catholic priests during that period. In addition to these sources of information, the correspondence and papers of Archbishop Carroll, and documents and notes from many different sources, hitherto unknown, or unexamined and inaccessible, have been placed at the author's disposal.

Dr. Shea's well-known character as an untiring searcher of the original sources of history and a careful and discriminating collater of facts thus obtained, is a sufficient guarantee of the faithful use he has made of the information thus obtained. The history of the Church during the period embraced in the volume, is traced in each region of the country in which the Church was then planted, the condition of religion, the various difficulties that existed to its progress, the labors, the mistakes and the successes of the missionary priests, are lucidly described.

The general title of the volume—"Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,"—is well chosen. For, during the period it treats, he stands forth as the central figure, the guiding and controlling mind of the Church in this country. It was chiefly through his prudence, and tact, and moderation conjoined with resolute firmness, his influence with the leading men in the formation of our civil government, the confidence and high respect they entertained for him, the commanding position he held in public estimation, that, under the overruling Providence of God, bitter prejudices against the Catholic religion were mollified, that jealousies against the exercise of ecclesiastical authority were allayed, and the way opened to the appointment of an American Catholic Bishop for the Church in the United States. Under his prudent and firm rule insubordination was checked, ecclesiastical order and discipline gradually introduced, several of our oldest and most renowned Catholic educational institutions founded, the number of clergy increased, new missions established, new churches erected, so that, in 1808, seven years before his death, the Church in the United States had so increased and prospered that it contained, as nearly as can be estimated, about eighty churches and seventy priests, and Pope Pius VII. elevated Bishop Carroll to the office and dignity of Archbishop, divided his original see, and constituted four suffragan sees, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. The history of these sees, as well as of the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore, and also of the episcopal see of Louisiana and the Floridas (of which Archbishop Carroll was the administrator) is traced up to the year 1815, when, full of years and successful labors, the venerable Prelate died.

The diligence, the laborious resource, the careful collating and verifying of facts, by Dr. Shea, are evident throughout the volume. It throws light in many instances upon many subjects in our history as a

people, that were imperfectly known and some of which were greatly misunderstood. The style of the author well befits his subject. It is that of calm, dispassionate statement and narrative. There is no resort to rhetoric, no extenuation or exaggeration. The facts presented are left to speak for themselves.

The value of the work is enhanced by about one hundred illustrations, consisting of fac-similes of signatures and portraits of ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests, and other distinguished persons mentioned in the volume, of fac-similes of ancient important ecclesiastical or historical documents, representations of churches, chapels and other ecclesiastical buildings, etc.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, from its First Establishment to Our Own Times. Designed for the Use of Ecclesiastical Seminaries and Colleges. By *Rev. J. A. Birkhauser*, formerly Professor of Church History, etc. Fr. Pustet & Co.

Some years ago, it was found necessary to translate from the German the work of Dr. Brueck in order to supply our ecclesiastical students with a text-book in Church history more suitable than Wouters or Palma, which had been, we believe, generally in use in this country. The change was undoubtedly an improvement. Teaching Church history in the vernacular, even where the students are sufficiently familiar with the Latin idiom readily to understand and answer in it, has its advantages. The didactic and argumentative style of the Latin authors, no matter though it bears the traces of Ciceronian elegance (as in the case of Palma), is a labor which diminishes the dramatic interest elicited by historic fact. The study of history, like that of every other science, becomes more fruitful in proportion as it is easily grasped and assimilated by the aid of the imagination. It is the tendency, not to be undervalued, of modern pedagogics that it knows how to facilitate the acquisition of learning formerly considered as dry and hard. Accordingly, it was getting in line with recent requirements, and much to be appreciated, when a Church History, reliable in its statements of facts and comprehensive enough to be of practical use in the course of studies at our seminaries and colleges, was offered to us in an English dress.

Still, whatever excellences Brueck possesses, after satisfying our immediate needs, one felt that a better thing might yet be done to suit our own circumstances. Few writers are wholly free from national bias. This is perhaps most true of historical writers. Let any one compare Darras and Alzog, and the fact becomes at once apparent. Not that we would say of Professor Brueck that he unduly emphasizes the influence of German thought or action in the general history of the Church. He is too honest for that. But his mind and his feelings, and accordingly his judgments of facts, as well as his manner of expressing them, have, and must have, a tone to which one not of his own constitution of mind has to get accustomed. Besides his facts, we have to get by heart the author's feelings, his manner of viewing things, and some knowledge of his own which he does not express, which to some need no expression because their minds have grown up under similar circumstances as his own, but which others cannot anticipate. This were not altogether an evil if it were not an inconvenience to our students. It is an inconvenience which attaches to every translation. One cannot argue thence that translations of foreign works are to be discouraged. Not at all. The originality and sound thought of other nations are useful to us since they contribute to our knowledge, so long as the translation makes it possible for us to understand the aim of the writer. But that is, on the

whole, the limit of their utility. The books which are to aid us in disciplining our minds have a wholly different purpose from those which merely enlarge our circle of knowledge, or throw fresh light upon the subjects with which we may be already familiar. There are some exceptions to this rule, such as the exact sciences. History, in the manner in which we use it, is not one of them.

For this reason, it is desirable that our text-books be written expressly for ourselves, by the teachers who, having studied the mental constitution of our youth, may fitly direct them how to strengthen and educate it. Professor Brueck's book is all that can be desired for those for whom it was written; "brief and succinct," "clear and orderly." Yet we doubt whether, for example, the division of exterior and interior conditions of history, however admirable in itself, would commend itself to our students as much as it may do to the disposition of the advanced German academic student. We venture to say that, practically speaking, and having a main regard to the real needs in our seminaries and colleges, Birkhaeuser's History is a decided improvement on its highly appreciated predecessor. Besides being the result of actual teaching to candidates of the American priesthood, it has the merit of being somewhat less critical in its form, and therefore more readable, although the style might, for the sake of clearness, be here and there improved. The author's aim was: "To sketch events in a few words, to give, in as clear and connected a manner as possible, a plain but carefully-drawn outline of ecclesiastical history." (Pref., vi.) This he has done, and accordingly there is a satisfaction in looking over the book. Its outline is perfectly clear. The fact that there is only one volume, though a solid octavo, adds to its advantage.

There is one thing we take exception to. The author says, in his Preface, that he "thought it best not to clog the work with copious references, . . . which, although interesting to the scholar, would make a text-book too prolix for the ordinary student." A most desirable caution. But we do not think that it excuses him from indicating the exact sources whenever he does profess to give citations from the writers whom he mentions. If, for instance, we are told what Gerson says, in quotation marks, it would certainly be more satisfactory to every student to know where he says it. Nor would it militate against the canon which the author proposes to himself, to indicate such source in the margin. One of the objects of such a text-book must be to stimulate, at least indirectly, the student to further research, which is helped by this sort of references, even if it were not sometimes necessary to obtain the context in order to weigh the full importance of such testimony as is quoted. We would also suggest that when it is deemed necessary, for the sake of elucidation, to give notes at the bottom of the page, the latter should embody the most exact and latest researches and no more. Thus, in the note on page 451, explaining the term *Universities*, the clause "according to others," etc., might have been omitted, since Denifle has conclusively shown that the word was never, during the Middle Ages, used in the sense claimed for it here. (Vid. *Die Universitaeten des Mittelalters*. H. Denifle. Vol. i., p. 32.) In other places, such as on page 519, it was as easy to say, "George Bancroft, vol. i., cap. ii." (which, we think, holds good for all the editions), as simply to put, "Bancroft." For a similar reason, it were better to repeat the surname of Rev. Donald Macleod with each note cited from him. For, as there are two Bancrofts, both historians of pretension, and also two Rev. Macleods, both American writers on religious subjects, it would prevent confusion

in the mind of the student, even though the more experienced reader will readily discern which author is meant.

However, these are minor points and may be easily corrected, only, of course, by the author himself, for the quotations, referred to general sources, are quite frequent throughout the work. But the book otherwise can hardly fail to commend itself to those professors of ecclesiastical history who not only teach, but are also interested that the students may actually reap the greatest amount of fruit from their teaching. With us the lecture system is hardly effective. The student must rather be drilled in the simple and thorough fashion which exacts frequent recitation. Under such circumstances, and considering the abstract character of many other branches to which especially our ecclesiastical students are obliged to devote their time, a very simple and comprehensive textbook, if but exact in its statements, is a great help.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE WANDERING OF THE NATIONS. From St. Leo I. to St. Gregory I. By *Thomas W. Allies, K.C.S.G.* London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1888.

It is now many years since Mr. Allies, a distinguished convert from Anglicanism, published his capital little work on the See of St. Peter. Though the book has ever been regarded as one of the best we have in English on the subject, yet it has been felt by many, and by none more keenly than its author, that a more ample and detailed treatment was desirable of the relations of the Papacy to the Church and the world. He determined, therefore, to make the theme his life-study, and, as the result of his investigations, Catholic literature is being enriched with a series of volumes which are likely to take a prominent and hold a permanent place. The volume now under consideration is the sixth of the series, the general title of his work being, "The Formation of Christendom." Each particular part of the general subject which he treats has a special title, indicating the period and matter covered by the volume.

For the material which he uses he has had recourse to the original sources wherever this was possible, and to works of the highest authority that are generally accessible to English readers. So anxious was he, indeed, to give a fitting character to his work, that he made a special study of the letters of the Popes as sources of history, in which, as such, Cardinal Mai has left recorded his judgment to the effect that "in matter of fact, the whole administration of the Church is learnt." From this declaration Mr. Allies naturally draws "the inference that of all sources for the truths of history none are so precious, instructive, and authoritative as these authentic letters, contemporaneous with the persons to whom they are addressed. After referring to the first of these which has been preserved to us, that of Pope St. Clement, the contemporary of St. Peter and St. Paul, directed to the Church of Corinth for the purpose of extinguishing a schism which had there broken out, our author proceeds to speak as follows, both of such documents that have been lost and of the inestimable value of those that have escaped the ravages of time.

"If," he says, "the decisions of the succeeding Popes, in the interval of nearly two hundred and fifty years between this letter of St. Clement, about the year 95, and the great letter of St. Julius to the Eusebianizing bishops at Antioch, in 342, had been preserved entire, the constitution of the Church in that interval would have shone before us in clear light. In fact, we only possess a few fragments of some of these decisions, for there was a great destruction of such documents in

the persecution which occupied the first decade of the fourth century. But from the time of Pope Siricius, in the time of the great Theodosius, a continuous though not a perfect series of these letters stretches through the succeeding ages. There is no other such series of documents existing in the world. They throw light upon all matters and persons of which they treat. This is a light proceeding from one who lives in the midst of what he describes, who is at the centre of the greatest system of doctrine and discipline, and legislation founded upon both, which the world has ever seen. One, also, who speaks not only with a great knowledge, but with an unequalled authority, which, in every case, is like that of no one else, but can even be *supreme*, when it is directed with such a purpose to the whole Church. Every Pope *can* speak as St. Clement, the first of this series, speaks, claiming obedience to his words, as 'words spoken by God through us.'"

Of these letters of the Popes Mr. Allies makes large use, even larger use in the present volume than in its predecessors. In this instalment of his work he covers the period of a century and a half from the close of the pontificate of Leo the Great to the end of that of Gregory the Great, the grand pontificate "which crowns the whole patristic period and sums up its discipline."

The displacement of the Roman Empire by the various hordes of barbarian invaders from the North and East has suggested to our author the title of his present work, "The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations," and it is part of his purpose to show how the Papacy formed a new order of things out of the ruins of the former and the raw material of the latter. "Rome's ending seemed the ending of a world," but "the God who sits above the waterspouts remains unshaken."

How the change came about is graphically told; but more important is the demonstration of "the Church's internal constitution and of changes in the external world of action outside and independent of the Church, which combined in one result the exhibition to all and the public acknowledgment by the Church of the Primacy given by our Lord to St. Peter, and continued to his successors in the See of Rome." Prevented by want of space from dwelling in his preceding volume with due force upon some circumstances of St. Leo's life, which were such as to make his time an era, he begins this one with a further development of the subject. As he had formerly shown that there is "no greater wonder in human history than the creation of a hierarchy out of the principle of headship and subordination contained in our Lord's charge to Peter," so he comes now to the demonstration of a second wonder of the same general character, namely, the creation, out of the ruins of the Roman Empire and the heretical and heathen kingdoms that supplanted it, "of a body of States whose centre of union and belief was the See of Peter." In the creation of Christendom proper in this way is seen the wonder "that the northern tribes, impinging on the empire, and settling on its various provinces like vultures, became the matter into which the Holy See, guiding and unifying the episcopate, maintaining the original principle of celibacy, and planting it in the institute of the religious life through various countries depopulated or barbarous, infused into the whole mass one spirit, so that Arians became Catholics, Teuton raiders issued into Christian kings, savage tribes thrown upon captive provincials coalesced into nations, while all were raised together into, not a restored empire of Augustus, but an empire holy as well as Roman, whose chief was the Church's defender (*advocatus ecclesiæ*), whose creator was the Roman Peter."

In giving an account of this development, Mr. Allies narrates the history of the Christian world during the time when it was taking place; and in closing his volume he sums up the characteristics of the times in which St. Gregory the Great exercised the pontifical authority, and points out the opposing forces which unite to sustain the Apostolic See.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By *Edmond Stopfer, D.D.*, Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by Annie Harwood Holden. Third edition, with Map and Plans. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This work is a collection of archæological observations upon the condition, social, religious, and political, of the Jews in the time of Christ, their occupations, habits and ideas. It is evidently the result of much labor, and as such it is interesting to readers who wish to make themselves minutely acquainted with the surroundings of our Blessed Redeemer during his sojourn upon earth, and the different classes of people in Palestine with whom he came in contact in his public ministry. The information it contains contributes, too, to a better understanding of the circumstances which were favorable, and also those which were unfavorable, to the reception of His Gospel.

The geography of Palestine and of the adjacent regions is carefully and minutely sketched, as is also the political history of the Jews from the time of Herod the Great to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The Sanhedrim, its origin, membership, officers, and functions, and of the administration of justice, the population, home-life, dwellings, clothing, schools, literature, and public life of the Jews are carefully described in the first part of the book.

The second part of the book is occupied with the religious life of the Jews. Separate chapters are given to accounts of the Pharisees and Sadducees under the Maccabees and under Herod the Great, and their attitude towards Christianity in its commencement; to the Synagogue, the Sabbath, the Bible of the Jews, their purifications, fasts, almsgiving, prayers, feasts; to the Essenes, to the Temple and its courts, their construction, dimensions and services; to the principal dates in the Life of Jesus, and to Jesus and the preaching of His Gospel.

The conclusion arrived at by the author is, that the facts presented under these different heads constitute an invincible array of proof of the historical accuracy and truth of the Gospel. Yet, just at this point the author halts and utterly breaks down. Though in his preface he tells his readers that "Jesus Christ was not the product of His environment; His appearance was a miracle; He came from God"; yet in the final chapter of his book he flatly contradicts this declaration. He says that "Jesus gave to the religious movement then in process the impulse it needed." "He owed much to the Pharisees; He adopted their doctrine of Providence and of the resurrection of the body." "He borrowed from the Essenes." "He did not rise all at once to the apprehension of the Messianic idea." Nor did He "know perfectly from the beginning of His ministry what He was, nor what He was to do in the world."

The materials which the author has gathered are useful to those who know how to rightly use them, but the use he has made of them is pernicious.

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